Race Problem - 1932

Africa

JOINT EAST AFRICAN BOARD.

Meeting With Settlers' Deputation.

A special meeting of the Executive Council of the Joint East African Board was held on October 26. The object of the meeting was to receive the East African Deputation, which has come over to this country to discuss with the Colonial Office the whole economic and financial situation in the East African Dependencies, and to hear privately from them what their views were and how the Board could help them. The proceedings were private, but the chairman, in welcoming the deputation, stated that the Joint East African Board was only too ready to help forward in any way possible the object of the deputation. The Board considered that the best way of dealing with the situation would be to distinguish very clearly between the necessity for a complete review of the economic situation and a study of the basis of revenue and expenditure. It was also important to recognise that while it was perfectly obvious that costs of government would have to be reduced, this should not be done to the extent of depriving the country of essential services.

In tendering the good offices of the Board, the chairman stated that it was essential that it should be understood both here and in East Africa that the Board could not be associated in any way with any personal attacks on the Civil Service, nor with any attempt to organise resistance to legitimate taxation. While satisfied that no such intentions exist in the mind of the deputation nor of any responsible leaders in East Africa, the fact that a great deal has been written publicly and privately on these lines made it necessary for the Board to make this reservation, because if such a dangerous state of affairs were developed it would be a most serious and dangerous example to the Indian and native populations, and would seriously damage our good name. It is well this should be understood in the interests which the deputation, the Board, and all concerned in East Africa have at heart.

KENYA MURDER CHARGE.

Trial of Ross Begun.

NAIROBI, November 3.

The hearing was begun to-day by the Nakuru magistrate of the charges against Charles William Ross, who is accused of the murder of the two girls, Miss Stevenson and Miss Keppie. There was intense public interest in the case, and pathetic spectators were the parents of Miss Stevenson, Ross's fiancée.

Evidence was given that while Ross represented that he wanted to take the girls to a cinema, he had been making careful preparations for several days for a long safari. From several stores he had ordered not only large quantities of foodstuffs and cutlery, but women's clothes, shawls, bedspreads, sheets, rugs, scents, and face-powder. Near the place where the body of Miss Keppie was found there were, it was alleged, evidences of a prepared camp cut out of the bush, where many of the articles described were found. A long written statement made by Ross was put in, but it was not read publicly. The case was adjourned.—"The Times."

UGANDA COTTON.

Increased Acreage Planted.

The latest report on the planting of cotton in the Uganda Protectorate for next season gives the acreage under this crop as 1,044,897. This is the first time that 1,000,000 acres has been reached, and the area shows an increase of 179,638 acres over last year, which was also a record.

The exports for the season just closed were about 196,000 bales, a total which would have been much larger but for adverse weather conditions in several districts. The present area of over 1,000,000 acres should be able to produce 250,000 bales with favourable weather. Up to the present the condition of the crop is reported as normal, although local reports of insect damage and the initial stages of Blackarm disease have been noticed.

Uganda almost entirely depends on the cotton crop, although robusta coffee has made great progress as a peasant crop in recent years, but is not suitable to all districts. Attention is also being paid to groundnuts and sesame as auxiliary "money crops" coming in when the cotton money has been spent.—"The Times."

THE EDUCATION OF OUR GIRLS.

No plan for the development of any country could be complete unless some liberal provision had been made for the education of the young. And no plan for the education of the young would be considered effective, unless there had been abundant provision by which both the boys and girls may be given such specific training as would ensure a complete transformation in life and conduct, according to a standard of high ethics and practical usefulness. There should be the aim so that, the education of the girls may be a fitting complement to that of the boys; that is to say, the girls of every community should be given such training that would make it easy for them to fulfil the rôle of helpfulness which was the Divine purpose of that unique combine.

Thanks to a more Christian enlightenment, the attitude of the present day towards the education of the girls is far in advance of what it was in the last quarter of the last century. Late as we may regard such a renaissance in the mental, moral and spiritual development of the womanhood of this country, yet it is encouraging to note what advance has been made in this direction during the last quarter of this century. In saying this, we do not intend it to mean that we are quite satisfied with the progress even in the literary educational standard to which our girls have already attained. We think in this respect that some greater attempt at public examinations of a higher order should be a much more general aspect of the education of our girls.

But when we have given such prominence to the literary work of our schools for girls, we want to place some greater emphasis on the increasing need for some concentrated effort on the moral and religious training, which appears to be calling urgently at the present time for increased attention.

It is here, we feel the service the Boarding Department of our Secondary Schools for Girls offers abundant scope and calls for serious consideration from parents and guardians. We have an impression that children of the present day, do not take nicely to boarding schools, on account of the marked difference in the disciplinary method adopted in the schools and their home. It is too well known that the restraints which characterised some homes when some of the present parents were children do not exist to-day. The new generatic would have very little restraint if any at all. So that it has become difficult to endure that discipline at school which is indispensable for correct upbringing. The present economic stress by which money has become scarce has made it easy for parents to yield to the pressure which their girls would bring against their being sent to the boarding department of the schools they attend.

No wise parents would allow such play on their better judgment so as to gratify the tendencies to go soft; but as many as could afford it should recognize the need of their children being placed under that control and restriction which the boarding department of any school is intended to provide for the better development of the children. But what has urged us to deal with this subject is the facts recorded in the issue of the *Methodist Magazine* just published (October number) in which is contained a report of the opening of the New Methodist Girls' Boarding School at Segbwema.

The ceremony was graced with the presence of His Excellency Sir Arnold Hodson, who on the occasion spoke words of encouragement and hopefulness and opened the building. His Excellency further spoke of the good singing to which the children had treated him. It was quite a different singing from those they had been accustomed to their homes, in their streets and in their social circles, The Mende girls at Segbwema were being trained to sing *new* songs! and in their boarding school were being shaped and fashioned to become musical instruments from which the new song of Christian social influence would go forth to change the savage and sensual mind. It is here we see the great possibilities in the work of such Christian efforts and it is here as in the development of Christian Medical Missions we see vast scope for reaching the mass of the people, so that the leaven of a robust Christian influence will become the background of progress in the development of the Colony and Protectorate of Ancient and Loyal Sierra Leone.

THE SIERRA LEONE
WEEKLY NEWS

Saturday, October 22, 1932.

A WRONG DIAGNOSIS OF A FATAL RELIGIOUS DISTEMPER.

For some time now, we have been dealing in a series of articles on the subject of "*British Trusteeship in West Africa*." As we got to the sixth of the series, we discovered that we had been carrying some intelligent following and we were favoured with some sane advices as to how we may overcome the prejudice of staleness through the constant use of the same caption. Hence, we have since been using different headings, dealing on various aspects of the same subject, the mutual obligations of the Great British Nation on the one hand, and the people of West Africa under their suzerainty on the other. In view of the importance of the subject and its far-reaching consequences, we were very hopeful that some interest might be created, so as to arouse helpful discussion from those in the Community capable of making useful contributions.

We were therefore highly gratified, when we were able in our last issue to publish two articles offering two different view-points on the subject; and we felt that in some way we were realising our desire. We are not so much mindful whether the views expressed agree with ours. We do not claim infallibility, not even inerrant wisdom. To us, the subject of the people of West Africa fulfilling their obligations as an integeral part of a great Empire, is of paramount importance; and we have set forth in these series to deal with every aspect of the subject as it relates to each party in the great contract. It is, therefore, from no feeling of partisanship that we have been giving expression to the thoughts we have conceived, ranging them in such a manner as would be helpful towards the re-discovery of ourselves, whether as *Trustees* or as *Wards* in the fulfilment of our God-given charge. We say, therefore, that it would increase our pleasure if some more could take part in the discussion.

The only disappointment, if we might call it so, is that members of the Anglican Church have left it to "Two Methodist Synod Members" to take up the cudgel for them. We have been wondering whether this is also the effect of seventy years under the bondage of "leading strings." It would have come with better grace if the Protest had been made by those within the ranks,—those, who are immediately concerned. As it is, we do not feel as free as we might have been, to deal with the "Protest" as it deserves, if the position had been taken by Anglican members. For to be candid, it has made worse the situation of that church. It has involved the members in a greater degree of exposure; it has rather emphasised that aspect of weakness—leaving undone what they should have done, for others to take up their burden.

We sincerely regret this further proof of impuissance in a church that once gave evidence of solid vitality, at a time when there were men who proved themselves valiant for any such contest.

But there are other evidences of incompetence on the part of the "Two Methodist Synod Members" to deal effectively with the subject. These honoured members of the Methodist Synod know well and truly that it would be an unthinkable proposition for the General Superintendent to go round the various Circuits and relieve the Circuit Stewards of the duty which gives them the right to become members of the Synod. More than this, what Circuit Superintendent would sit down—Fathers—CHARLES KNIGHT, JOSEPH MAY, DAN THORPE and CHARLES MARKE!—help us—and take with complacency the suggestion that the General Superintendent would be visiting his Circuit not, mark you, for the purpose of giving his cheer—that would have been a different matter altogether—but for the purpose of raising such a large sum to meet the arrears of payment of salaries of the staff in the circuits.

Will any Circuit Quarterly Meeting tolerate such affront? And yet the "Two Methodist Synod Members" have felt themselves justified to appear in the Press to advocate a situation which would have brought on them the greatest commiseration, if, in the position as representatives of their circuits, they had ventured to allow what would practically be a proof of incompetence. It is therefore easy to see how these two members of the Methodist Synod have given the show away, and how they have helped to make the situation more ridiculous and unworthy the pretentions of a great church. Shades of Venerable Archdeacons HENRY JOHNSON, G. J. MACAULAY, MATTHEW WILSON and many others now in the galaxy of Saints, Apostles and Prophets—behold the pass to which your church has come!

Again, the "Two Methodist Synod Members" have rushed into church history to remind us of the fates of churches planted in Asia-Minor, the Congo and North Africa. Now, the study of history would be unprofitable, if it did not chrystalize into experience. We learn what transpired in the far-off days that we might know how to shape our own affairs. What was it that brought failure on those churches? Was it because they were ruled too long by foreign leaders? It is here that ARTHUR the contributor of the other article, has done the cause yeoman service, and his reference to the "heavy rider" throws a flood of clear shining light into the problem. Was it not the *vices* in ancient churches that led to their undoing? And if we must speak the truth and fear not,—is it not the same *vices*, in spite of all our improvements in other directions, that are responsible for the cringing helplessness, contemptible sychophancy which have always caused "the African to dance attendance on the white man, to be a pro-European that he might have the chance to stab his brother in the dark?" But what is the profit of studying the history of other peoples when we can gain more by studying our own history?

Some years ago, the Church Missionary Society thought it was time for a "grateful farewell" in connection with its work in the hinterland; and so arrangements were made to hand it over to the Native Pastorate Church. The Sierra Leone Church Missions were then reconstructed and the whole administration committed to that local authority. The European Missionaries were withdrawn, and an African appointed as General Superintendent. The late Rev. Canon O. MOORE, the Rev. S. TAYLOR and the Venerable Archdeacon E. T. COLE occupied that position. Of them all, the Archdeacon is the only one surviving. What is the position of that church to-day? Let the "Two Methodist Synod Members" answer. At any rate, the following news item which appeared in our issue of the 8th is very significant—"Revival of Sierra Leone Church Missionary Work."

> "His Lordship the Bishop of Sierra Leone, accompanied by Canon J. C. L. Horstead, left on a visit to the Koinadugu District on Monday 3rd instant. The object of the trek is said to be a study of Station needs with a view to revive the missionary work of the Sierra Leone Church. Mr. T. E. Alvarez of Fourah Bay College and Falaba fame, has expressed his willingness to come back if need be to help carry out the good work whose interest he has so much at heart."

What does it mean? Is the necessity arising that the white man should come back to help carry out the work which had been handed to the local church? We pause awhile!

GETS OUT FOR AMERICA LANDS BACK IN AFRICA

Adventures of Native Nigerian Teacher Who Wanted to Study at Hampton Institute

E. S. Ajayi has returned not yet disillusioned to his native village in the British protectorate of Nigeria, West Africa, whence a few weeks ago he set out to conquer a B. Sc. degree at Hampton Institute, Virginia, U. S. A.

He had taught for sixteen years in the local grammar school and was the president, or at least a valued member, of nearly every social organisation in the place. The Manchester Guardian Weekly, which has secured much information on the man's curious case, says that "he was and is just the type of man whom most communities, and African communities not the least, delight to honor." The paper's correspondent at Zungeru continues the story:

"Mr. Ajayi had made, as he fondly hoped, every necessary preparation for his journey. He did not book for the United States, finding it cost less to go to Virginia via England. He obtained a medical certificate of good health; he got a U. S. A. consular visa at Lagos and in due course he reached Plymouth and made for Southampton, en route for Virginia.

"He found, however, that a man can be too prompt. He had taken his consular visa so well in advance at Lagos that its currency had expired a few hours before he reached Southampton. He was therefore sent back from there to London, which he now saw for the first time in his life, and where he might have fared ill indeed but that he came under the kindly, disinterested notice of the Y. M. C. A. immigration officer.

"He had to undergo medical examination afresh, and this time he was told that the condition of his eyes was such that he could not enter the United States.

"It was a little hard to have the dream of years thus shattered; but the average African is a hopeful person, and Mr. Ajayi and his new-found friend approached the Colonial Office and the Home Office to see if something could not be saved from the wreck. Mr. Ajayi was prepared to reshape his life and study scientific agriculture in this country. But he found himself in the toils of the passport system.

"His passport, issued at Lagos, permitted him only to pass through this country on his way to Virginia, and all that the aliens branch of the Home Office could do for him was to tell him that the American Consul General had decided he could not be admitted to America.

"Mr. Ajayi might possibly have fared a little better at the hands of the Home Office had he been a resident of the official colony at Nigeria, but he finds that he is no more than 'a British protected person, native of the Protectorate of Nigeria,' and thus, in this particular matter, an alien.

"Now, perhaps a little bewildered in face of all that has happened to him, Mr. Ajayi has gone back to Nigeria."

Race Problem - 1932

Africa

THE LATE RIGHT REVEREND BISHOP ISAAC OLUWOLE, D.D.

We deeply regret to record the death of the Right Reverend Isaac Oluwole, D.D., Assistant Bishop of the Diocese of Lagos, at 3.15 p.m. on Friday, the 22nd instant after a few weeks' illness. The sad news was received by cable by the Bishop of Sierra Leone last Saturday morning the 23rd instant, was too late to appear in our last issue, but publicity was given by the tolling of the bells of the Cathedral and other Anglican Churches as well as at morning service in those Churches.

We little thought when we published in our last issue of the 23rd inst. the fact of the retirement of Bishop Oluwole that not only would we have to record his death in our very next issue and that he had died before we went to Press, but also that the sad news would be announced that very Saturday. It was a curiously sad coincidence—such is life!

We and the community were startled by the sad news, for despite his age and infirmity, we had no knowledge of his last illness and the wish for the preservation of his valuable life for quiet service which we then expressed was, we believe, not only entertained here but also in Nigeria, as can be inferred from Bishop Melville's remarks at the last Lagos Synod on the late Bishop's then forthcoming retirement, as reported in the Western Equatorial Africa Church Magazine. Says he:—

"I am glad to think that with his retirement Bishop Oluwole does not cease to be a Bishop, and I am thankful to say that though his infirmity does not permit him to move about as of old, his intellect is still unimpaired . . . . I shall often go to him for advice and counsel."

But God has willed it otherwise, for within a month of his laying down the burden of the office he had filled so admirably well for thirty-nine years out of a ministry of sixty years. For "Like as a stock of corn cometh in his season" to quote the text chosen by Canon John for his able and appropriate address at the Memorial Service last Sunday, ripe for harvesting, the Master of the Harvest, has garnered him in taken him to higher service to join among others the noble band of African Christian Workers, visioned by and eloquently expressed as welcoming the veteran Prelate by Bishop Wright in his complementary address at the Memorial Service.—

We join in the tribute paid him by the Editor of our contemporary, the *Nigerian Daily Times* of the 23rd instant to whom we are indebted for particulars given hereunder:—

MEMOIR OF BISHOP OLUWOLE.

Isaac Oluwole was born at Itoko, Abeokuta, on June 10, 1852 of Ikorodu and Ijesha parentage. Both parents had long been residents in Abeokuta which they actually made their home.

The following extract from the "Memoir of Henry Townsend, Forty years Church Missionary Society Missionary in West Africa," published in 1887, throws a great light on the early life of the subject of this sketch and shows that early promise which Oluwole had afterwards more than fulfilled. The memoir is from the pen of Mrs. S. D. Shubbs, a fellow-worker with Mr. Townsend in Abeokuta and the pertinent paragraphs are as follows:—

"It was the following year when Mr. Townsend came brightly to the door of the Medical Missionary Dr. Harrison, who resided in Abeokuta about four years, (we can almost fancy we hear his quick step as we write), saying 'Well doctor, I have found you a nice promising boy to bring up,' 'And then with words such as these, 'his father has just died most suddenly leaving a widow with three children. You can have him now if you will.' Mr. Townsend was evidently much interested in the family. The boy came at once to the loved and loving friend who was addressed. He appeared about thirteen years of age, and at once showed decided talent and ability for learning. He soon was able to read the Greek Testament, and studied Algebra with the English doctor, giving much satisfaction in his studies and general conduct which was excellent. He added a little music to his other attainments and almost taught himself to play on one of the fifes set apart for the use of the native boys in this Missionary home.

"During successive years, from the time that serious illness obliged the doctor to leave his work in Africa, this boy was under the care of one or another of the European missionaries. He afterwards went to Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone, he passed years of diligent study, and now is at the head of a very important school, and has received ordination. He spent three months at 79, Pentonville Road London before entering upon his own mastership and during that time attended at the Home and Colonial School, and received lessons also from an efficient master a Holloway. He has been a kind and good son to his mother, and is now married. His sphere of work and influence is a wide one."

EDUCATION.

From the above extract the history of Bishop Oluwole's education has been briefly told. He went to Ake School and afterwards studied under Dr. Harrison, as already related, and the Rev. D. Williams of Ikija, Abeokuta, as well as the late Rev. D. Coker of St. Peter's Faji. After his education at the C.M.S. Training Institution he became a tutor there in 1871 and worked till 1875 when he was sent to Fourah Bay College where he studied for over four years, taking his B.A. degree (Durham) in 1879. Among his contemporaries at Fourah Bay was the late Hon. Dr. S. Obadiah Johnson.

PRINCIPALSHIP OF C.M.S. GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

Returning home in 1879, Oluwole was appointed Principal, C.M.S. Grammar School in succession to the late Rev. T. B. Macaulay, the first Principal, and guided the fortunes of that School for nearly 14 years. Meanwhile he had been ordained deacon (1881) and priest (1883). Among the host of boys who passed under Principal Oluwole, mention can only be made of a few, many of whom have preceded their old Master to the grave. These were Mr. Candido da Rocha, Banker and financier; the Hon. S. H. Pearse, F.R.G.S., M.L.C., the late V. Eugene Willoughby, the Hon. Balogun Durojaiye Showemimo of Abeokuta (then Eman Coker), the late Fred Martins (Chief Clerk, Audit) the late Dan Akitoye (Chief Clerk Surveys), the late Gabriel Hugh Savage, Barrister-at-law, the late J. H. Stanley Robbin, I.S.O. (Chief Registrar, Supreme Court), the late Arthur J. E. Bucknor, K.S.G., (Barrister-at-law) the late Dr. W. A. Cole, Edmond Johnson, E.A.T.A. of the Bank of British West Africa, the late Rev. J. S. Fanimokun who afterwards succeeded Bishop Oluwole in the Principalship, the late Rev. J. Marshal Freeman of Itolo fame, afterwards Principal of St. Gregory's Grammar School, the late Claudius Robbin, Chief Clerk Customs, the Rev. S. J. Gansallo, now of Achimota Dr. Akinwande Savage, J. T. Nelson Cole, Barrister-at-law, Dr. Moses Rocha, Dr. A. Orejola, Hon. Eric Moore, B.L., M.L.C. the late E. Jonathan Martins Register of Vital Statistics, the Rev. M. S. Cole, M.A. former Canon Residentiary of Christ Church Cathedral and Principal of Abeokuta Grammar School, T. Horatio Jackson of the *Weekly Record*, William Savage, Barrister-at-Law, and the late Alfred Bey.

EPISCOPAL CAREER.

On his nomination along with the late Bishop Phillips, the Right Revd Bishop Issac Oluwole proceeded to London where in St. Paul's Cathedral on June 29, 1893, he was consecrated in company with Bishop Hill, Bishop Phillips and Bishop Sheepshanks of Norwich. As Assistant Bishop in Western Equatorial Africa, since changed to Lagos, Bishop Oluwole had for his chief spheres the Church District in Lagos, Ijebu Land, Abeokuta and Ibadan, of which Districts he was Chairman. He used to visit however, other places such as Oshogbo, Ile Ife, and so on, in the South, Kano and other places in the North and also in the Eastern Provinces.

In so long a career it is impossible to record all the important events. Mention may however be made of a few outstanding ones.

Bishop Oluwole attended the Thanksgiving Service in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, in 1897, on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of the reign of Queen Victoria and also attended the Lambeth Conference of that year in company with his colleague the late Bishop Phillips. He also attended the Lambeth Conferences of 1908 and 1920 and was only prevented by age from attending that of 1930. He was perhaps the only Bishop in West Africa to attend as many as three of these Conferences.

WITH ROYALTY.

Bishop Oluwole was presented to her late Majesty Queen Victoria in 1897, and twice to the late King Edward VII., as Prince of Wales in 1897 and as King in 1908. He was presented to King George V., in 1902. During the thirty-nine years of his Episcopal life Bishop Oluwole has ordained 200 Ministers among whom are his successor designate, the Right Revd. A. W. Howells, (whom he not only ordained into both the Diaconate and the Priesthood, but also joined in presenting to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1920 for consecration) and the Right Revd. Bishop A. W. Smith, of Ilorin, whom Bishop Oluwole ordained priest. Thousands have been confirmed by him all over Nigeria. He had taken part in many historic services; among the most memorable were, first, the official Service for National Prayer held at St. Paul's Church Lagos on January 6, 1918, when Bishop Oluwole delivered the sermon for the occasion secondly, in April 1925 on the occasion of the laying of the Foundation Stone of Christ Church Cathedral Lagos, by H.R.H., the Prince of Wales, when the aged prelate again had the honour of being the preacher.

At a glorious end of a long career this great scholar and faithful worker by whose passing away the Anglican Church in Africa has lost one of its oldest and most faithful African workers, the Negro race a great representative and West Airica one of its illustrious sons.

His indeed was not the extraordinary vitality, the forceful personality or the all-embracing genius of the late Bishop Johnson; but his gifts fitted him for his chosen field in which his ripe scholarship and sterling qualities stood him.

NATIVES AND LIQUOR.

That the Union Government is seeking to move with the times and progress with the natural advance of civilisation, emancipation, and evolution is proved by the latest Report of the Native Economic Commission, published in the Government Gazette of July 22. The report of the Commission states that it has been a grave mistake to attempt to deprive the native of his beer, and the Commission is so strongly under the sense, not only of the failure of total prohibition, but also of the harm it has worked, that it concludes that its abandonment is the only reasonable course that can be taken. In native life, as the Commission reports, the use of beer is as much an aid to conviviality as it is among Europeans. The Commission further advocates that licensed houses for Kaffir beer or "Utywala," run by natives, should be established. We heartily agree with the findings of the Commission. If the native was allowed to brew and drink his "Utywala" without let or hindrance, as at present much of the present evil and the use by natives of European liquors and of noxious concoctions, now so largely used, would disappear. Prohibition makes the crime and the criminal; the ordinary Kaffir is quite content with his Utywala," and given the liberty to consume his "national" drink without undue interference, a great step will have been made towards a better standard of conduct among the natives in South Africa.

WINDHOOK, S. W. Africa, Sept. 1.—(ANPA)—Ipumbu, wealthy and rebellious chief of the Ukambi tribe, whom South African authorities have been trying to capture for several weeks, is still at large. The white South Africans have been seeking to arrest Ipumbu, who heads a tribe of 10,000 people, alleging that he had invaded a mission station to capture his own daughter, who sought to escape what has been described as Ipumbus' tyranny.

Soldiers were dispatched into the rough and broken Ovamboland country, but had no success. Airplanes then were sent to fly over the Ipumbu's Kral but the chieftain was too wily. He removed all women or children from his town to a secret spot, removed all signs of rank in his clothing which might have made him a target for the bombs of the white aviators, and then posted strong armed bodies of natives at strategic points so that they could close in behind any armed land force which might be sent against him. Authorities are now proposing to send armored cars against the chief, and his loyal followers.

AFRICAN AFFAIRS.

It is but natural that thinking Africans the world over, must be exercising their minds as to the part Africa and African interests would be given in the consideration now going on amongst the civilised Nations. East, South and West Africa have long been groaning under bewildering burdens, and an intense racial consciousness has been palpitating with increasing restiveness, on account of the disabilities, injustice and scathing wrong-doings these civilised nations have associated with their responsibilities of Trusteeship. The loose and crude ethnological expressions as a distinction by colour—white, red brown and black—have been accentuated by the painful discriminations which are set up and made the basis by which a people becomes entitled to the full enjoyment of its GOD-given rights.

And only would the requisite concessions be made according as such a people has advanced to a standard in a scale of civilisation based on the acquisition of knowledge and wealth. Hence to-day, the Nations which have, by means of their intellectual, moral and commercial attainments assumed the right to govern the world and its affairs, become to such as, by means of their slow development, are regarded as weak and helpless. These are regarded as the child-races which must be cared for from the nursery of their racial life until the attainment of Racial Manhood. This is the position the peoples of Africa have been placed in, and their growth and progress are regulated and determined by the judgment of their foreign guardians.

There is no doubt that the African has come in for a great share of benefits by such an arrangement, most particularly so. during the initial stages of his contact with the Nations which have acted as his guardian. Then, his simple and somewhat servile nature answered gratefully to every stroke of patronage. Perhaps he was regarded as some pets are, in a household. But when by reason of this contact, he began to think, and to recognise a common afinity with every human being regardless of colour, when by the development of his mind and the change which religion has brought to his heart, he came to recognise the homogeneity of the human race, aspiration began to find a place in his soul; he began to appreciate his right to a place to stand under the sun. In a word, he came to find that his greatest possession was his *manhood*, which carries the right of self-expression and independence. He began to be critical and restive asserting his power to choose for himself.

The reminiscence of the wrong done to him by the inhuman traffic of slavery, sent a thunderbold of revolt in his soul against the very people who were his guardians, but who had thus abused their trust. This has developed into a terrible clash; to-day the African has become very sensitive, and would always meet the diplomacy which has developed as a sugar-coating to a bitter pill, with doubts and suspicion—fearing the Greeks even when they offer gifts.

This state of distrust has been growingly accentuated by the adoption of racial prejudice and discrimination, such as are too well known in the United States of America and lately, in London amongst the British people. This has been an unfortunate failing on the part of that exalted nation which by her self-sacrifice and genuiue devotion to retrieve the past has promoted the interest of the African to an amazing degree. It was therefore most gratifying when lately the Colonial Minister Sir P. CUNLIFF-LISTER reminded a section of the British people of what should constitute right conduct in the attitude of that exalted nation to other members of the Empire whatever their nationality or race, may be; and that their prestige would be enchanced, if they accord fair treatment to those as well, members of the Commonwealth of Nations. It is encouraging to note that the tide appears to be turning. In East Africa the report of an important commission undertaken by Lord MOYNE on the finance of Kenya has just been published in which an impartial and equitable consideration has been given to the interest of Africans, who are discribed as "Natives." He has proposed the creation of a "Native Betterment Committee" which shall receive and spend directly on the native, one—half of the proceeds of direct native taxation. This fund is to be managed by the Africans with the association of European settlers. In West Africa, the burning question of the Judicial Systems, the rather reckless and un-British way the life and right of the African had hitherto been disposed of in some parts of Nigeria and the Gold Coast, have been to the fore in the British House of Commons and the report of the Legal Adviser to the Colonial Office, who visited West Africa lately, is being waited for to mark the reforms which have been conceded to the disabilities set forth.

In this Colony, the instruments of wrong are the *Trial with Assessors* and the *Constitution of the Appeal Courts*. Mr. BUSHE and our fair-minded Attorney-General Mr. AITKIN, have indicated a direction in which the sting may be effectively removed. Concerning the Assessors Ordinance a London Correspondent of a Contemporary writes:—

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AFRICAN AFFAIRS.

It is but natural that thinking Africans the world over, must be exercising their minds as to the part Africa and African interests would be given in the consideration now going on amongst the civilised Nations. East, South and West Africa have long been groaning under bewildering burdens, and an intense racial consciousness has been palpitating with increasing restiveness, on account of the disabilities, injustice and scathing wrong-doings these civilised nations have associated with their responsibilities of Trusteeship. The loose and crude ethnological expressions as a distinction by colour—white, red brown and black—have been accentuated by the painful discriminations which are set up and made the basis by which a people becomes entitled to the full enjoyment of its GOD-given rights.

And only would the requisite concessions be made according as such a people has advanced to a standard in a scale of civilisation based on the acquisition of knowledge and wealth. Hence to-day, the Nations which have, by means of their intellectual, moral and commercial attainments assumed the right to govern the world and its affairs, become to such as, by means of their slow development, are regarded as weak and helpless. These are regarded as the child-races which must be cared for from the nursery of their racial life until the attainment of Racial Manhood. This is the position the peoples of Africa have been placed in, and their growth and progress are regulated and determined by the judgment of their foreign guardians.

There is no doubt that the African has come in for a great share of benefits by such an arrangement, most particularly so, during the initial stages of his contact with the Nations which have acted as his guardian. Then, his simple and somewhat servile nature answered gratefully to every stroke of patronage. Perhaps he was regarded as some pets are, in a household. But when by reason of this contact, he began to think, and to recognise a common afinity with every human being regardless of colour, when by the development of his mind and the change which religion has brought to his heart, he came to recognise the home geneity of the human race, aspiration began to find a place in his soul; he began to appreciate his right to a place to stand under the sun. In a word, he came to find that his greatest possession was his *manhood*, which carries the right of self-expression and independence. He began to be critical and restive asserting his power to choose for himself.

The reminiscence of the wrong done to him by the inhuman traffic of slavery, sent a thunder bold of revolt in his soul against the very people who were his guardians, but who had thus abused their trust. This has developed into a terrible clash; to-day the African has become very sensitive, and would always meet the diplomacy which has developed as a sugar-coating to a bitter pill, with doubts and suspicion—fearing the Greeks even when they offer gifts.

This state of distrust has been growingly accentuated by the adoption of racial prejudice and discrimination, such as are too well known in the United States of America and lately, in London amongst the British people. This has been an unfortunate failing on the part of that exalted nation which by her self-sacrifice and genuine devotion to retrieve the past has promoted the interest of the African to an amazing degree. It was therefore most gratifying when lately the Colonial Minister Sir P. CUNLIFF-LISTER reminded a section of the British people of what should constitute right conduct in the attitude of that exalted nation to other members of the Empire whatever their nationality or race, may be; and that their prestige would be enchanced, if they accord fair treatment to those as well, members of the Commonwealth of Nations. It is encouraging to note that the tide appears to be turning. In East Africa the report of an important commission undertaken by Lord MOYNE on the finance of Kenya has just been published in which an impartial and equitable consideration has been given to the interest of Africans, who are discribed as "Natives." He has proposed the creation of a "Native Betterment Committee" which shall receive and spend directly on the native, one—half of the proceeds of direct native taxation. This fund is to be managed by the Africans with the association of European settlers. In West Africa, the burning question of the Judicial Systems, the rather reckless and un-British way the life and right of the African had hitherto been disposed of in some parts of Nigeria and the Gold Coast, have been to the fore in the British House of Commons and the report of the Legal Adviser to the Colonial Office, who visited West Africa lately, is being waited for to mark the reforms which have been conceded to the disabilities set forth.

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Race Problem - 1932

Africa.

Inter-Racial Students' Debate

The Comet
1-12-32

An event of much more than local or passing interest took place last month at the South African Native College at Fort Hare, when a crowded and enthusiastic audience listened to a debate between four students of Rhodes University, Grahamstown, and an equal number of Native students of Fort Hare. The question chosen for debate was one of vital interest to both races: "Can the Native reserves be developed agriculturally to carry a larger population, as suggested by the Native Economic Commission?" The visitors from Rhodes University maintained the affirmative, and were opposed by the home team. In addition to the staff and students of Fort Hare, there were present several well-known members of the Rhodes staff, the Mayor of Grahamstown, and others. As was to be expected, the standard set by the visiting debaters was a high one, and their speeches revealed a deep interest in the subject of debate reinforced by a careful study of the findings of the Native Economic Commission. None present could fail to be impressed by the quality of the reply by the Fort Hare students. They turned to excellent account their personal knowledge of conditions in the Reserves, and their ready command of the English tongue and quickness in seizing upon any weak point in the case presented by the visitors revealed great natural ability. For two hours the audience followed the fortunes of battle with unflagging keenness. Shrewd thrusts on both sides were warmly cheered. The debate was characterised by the finest courtesy and good humour, and at the same time its educative value was very high. A most successful experiment left the conviction that nothing but good can result from gatherings of this nature. We congratulate both Rhodes University and Fort Hare College on this latest excursion into the realm of inter-racial contact. More than one of the debaters expressed the view that they were making history. We sincerely trust that on many similar occasions history may repeat itself.

(S.M. OUTLOOK)

An Unpleasant Incident

The Comet

Under the above heading our contemporary the "Basutoland New" comments on the matter of the Union Flag incident which took plaae in Maseru on the 1st. October last and which was reported by "Eye Witness" in our issue of the 9th. inst.

We reproduce the article here without further commenting as it speaks for itself.

In the current issue of the Native paper "Mochochonono" a letter appears by a correspondent signing himself "Eye Witness" in which he complains of the action of a police officer in Maseru on October 1st, when the capital was thronged with Natives from various parts of the territory to witness the final of the Native football matches. The writer states that a motor car containing a party of happy and spirited Natives drove into Maseru with a Union Jack on the bonnet, as a sort of mascot. The car halted in front of the magistrate's office, and a sergeant of police was sent by the police officer to enquire who was driving the car, and to order him into the police office.

The owner of the car personally responded, and was told that only the High Commissioner, the Resident Commissioner, and the Paramount Chief were allowed to hoist the Union Jack on their cars, and that the man must take his flag out immediately. The Native was astounded at this order, and asked what Proclamation it was that ordered this. According to the correspondent his query was met with an outburst of strong language. A further question regarding the law on the matter induced the official to order the police to remove the questioner, the words used being 'push him out."

The Native replied that he had been asked into the office, so why was he to be pushed out when he enquired about a point of law? However, he was ejected and his flag pulled down from the hood of the car and placed inside with the occupants. The party in the car, nevertheless, replaced to its original position (to show their loyalty to their beloved King, says the correspondent) and drove away at perfect liberty to fly Union Jack on their motor cars in the Union they cannot do so in Basutoland.

such a method of decorating his car out of loyalty and respect for the authorities mentioned.

But whereas the Royal Standard can only be flown by Royalty, the Union Jack is essentially the flag of all British subjects throughout the world, and the flying of it anywhere is not the prerogative of any officials, however highly placed they may be. There is nothing to prevent anybody from wearing a Union Jack in his buttonhole, for instance, and one feels that if the loyal Basuto are to be debarred from harmless flagwagging their loyalty may conceivably suffer in some degree.

If, however, there is a rule of law in this connection, then it will come as surprising news to many, and should be made known far and wide, so that people may know and understand that although they are at perfect liberty to fly Union Jack, The writer concludes his letter on a note of resentment against Government officers exercising their power in a "tyrannical" manner, and points out that these same government officials are maintained in their jobs through the payment of the people whom they treat in this manner.

So much for the Native's letter. If the incident as related by the correspondent is untrue, then the writer should be asked to contradict and withdraw what he has written. If on the other hand it is true it is rather a regrettable incident and one that does not redound to the dignity of the Basutoland Adminstration. As to the matter of decorating a car with a Union Jack, we have it on very good authority that no proclamation or notice in this connection has been published in the Gazette, and if this is so, there cannot be anything illegal about it.

Possibly it is a custom for the High Commissioner, the Resident Commissioner, and the Paramount Chief to fly a small Union Jack on their car bonnets in order to denote the office of those who are riding behind it, and if this is customary no reasonably minded Mosuto in Basutoland would mind foregoing

Woman and the Home

A Woman's Exhibition in Nigeria.

Miss Shola Vaughan, who studied arts and crafts in Glasgow and is the holder of a diploma in arts, has just held a most interesting exhibition of art work, all designed and produced by herself in Lagos.

Miss Vaughan is the fashion designer and manageress of the art department of the West African Dress Factory, which is managed so capably by Mrs. Vivian Renwick.

The exhibition was divided into 12 sections and the items ranged from raffia, cane, metal, twine, leather and painting, to berbola, sealing wax, embroidery crochet, fancy and woodwork.

In the woodwork there were excellent specimens of table mats, and the berbola work included book ends, mirrors and trinket-boxes. A batik scarf was particularly admired in the painting section, and a lamp shade and cake stand and tray were among the ambitious and highly successful examples of useful and ornamental articles for the home.

Health Visitor at Cape Coast.

This is the first Cadbury health visitor for Cape Coast. Her appointment is under the infant welfare scheme, which the Gold Coast Government established at Accra and Kumasi some years ago, and to which Messrs. Cadbury Bros. make an annual contribution of £200, this being £100 for each centre. This donation enables the Medical Department to appoint a special health visitor in each centre, whose time is wholly devoted to the care of Infants. About a year ago the Medical Services authorities found that by effecting economies they could extend this work to one or more new areas, and Cape Coast and Koforidua were suggested. It is hoped that other commercial firms may be induced to take an interest in the efforts of the Medical Department to alleviate, to some extent, the sufferings of young children in the Gold Coast.

A Woman Honoured.

Dona Ana, the 79-year-old authoress, natural scientist and educationalist, of Puerto Rico, West Indies, has just had conferred on her an honorary degree of the University of Puerto Rico. She has been teaching since she was 13 years of age and is the first woman on the island to receive this honour.

An Achimota Teacher.

A correspondent tells me that the Rodger Club at Accra was the scene of an interesting gathering recently, when Miss Lerina Bright, who spent some years in England for educational purposes, was the guest of honour at a reception and dance prior to her leaving Achimota, where she has been a schoolmistress.

Miss Bright has returned to Freetown for her marriage to Dr. Ojimiri Taylor, of the Sierra Leone Medical Service. She is a sister of Dr. Bankole Bright, member of the Sierra Leone Legislative Council.

Among those present at the Rodger Club were Dr. Fraser, Principal of Achimota, and Mrs. Fraser; Miss Colbatch-Clarke, Headmistress of Achimota, who said that Miss Bright had proved herself a fine class teacher, and they were all sorry to lose her; Mr. A. Sawyerr, and Principal Roberts, of the Accra High School; together with many members of the school staffs in the vicinity. After the speeches, dancing concluded a happy send-off to this popular worker for education in West Africa.

The annual service for all connected with health work took place at Christ Church Cathedral, Lagos, on St. Luke's Day (October 18), when most of the members of the Association of African Medical Practitioners were present. A similar service was held for the first time in Abeokuta.

The first European wedding at Benin City took place on November 11; the parties being Mr. Wallace Nelson, Medical Officer, and Miss Claire Beatrice Geernaert. The Resident, Mr. G. B. Williams, gave away the bride and the best man was Mr. W. K. D. Mackay.

Letters to the Editor.

The Chameleon.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

SIR,—In your issue of August 6, Professor A. Werner related a fable about the chameleon and the lizard which, she said, did not seem to be known in West Africa, except by the Bulu tribe in the Cameroons.

I have endeavoured to make a collection of fables and superstitions about the chameleon known to the Kanuri in the Bornu Province of Nigeria. In the first place, I would assure Professor Werner that the fable she relates in detail is widely known, with minor variations, among the Kanuri, and my informants believed, though they could not be certain, that it was also known to the Hausas. The variations I have found are as follows:

(i) In one version the message given by God to the chameleon was that the dead man should be left for three days on a flat roof, after which he would become alive again. The lizard, however, overhead the instructions imperfectly, and, arriving before the chameleon, said that the dead man should be buried.

(ii) In another version, the true message was that the dead man should be buried, and water should be sprinkled over the grave. The lizard omitted to tell men about the water, so death came to the world.

Both these versions account for the peculiar "press ups" done by the lizard, by saying that in this way he shows his pride in having outwitted God.

The following superstitions and beliefs about the chameleon, related to me by Kanuri mallams, may be of interest:

(i) When the female is about to lay eggs, which is usually at the beginning of the dry season, the male digs a hole and buries the female alive, for he reasons: "If I die before you there will be no one to bury you, so I had better do so now while I am still alive." When the female has died, her skin bursts, releasing the eggs, which remain unhatched until the beginning of the next rainy season. If anyone is fortunate enough to see the male burying the female, he should cover the hole with a round piece of iron, and when the young chameleons are hatched, they will bore through it. He should then take the piece of iron to a blacksmith and asks him to forge it into an armlet; this will act as a sure charm when he is hunting, for it will give him the certain power of bringing down whatever he aims at.

(ii) The reason for the excessively slow progress of the chameleon is because in between each step he recites the "Ayatul Kursiyi" from the Quran.

(iii) If anyone shuts up a chameleon in a box and puts it in his bedroom, he will be unable to sleep, for the chameleon will keep him awake by mimicking the sounds of all the larger wild beasts.

(iv) The chameleon acquired its power of changing colour by winning a contest for eloquence open to all the other animals. The chameleon is still regarded by other animals as the most eloquent and fluent of speakers.—Your obedient servant,

R. E. ELLISON.

Maiduguri, Nigeria.
December 5.

Race Problem -1932

Africa

High Commissioner's Proclamations

12-14-32

Basutoland

COINAGE

A Proclamationg appears in the Official Gazette of the High Commissioner for South Africa of November 18th entitled the Basutoland Currency Proclamation 1932, dealing with coinage in Basutoland. Inter a ia the Proclamation declares the following coinage to be legal tender in Basutoland:-

In the case of gold coins, for payment of any amount.

In the case of silver coins, for payment of an amount not excceeding forty shillings, but for no greater amount.

In the case of bronze coins, for payment of an amount not exceeding one shilling, but for no geater amount.

A tender of a note issued by the South African Reserve Bank shall be legal tender in the territory to the amount expressed in such note so long as the said Bank shall continue on demand to pay notes in United Kingdom coins or Union coin of legal tender; but no tender of such note shall be a legal tender of payment by the Bank.

A coin shall be deemed to be not of current weight if it has become diminished in weight by wear or otherwise, and a coin shall be deemed to have been illegally dealt with where the coin has been impared, ightened, defaced, etc. Any coin which has been illegally dealt with or be ow the least current weight, or which has ceased to be legal tender in the Union Kingdom or in the Union of South Africa as the case may be, may be called in, cut, broken or defaced under authority of the High Commisoiner.

WITHDRAWAL OF BRITISH SILVER COINS

The Proclamation further states:-

All silver coins made at His Majesty's Royal Mint in England shall be withdrawn from circulation within the territory: Provided that notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in this Proclamation all such silver coins shall continue to be legal tender within the territory for the payment of an amount not exceeding forty shillings, but for no greater amount, **until, the fifteenth day of January, 1933 when all such silver coins made at His Majesty's Royal Mint in England shall cease to be legal tender within the territory.**

PAYMENT TO NATIVES

A further Proclamation published in the Official Gazette of the High Commissioner for South Africa of November 25th, 1932, cited as the Basutoland Currency (Payment to Natives) Proclamation 1932, provides that:- Any person who, after the taking effect of this Proclamation shall make any monetary payment to a Native except in the legal currency of the territory shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding twenty pounds, or in default of payment to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding six months and on a second or subsequent conviction shall be liable to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds, or in default of payment to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding twelve months or to such imprisonment without the option of a fine or to both such fine and such imprisonment.

In case of a conviction under this section the Court may in addition to any penalty imposed order the person convicted to pay to the Native concerned the amount of the monetary payment in legal currency of the territory after deduction of the amount if any which the Court may estimate to be the value of the coins or notes actually paid, and any order so made shall have the effect of and may be executed as a civil judgment of the Court.

LAND RIGHTS IN KENYA

The Pivot of Tribal Life

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian

Manchester Guardian

12-30-32

Sir,—May I draw the attention of your readers to the defective character of the reply of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Sir Robert Hamilton's questions on December 20, about the projected repeal of certain vital sections in the Native Land Trust Ordinance in Kenya Colony?

When this Ordinance was passed, during the regime of the last Governor, extravagant claims were made for the impregnable position which it would give to the rights of Africans to their lands. But by July of this year there had been a big influx of white miners into the Kakamega native reserve, empowered, under another Ordinance, to interfere in a wholesale manner with surface rights enjoyed till then by the tribesmen. Thus this conflicting law allowed the new-comers to use and divert water, dig trenches, sink shafts, cut down trees, take fuel, graze cattle, erect buildings, install machinery, and to employ salaried personnel to any number for their own industrial purposes.

Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister assured the House that the Chief Native Commissioner in Kenya had explained in simple language how the interests of the natives will be safeguarded, and that "the Governor had himself met the natives and explained matters to them. The visit of the Governor was on July 25, 1932. He met thousands of natives near the gold diggings and, (although Sir Philip no doubt has fuller reports of this meeting than we have) the upshot of the meeting is declared to have been that the natives were informed that the Government had no intention that they should be deprived of their land.

The Governor's Kavirondo hearers were apparently not impressed. One chief urged that the Governor should confirm his assurances by swearing according to African rites. The Governor, however, is reported as having declined to do so, assuring the natives that his word was sufficient.

Mr. Lunn asked in a supplementary question what was the opinion expressed by the natives to the Government. Sir Philip evaded this awkward one by answering that "the hon. member had completely misconceived the opinion of the natives." That is scarcely informative. Later he reiterated to Colonel Wedgwood that

> he had already stated that the Governor explained personally to the natives. . . . He was quite certain that nothing more could have been done by the Government, not only to let the natives know but to safeguard their interests.

This attack on the Kavirondo people to which Sir Philip has given his approval has been adroitly timed. It takes place on the edge of the Christmas vacation. To the accompaniment of great protestations of virtue, a scrap of paper is being torn up which Africans in their faith in the Home Government thought to be of value. The tenure of ancestral lands by agricultural tribes in Kenya is pivotally connected with the stability of their whole tribal life, with inheritance, with marriage, the training of the young, the seasonal activities, the leisure pursuits, the festivals, and the recreation of men and women, with rites at birth and death and with profound religious observances. To talk of meeting these requirements by settling natives where possible on other lands, or, failing that, by offering good and fair compensation, displays an ignorance of the complexities of Kavirondo land tenure and of African social structure so abysmal as to exonerate Sir Philip completely from a charge that might otherwise lie against him of callous disregard of the welfare of African subjects of the Crown in his charge.

If the royal assent is given to the projected amendments without opportunity being granted to the Houses of Parliament to hear the proposals in detail, Sir Philip will have secured his niche in the roll of fame as a Minister of the Crown who succeeded in convincing Africans, against their cherished beliefs, that the word of the British Government may mean less than nothing.—Yours, &c.,

WM. MCGREGOR ROSS.

24, Middleway, London, N.W. 11,
December 22.

Trading Methosd in Basutoland

The Comet
12-21-32

In our last issue our special correspondent, Rafufu, in his series of articles discussing Trading methods in Basutoland and his letter came to the notice of the trading community in this Territory some of whom consider the latter rather unfair to the traders as they think it does not discriminate between the good and the bad traders. As we had this in mind when the article was prepared we do not agree that the letter does not discriminate but, all the same we have, however, decided to write this further letter on the subject to obviate any such misunderstandings.

While it has been admitted that the methods complained of were practised in Basutoland in the past it has been pointed out that within recent years most traders have abandoned these methods as they did not pay and adopted modern methods of trading as will be seen in their stores. They have prices clearly on their goods etc. We believe these to be true as can be seen in the local stores and we were aware of the fact when we published the letter but our object was that each and all should improve their methods and we hope and trust every good trader in Basutoland will make up his mind to do so and keep up the good reputation of the Trading community in this Territory.

Co-operative Credit Societies

The Comet
12-21-32
Maseru

We reproduce hereunder a letter by Rev. Fr. B. Huss which appeared in the Uni-Africa of the 16th inst Fr. Huss is well-known to most Basuto as he made a lecture tour throughout the Territory a few years ago with the object of arousing the interest of the Basuto in the matter of Co-operation, but while his lectures were as instructive and educative in Basutoland as no doubt, they were in the Transkei they had hardly any results in Basutoland. We have not however given up hope. The seed has been sown. It may have fallen on dry ground but it will germinate and sprout when the favourable season came about and Basutoland will follow the lead of the Transkei:

"During the years 1929-31 I was repeatedly sent by the Government all over the Transkei and Pondoland to address meetings of Native men on the formation of Co-operative Credit Societies. By Transkei we understand the Native Territories on the other side or left side of the Great Kei River. Ciskei is the land on the right side of the Kei from East London up to the Drakensburg on the border of Basutoland.

As a result of my repeated lecture tours in the Transkei 40 Co-operative Credit Societies or People's Banks were formed within the last 6 years with 4,000 members and over £10,000 capital saved by the Natives and circulating among them

Stimulated by this success the Ciskeian Natives asked the Government repeatedly to send me round in their districts to address them also on the subject of co-operaton. Accordindly the Government arranged that I should tour the Ciskeian districts during November this year.

Between November 6-27 I addressed some 3,000 men in 21 meetings in the districts of East London, King Williams Town, Alice, Queenstown, Lady Free and Herschel (Basutoland border). The meetings were held at Courthouses or at the places of Chiefs lasted from 2 to 6 hours. The men showed a remarkable keenness for learning.

Besides the men I addressed some 1,800 Native scholars in the following institutions: Fort Cox Agricultural School, St. Mathews Training School (Anglican), Lovedale Institute (Presbyterian) and Healdtown Institute (Wesleyan)

About 800 men and women were also addressed in the town locations of East London, King Williams Town, Queenstown and Aliwal North.

Everywhere in town and country the people resolved to form Co-operative Thrift and Credit Societies and asked for my further advice and guidance.

BERNARD HUSS

South African Bantu Championships.

The Comet
12-21-32

ATHLETIC SPORTS

Maseru Basutoland

Basutoland in general and Maseru in particular is proud of the fine performances of a team of four boys, namely Mohau Montso, Ramathe Makhobalo Ernest Masia and Edwin Shata, sent to Johannesburg by the Government Intermediate School, Maseru, to participate in the South African Bantu Athletic Sports.

Mohau Montso who has already made a name as a fast runner in Basutoland easily won the South African Championship of a mile race by thirty yards. The team had specially gone for Relay Race where they distinguished themselves by winning by a vast margin of 220 yards, almost unbelievable and yet true.

There is no doubt after what he had done in the mile race Mohau could have taken all the long-distance races without much difficulty. He is such a wonderful chap, the more he runs the faster he becomes.

It is said that one of the one-time European champion runner who had been present and saw Mohau run, was so impressed that he stated that, given a good training Mohau would win the world championship for a mile.

Race Problem - 1932

Africa

Basutoland Council

The Court

Public Meetings

12-7-32

Manchester

Before the last session of the Basutoland Council orders were given by the Paramount Chief to the chiefs to hold public meetings in their respective wards for the purpose of ascertaining the views of the people before they came to the Council These orders were obeyed and such meetings were held by some chiefs but unfortunately it was not all the chiefs who held them as some received their orders very late to hold meetings and had to hurry to the Council where they gave excuses of their failure to hold meetings.

In his message to the Council His Excellency the High Commissioner advised and urged the chiefs to hold meetings before and after the session of the Council in order that they may bring with them the views and wishes of the people to be discussed in the Council and also to inform the people of the work of the Council. This advice from His Excellency became the subject of discussion by the chiefs and members and they were one and all in favour of the advice. Some members for fear that some chiefs might find some flimsy excuses for not holding meetings and thus deprive their people of the privilege of expressing their views suggested that the holding of meetings be enforced by law so that the defaulting chiefs might be subject to punishment. On this point the Council was divided. The Paramount Chief's representative in the Council however explained that in his orders the Paramount Chief had definitely stated that failure to carry out his orders would be punished and for that reason he did not see any need of a law.

This is certainly a great change in the history of the Basutoland Council and a step in the right direction. The people had always complained that the Council was not representative of the people but that it only represented the chiefs and watched over their interests. To-day a step has been taken towards achieving the aim and object of the Council. The people have been afforded an opportunity of voicing their views and feelings. Short notices were given to the chiefs to hold meetings People responded to the call not knowing what the meetings were for, but when they were asked to bring forward any matters they wished to be discussed in the Council motions came up by tens. During the last session nearly a hundred motions from the people came before the Council. How many more will be brought forward in the future sessions of the Council? The difficulty is whether these motions will always be brought up in the Council and the views of the people fully and clearly expressed by the chiefs. We are conscious of the fact that most of our chiefs are trustworthy but some of the motions they would be asked to bring forward would be in the nature of complaints against them and their courts and it is very rare that a man can have the courage of accusing himself however honest he may be. We know that it was stated in the Council from the P. C that those who would attempt to hold back motions from the people would be punished, and that is an assurance to the people that their interests were carefully watched.

The people are anxious that they should elect their own representatives in the Council and it had been clearly stated on previous occassions that the constitution of the Council could only be amended by a majority of the Council supporting the amendment Attempts have already been made to amend the constitution but they invariably ended in a failure. The holding of public pitso's will therefore be a solace to the people and we hope they would keep a look-out to see that their motions are fairly discussed in the Council and that if anything they bring up is favourable considered and a resolution passed they would press for the resolution to be carried out. The advent of public pitso's would no doubt dispel the excuses that have often been brought forward that complaints from certain political groups were not the peoples views but that they were the views of only a small section of the people.

NATIVE RIGHTS IN KENYA

Guardian

Manchester

England

British Policy of 1930 Repudiated

In 1930 the Native Lands Trust Ordinance was published in Kenya. It gave the natives important rights in respect of their lands. One provision was that if the Administration took away any of the lands belonging to the natives in the recognised Reserves it must provide an equivalent amount of land elsewhere. In the second place, if it was proposed to take any land away, due notice had to be given of the intention to the Native Lands Boards.

It is only two years since this Ordinance came into force. To-day, owing to the discovery of gold areas, the Kenya Administration is proposing to alter the 1930 Ordinance, which is the natives' charter. It will no longer be obligatory on the Administration to provide the dispossessed natives with alternative land, nor will it be necessary to notify the Native Lands Boards.

Under the circumstances, we think it will be useful to our readers if we reprint certain passages from the Memorandum which the British Government published with regard to native policy in Kenya in June, 1930. No one who reads the following passages is likely to remain in any doubt as to the character and the extent of the breach which the Kenya Administration, with the approval of the Colonial Office, are now making in our national policy of trusteeship on behalf of the natives.

We also print passages from the new bill to amend the Ordinance of 1930.

The subject is discussed in our leader columns.

Extracts from Official Memorandum

It is well at the outset to recall and quote the declaration of policy incorporated in the Kenya White Paper of July, 1923 (Cmd. 1922):—

Primarily Kenya is an African territory, and his Majesty's Government think it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if, and when, those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail. Obviously, the interests of the other communities, European, Indian, or Arab, must severally be safeguarded. Whatever the circumstances in which members of these communities have entered Kenya, there will be no drastic action or reversal of measures already introduced, such as may have been contemplated in some quarters, the result of which might be to destroy or impair the existing interests of those who have already settled in Kenya. But in the administration of Kenya his Majesty's Government regard themselves as exercising a trust on behalf of the African population, and they are unable to delegate or share this trust, the object of which may be defined as the protection and advancement of the native races. It is not necessary to attempt to elaborate this position; the lines of development are as yet in certain directions undetermined, and many difficult problems arise which require time for their solution. But there can be no room for doubt that it is the mission of Great Britain to work continuously for the training and education of the Africans towards a higher intellectual, moral, and economic level than that which they had reached when the Crown assumed the responsibility for the administration of this territory.

With the statement in the White Paper of 1923 in all its aspects and with all its implications . . . his Majesty's Government express their complete concurrence. They fully accept the principle that the relation of his Majesty's Government to the native populations in East Africa is one of trusteeship which cannot be devolved, and from which they cannot be relieved. The ultimate responsibility for the exercise of this trusteeship must accordingly rest with them alone.

Apart from the principle of trusteeship which has been discussed in the preceding paragraph, his Majesty's Government accept no less whole-heartedly the Duke of Devonshire's declaration in the White Paper of 1923 that the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if, and when, those interests

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Race Problem - 1932

Africa

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The Comet
Public Meetings
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r ten wet years, the greatest sequence or over 200 years in the British Isles, while in those ten years practically leven years' rainfall has been obtained.

There has been an excess of rainfall this ear in North-west England, the Isle of Man, Northern Ireland, and Central and Southern Scotland. At Liverpool the ainfall is nearly half an inch below verage, but on the coast of Lancashire he excess is from 1½ to 2½ inches. At skdalemuir the excess approaches 16in. n the other hand at Margate and righton there is a deficiency of about in., and at Plymouth of 7in. in the ainfall.

The driest parts of the British Isles re those bordering the Thames Estuary, outhend having had only just over 17in. f rainfall in the year, Margate 17.9in., nd Felixstowe 18.3in.—all of these being onsiderably below the average. The utstanding dry months of the year were ebruary, June, August, and December. ebruary was the driest on record for the ritish Isles since before 1870, while at eathwaite (Lake District) it was the riest since 1845. At Stronghurst it was he driest month on record since before 358 As a contrast, May was the wettest n England and Wales for over 160 years.

The dull summer was relieved by the xceptional heat of mid-August, when reenwich reached 99 degrees on August), a figure exceeded only on August 9, 911, in its ninety years' records, and any other towns exceeded 90 degrees. he night of August 19-20 gave the highest ight minimum temperature on record or the British Isles, Lympne recording 3 degrees.

A LONG PROCESS OF RECOVERY

Mr. T. D. Barlow, president of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, oncludes his new year statement as ollows:—

Some progress has been made in the evelopment of new industries in Lancaire, but the general disturbance of nancial conditions and the uncertainty the future have inevitably resulted in reluctance to embark on new enterrises. Given any return to normality, here is without question great scope for he manufacture of many commodities or which a ready market exists, and no art of Great Britain is so well adapted or their production as Lancashire.

If it be said that this brief survey of ertain of the salient events of the last ear is not very cheerful, and if the rogress towards normal conditions ppears to be at times disheartening ow, let it be remembered that not only ust the recuperation of the world fter a devastating event like the war be f necessity a prolonged process, but hat we have in addition had to contend ith an increased power of productivity hich is at present inadequately bsorbed. There are in the history of ankind periods of quiescence and eriods of flux. It is our fate to be born one of the latter.

But the problems before us have been reated by man, and he who propounds he problem can discover also its soluon. It is not nature or science which as failed us but human organisation, d world problems require for their fective control not national but interational remedies.

population, it must not be lessened. Other land, therefore, of superficial extent equal to that to be compulsorily expropriated, and thus, in effect, abstracted from the area of the Native Reserves, must in every case be obtained from the areas not previously allocated to the natives, and, where practicable, placed freely at the disposal of the persons or the tribe to be extruded from their accustomed territories.

The bill by which the Administration of Kenya is seeking to destroy the undertakings given to the natives in the Ordinance of 1930 contains these clauses:—

2, Section 15 of the Principal Ordinance is hereby amended by the . . addition of the following sub-section as subsection (4):—

"4. Land may be excluded temporarily from a native reserve under this section for the purpose of granting a lease for the development of the mineral resources of the Colony, and in such cases it shall not be obligatory on the Governor during the period of the currency of such lease or of any renewals thereof to add to such native reserve any land as is provided under subsection (2) of this section: Provided that at the final expiration of the currency of such lease, the land so excluded shall revert to the native reserve concerned: Provided further that no such land shall be excluded from such native reserve unless compensation shall have been paid in money to the local native fund concerned entitled thereto, or, where there is no local trust fund, to the natives' trust fund: And provided also that the amount of compensation to be paid under this subsection shall be not less than such sum as would be payable if the land to be excluded were private land situated outside the boundaries of a native reserve and the owner were transferring such land to the Governor in full ownership.

"Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in subsection (1) of this section where land is excluded from a native reserve under this subsection it shall not be necessary for the Central Board to bring the proposed exclusion to the notice of the Local Native Council or of the natives concerned."

The object of this bill is to amend the Principal Ordinance so as to provide that where land is excised from a native reserve with a view to the granting of a lease for the purpose of working Crown minerals, a temporary excision may be made, the compensation being (in view of the temporary nature of the excision) paid in money instead of in the form of an addition of land to the reserve. The amount of compensation to be paid will be not less than that payable in similar circumstances to any holder of private land outside the reserve

This measure is of a temporary character, and the whole question of leases of land in a native reserve will be subject to review when the report of the Land Commission has been published.

A Series of Articles on Topics of Interest to the Basuto

by 'RAFUFU'

Trading Methods in Basutoland

"What a lot of parcels!"

The post car was full to over flowing. Most of them were badly packed showing clearly what they contained — rugs high heeled shoes, silk shawls I had a glimpse of them all. The driver, a kindly man, told me of the great increase in the Mail Order trade.

Of course some of these parcels were from husbands and sons working in the mines However the mojority were the result of orders sent through the post. What is wrong with the shops in Basutoland?

Why do the Basuto send away to buy in Bloemfontein, Johannesburg and Durban? Many of the shops in Basutoland carry on the old fashioned methods of trading. The goods for sale have not a fixed price but vary according to the amount of money in the purse of the customer An absurdly high price is both touted and "paid" (on paper) at the scale by some traders for wool and grain. Alas however on entering the shop with his paper our Mosuto finds everything put up to a higher price for him. Eventually after much argument about the price he reluctantly buys his goods.

The shop assistant obeying their instructions "eat him up." Often he is charged double the usual cash price.

A few months later our friend may have a few pounds cash to spend He remembers how dear everything cost at the local traders store and he promptly sends his money away in orders to Johannesburg or Durban.

On entering a shop we Basuto want to see the price clearly marked on all goods. The white people's shops in Bloemfontein and Johannesburg show prices marked. Is it because we are being cheated that some traders in Basutoland will not price their goods?

Ugly stories of false scals and weights and faked ready reckoners are not without foundation. "Traders in Basutoland wake up!" "Give a square deal!" Or one fine morning you will wake up too late and find your business has gone to the Union

Financial Liability of Native Chiefs

Reuter summarizes as below the regulations which have been made and published in *The Government Gazette* of 18th. November for governing the financial liabilities of Native chiefs. The notice states that certain Native chiefs lack adequate appreciation of financial reponsibility and are apt to incur pecuniary liabilities and obligations beyond their means and capacity to pay; that the institution of legal proceedings against such chiefs for payment of debts so incurred is likely to result in the levy of execution against their personal property under an order of court or in pressure upon tribes to liquidate such debts, and that a levy of execution against a chief is derogatory and prejudicial to the status and dignity of his position, and may moreover be strongly resented and even resisted with violence by his adherents and followers. It is desirable, therefore, in the interests of good and efficient tribal administration and in furtherance of peace and good government to set forth conditions under which they may incur debts. The conditions are that no Native chief may purchase on credit any asset the purchase price or unpaid balance of which exceeds £10 or incur any other contractual liability for such amount unless the transaction is set forth in writing containing full details and the manner and conditions of payment and rate of interest if any. The Native commissioner of the district shall explain the nature of the transaction to the chief, and the latter may then sign or place his mark upon the document. The commissioner must give his consent to the transaction before it becomes valid. Any transaction of the kind referred to will be of no value unless these regulations are carried out.

Race Problem - 1932

Africa

WEST AFRICA IN OFFENCE AND DEFENCE.

West Africa

HOW THE R.W.A.F.F. CAME INTO EXISTENCE.

[From A Correspondent.]

The story of the military forces of West Africa is interesting. In the earliest days a few places, like Bathurst, possessed small garrisons sent out from Britain, and the civil residents were organised into militia, for defence in local raids. Early in the 19th century the Royal African Corps was formed, Europeans being enlisted on physique rather than morals but its health was so bad in Sierra Leone in 18 months to December, 1809, 43 men died out of 109) that it was withdrawn by 1830. The West India Regiment, first stationed in West Africa in 1812, defended the Coast until 1896, when the Bai Bureh War in Sierra Leone showed the need of local troops. The W.I.R. itself had attempted to recruit Hausas in Lagos as long ago as 1864, but the obligation of foreign service was unpopular. Of other corps, neither European nor African, to serve on the Coast, the chief have been the detachment of the Central African Rifles used in Ashanti and elsewhere in 1900, the Sikhs, also used in Ashanti, and the 5th Light Infantry, Indians who, at their own request, were sent to the Cameroon and effectually wiped out the stain caused by the mutiny of part of the battalion at Singapore.

The West African Regiment.

The only corps in Africa, with the exception of small sections of artillery, engineers, and departmental corps in Freetown, to be administered by the War Office was the West African Regiment, formed in 1896 and recruited chiefly from Mendes and Temnes, which had as its march-past "Rule Britannia" with its apposite anti-slavery refrain. It was disbanded in 1928, when the Home Government realised that Colonial Office troops might safely be entrusted with the defence of the Sierra Leone refuelling station. Of the other forces of Sierra Leone the militia continued until 1862, but the S.L. Police were raised in 1829, and became in 1890 the S.L. Frontier Police, and in 1901 the Sierra Leone Battalion, with war services that included the Tambi Expedition, 1892, Sofa Raids, 1893-4, Gambia Expedition, 1894, Hut Tax Rebellion, 1898-9, Ashanti, 1900-1, and Togo and Cameroon, 1914-6. A curious custom of the Battalion, typical of the loyalty and piety of Sierra Leone, is that the National Anthem and Lord's Prayer are repeated nightly at regimental headquarters. The estimates for the current year show the cost of the Battalion to be £35,394, while another £2,459 are provided for the maintenance of forts.

In the Gold Coast the first local troops appear to be the Gold Coast Corps, raised in 1852 as artillery, and chiefly recruited from men from the Northern Territories. Renamed the G.C. Artillery Corps, this was disbanded in 1863 when the W.I. Regiment returned, and the present G.C. Regiment owes its origin to the Hausa force raised in Lagos (then a dependency of the Colony) by Capt. Glover in 1865, and strengthened for service in Ashanti in 1873. In 1879 the remains of this formed the nucleus of the G.C. Constabulary, with the following campaigns to its credit: Tengi, 1885; Jebju, 1892; Ashanti, 1895-6; Northern Territories, 1897-8, and Atabubu and Ashanti, 1900, the year in which the Constabulary became the G.C. Regiment W.A.F.F. It then consisted of two battalions, one of which was disbanded in 1907, many of the men joining the new Northern Territories Constabulary. Volunteer forces and levies have existed since the time of the 1873 Ashanti campaign, and these have now been consolidated in a Territorial Force, with a Defence Force of Europeans acting as a reserve of officers. The total cost of the Regiment for the present year is expected to be £89,288, with another £5,330 for local forces.

Parent of the R.W.A.F.F.

The Northern Nigeria Regiment, the parent of the R.W.A.F.F. of 1900, started as the Royal Niger Constabulary, replacing irregular police, just as, in Lagos, the Hausa "Forty Thieves" of 1863 gradually became the Lagos Hausa Constabulary of 1865. The N.N.R. did good work at Aro, 1902, Kano and Sokoto, 1903, and again in Sokoto in 1906. The Niger Coast Protectorate Force, raised in 1891, consisted chiefly of Yorubas, and fought in such expeditions as those against Benin and Brass, becoming in 1901 the 1st S. Nigeria Regiment, while the Lagos Constabulary became the 2nd Battalion. United in one battalion in 1911, the two became separate again three years later as the 3rd and 4th Nigeria Bns. Regiment, while a Mounted Infantry Company had been added in 1903. In addition, there were two batteries of artillery and a reserve of officers, the whole estimated to cost £33,577 for the regular troops and £695 for the reserves.

Besides the above troops, the Coast boasts another small unit in the Gambia Co., raised in 1901, and expected this year to cost £9,900. This body, in common with all the West African troops, greatly distinguished itself in the Great War. Distinction, however, has become a tradition, and the West African troops in Ashanti and Northern Nigeria won mentions in the King's speeches to Parliament as long ago as 1901 and 1903, while in 1922 the various regiments received colours, and in 1928 the W.A.F.F. received the distinction of becoming a "Royal" force.

West Africans in the Great War.

Of its achievements in the Great War, and of the cheery heroism of West African carriers, Marine Department men, and Inland Water Transport members in Togoland, the Cameroon, East Africa, and Mesopotamia, it is impossible to say much here, save that they are great. At Duala, in the Cameroon, the Force became amphibious, at Nsanakang a small body surrounded in an almost untenable position showed that they could defend themselves to the last, while at Garua and Banyo Mountain West Africans in attack showed themselves capable of sustained effort. In East Africa, similar fine qualities were shown at Behobehi, Chini and Mahiwa in defence, while in attack Nyangao and Mkwera offer outstand examples, and the stay in the Rufiji area, the country of the "great hunger," showed what troops could stand when almost cut off from supplies by floods. If one were to mention individual cases, it would be hard to know when to stop. In remembering such stout soldiers as C.S.M. Belo Akure, with his D.C.M. and clasp, and his M.M., and C.S.M. Sumanu, with a D.C.M. and two clasps, one must not forget the educated members of the Gold Coast Volunteers who served in the ranks,—no small ordeal in itself, as local views go,—the rulers who presented aeroplanes, and the people who in subscribing to them yet found money for Red Cross Funds and for many other purposes connected with the War. And this was not done in a mere rush of enthusiasm but went on right through the War,—long after the returning stream of wounded soldiers and worn-out carriers brought proof of the harsh realities of the time. Granted that the fulfilment of the task showed high qualities of European leadership, both civil and military, the successful maintenance of the whole war machine in West Africa has afforded another proof of African adaptability to modern conditions, to say nothing of African courage and endurance in times of stress.

J. R.

WHERE WEST AFRICA'S FORTUNES ARE MOULDED.

West Africa

9-1-1932

LIFE AND WORK ON THE NEW YORK COCOA EXCHANGE.

[By An Ex-Coaster.]

On a side street in the New York financial district, housed in modest premises consisting of one large room and a few small offices, there is an institution that probably exercises more direct, tangible influence on practically everyone, European and African, in West Africa or connected with its trade than any other institution. Therefore, a knowledge of the workings and some details about the personalities who make up the New York Cocoa Exchange should be of interest to readers of West Africa.

Founded as recently as the latter part of 1925, the Exchange has grown so that in the year ending September 30, 1929, the trading embraced contracts totalling 1,464,390,000 lbs. or considerably more than the world's estimated production and also considerably more than the combined volume of business of all other cocoa markets in the world.

Trading is in lots of 30,000 lbs., for delivery during a specified month, from a licensed warehouse at New York, under certain rules and conditions. The price quoted represents Accra fair fermented, superior Bahia, and San Thomé, but the seller has the right to deliver cocoa of any other origin and grade at certain fixed discounts and premiums (laid down in the rules), supposed to be more or less in line with the differentials actually prevailing in the cocoa markets outside. In practice, of course, the greater part of the cocoa sold on the Exchange is never delivered, as the contracts are used as "hedges," and ultimately bought in, but while during the first year's trading some 2½ per cent. of the contracts resulted in actual deliveries of cocoa, in the year 1928/9 the figure was well over 8 per cent.

The purpose of the exchange is to provide a continuous market at all times for cocoas, in any position from spot to delivery 12 months ahead. A manufacturer or dealer who foresees that he will need cocoa six months from now, and possibly wants to close a contract for his manufactured product at a specified price, may not be able to-day to buy the grade of cocoa beans he requires, at a suitable price and in a suitable shipping position. He, therefore, buys the quantity he requires, on the Exchange. Of course, he does not wait to take delivery there, as he may not get the grade he wants, but when he has a good opportunity to buy just what he wants from a dealer or importer, he uses it, and sells out his Exchange contracts. Price fluctuations in the interval will not have affected him much, as the prices on the Exchange and of "actuals" move more or less together, and what he loses on the one he makes on the other. The importer here and the shipper on the Coast, or in Trinidad, Brazil, Santo Domingo, etc., reverse the process, and sell on the Exchange as they buy in the

country of origin. When they find a good chance to place their cocoas, in America, in England, on the Continent, they do so, and buy in, their Exchange contracts having all the while been protected against fluctuations, and if no such chance occurs, they can ship to New York and deliver the cocoa under the Exchange rules at their contract prices. There are, of course, many technicalities, such as provisions for grading, small premiums and discounts according to percentage of defects, etc., but these are the general principles of cocoa Exchange trading. As on all such Exchanges, in addition to the legitimate dealers in cocoa beans there are speculators who try to "scalp" profits on fluctuations, many of whom never buy or sell actual cocoas but deal in paper contracts; but this does not affect the fundamental purpose for which the Exchange exists.

The physical equipment of this institution is extremely modest. The trading floor is in a fairly large, irregularly-shaped room, with a small entrance lobby giving on to the street. Along one wall there is a large blackboard, covering it, on which the trading, the bid, and asked prices are recorded, as well as cabled information from other parts of the world, as to markets, crops, shipments, and so forth. There are a dozen or so of chairs, and the walls are lined with telephone booths, each bearing the name of some member-firm and containing a private wire to their offices. In one corner is a rostrum, and below it a circular, waist-high brass rail, perhaps 10 or 12 feet in diameter. Outside this stand some 20 camp stools, outside again there is a small platform, running around, some two foot wide and a few inches above the floor, and outside this platform, lastly, a white band is marked, in a circle, on the floor. In theory, all trading has to take place inside this white "ring," and all smoking outside it. Upstairs there is the secretary's office and the "clearing house" office, where people who appear to understand them sort out the complexities of the day's trading, and tabulate who owes what to them; all settlements are made through this clearing-house.

Trading is, of course, done only by members, acting for themselves or for their customers. They sit in various places, gossip, and wander in and out of the "ring" most of the time. At active times they crowd into the ring, sitting on the stools and standing on the platform and shouting bids and offers at each other simultaneously until it sounds like a quarrel among highly-excited men; at such times much business is lost by the men with the weaker voices. At other times, the trading will die down to lazy, casual remarks, made in and out of the ring by apparently bored traders.

Among the most noticeable people on the floor is a cheerful, excitable man, who is there all day, every day, active all the time and looks about 19 years old. He is a "floor broker," that is, he executes orders on a small commission of two dollars (8s. 4d.) per lot for other brokers, who cannot spend all their time on the Exchange. He is watched pretty closely, as he often acts for important interests, although one cannot tell when.

Equally active is a small, dark man, both dealer and floor broker, continuously in and out of his telephone booth, making bids or offers every minute, buying and selling any position where he can "scalp" a few points profit.

In contrast to him, and nearly always present, there is the floor member of a prominent dealer, tall, pink, Germanic, wandering in and out of the ring, calling "How's Sep?" meaning "at what price are there sellers for September delivery?" "46 for five Dec" meaning that he will pay seven dollars 46 cents for five lots of cocoa for December delivery, "May at 98" meaning that he will sell for May delivery at seven dollars 98 cents per 100 lbs.," and similar cryptic phrases, which are answered in kind.

Then there is a scholarly-looking man with glasses, usually sitting quietly but occasionally erupting into activity on a considerable scale, who usually acts for the big brokers and commission houses with European connections, and who also acts for the "pool" on occasion.

Watched, perhaps, more than anyone else is the floor member of a firm of dealers who usually acts for one of the biggest manufacturers, and probably does more trading than anyone else. An elderly, grey haired, somewhat wizened man, liable to get excited, with a voice suitable for dealing here; he can and does often move the whole market, up or down, and smaller dealers and speculators follow what he does. On occasion he is accompanied by a man not unlike an old-time London cabby in appearance, whom he tutors: the Exchange member of the manufacturers whom he acts for.

Every institution has its court jester, and the Cocoa Exchange is provided with one in a broker in appearance rather like "Mr. Punch," addressed universally by his first name, making jokes continually, usually optimistic about the market when everyone else is otherwise, and on occasion getting fined by the Business Conduct Committee for his remarks.

Of course there are many others, such as the broker who barks instead of shouting his bids and offers; the travelled, aristocratic-looking dealer, who chews gum; the red-headed floor broker who "scalps" short, quick profits; the Exchange's fattest member, its handsomest member, and so on.

It is a little difficult to take the place seriously; with its long intervals of apparent inaction, its frequent surface levity, its sudden periods of apparently ill-tempered, violent activity, it rather gives the superficial impression of a collection of slightly irresponsible adolescents, playing at business. Nevertheless there are brains, shrewdness, knowledge, experience, substance there. The actions, even the whims of these men affect to a great extent the return the African farmer will get for his crop, and so his purchasing power: thus in turn the revenues of the Colonies, the profits of the trading firms, the salaries and bonuses of their employees, the shipping companies and the manufacturers of goods for the West African market or of goods made from West African produce; or in sum, in addition to whom others, practically every one in or connected with West Africa.

THE LEAGUE OF COLOURED PEOPLES.

On Saturday afternoon the League of Coloured Peoples and their friends enjoyed an at home and garden party at the pleasant home of Mr. and Mrs. R. S. Nehra, Herne Hill. There was a good muster, representing many countries and the guests included Sir Samuel Wilson, Permanent Under Secretary for the Colonies, and Lady Wilson; Lord Snell, Dr. T. Drummond Shiels, Sir Sunder Lal, Chief Justice of the Punjab, Mr. W. E. G. Sekyi, Gold Coast, and others.

Sir Samuel Wilson, introduced by Dr. Harold Moody, President of the League, said the Colonial Office was ever ready to do what it could for the people of all races who came to this country, and for those who lived in their own territories. The Colonial Office spent its money, not on officials' salaries, as some people thought, but on social service, promoting the welfare of the people. He wholly approved of the League and was glad to have been its guest. Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, Secretary of State for the Colonies, would have been present but for his absence at Ottawa.

Lord Snell, speaking of the solidarity of the Empire and the sense of common citizenship, dwelt on the importance of promoting real friendship between the races.

Dr. T. Drummond Shiels said he would echo the words of Sir Samuel Wilson. He was delighted to meet the League. The importance of the human side in government could not be exaggerated. To neglect it was to court disaster. He believed that the great bulk of the British public were free from race snobbery. One must not be misled by the attitude of a few. If civilisation were to survive friendliness between races was essential. He would quote Scotland's national bard, who sang of the time:—

"When man to man the warld ower,
Shall brithers be, for a' that!"

That was the ideal to work for. Whatever the colour of the various races within the Empire, they included millions of "White" men and women in the normal and spiritual sense and that was what mattered. (Applause.)

Dr. Moody announced there would be tea and tennis at Herne Hill on the first Saturday of August and September, and at his own house on the third Wednesday in these months.—*West Africa*, July 30, 1932.

Native Unemployment

We publish herewith a resolution of the General Missionary Conference of South Africa, held in Pretoria from the 27th to the 30th June, 1932 on the above subject. The resolution draws the attention of the Union Government to the unemployment of Natives of the Union and urges the Government to take active measures to relieve the sufferings of the Native population. As the same economic distress exists among the Basuto we hope the Basutoland Administration will consider what steps to take to help the Basuto:

Race Problem-1932

Africa.

BISHOP OLUWOLE.

Four weeks since WEST AFRICA paid tribute to the work and worth of Bishop Oluwoie, on the occasion of his retirement. To-day comes the sad duty of recording his decease.

West Africa

The Bishop of Lagos, in a letter to his diocesan magazine, quotes and endorses a statement to the effect that Bishop Oluwole's "influence in promoting good-feeling and co-operation between the European and African races" was as great as, if not greater than, that of Professor Aggrey. He adds:—

"I should like to give one or two instances of the good Bishop's unfailing tact in dealing with Europeans. It is not very easy to preach acceptably to the mixed kind of congregation one gets on board ship. I was travelling at one time with Bishop Oluwole and suggested to the Captain that he should be asked to preached at the morning service. The [Captain] as well as some of the passengers expressed doubt as to the wisdom of the experiment, but I reassured them for I knew my man, and many were the [subsequent] expressions of pleasure and surprise that an African could preach so straightly and acceptably to a congregation, the majority of whom were Europeans from the Coast. In the same way on occasions his ministry has been appreciated at the Colonial Church in Lagos. I have in my possession the sermon which he preached at the official service in Lagos on the day of National Prayer commanded by his Majesty the King on January 6, 1918. The sermon so pleased the Governor-General, Sir Frederick Lugard, that he had it printed at the Government Press and a copy sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies and widely distributed out here."

7-30-32

Bishop Melville Jones goes on to quote one characteristic paragraph from that sermon as follows:—

"But the main thing is this, and in saying it I have no doubt whatever but that I am voicing the feelings of all the African subjects of his Majesty. We are members of the British Empire, not by constraint but willingly. We know what a great privilege it is to be such. We know what blessings we enjoy, and we pray and will continue to pray never to lose them."

London

To the good Bishop and his partner were born one son and five daughters, all of whom are worthily maintaining the traditions of their noble heritage. Two of the daughters have gained high esteem in the Educational life of Lagos. One has preceded her father to the life beyond. To all the bereaved family WEST AFRICA proffers respectful sympathy. J. D.

In the first week of 1930 I mounted the steps in the angle of his house and went along the matted verandah to his room. Mrs. Oluwole said he was well in himself, but his feet kept him much a prisoner. She gave me pictures to look at whilst she went to see if I could see him. But as she turned, his voice was heard, and a moment after I was looking once again into that beaming smile and being gripped by those firm, warm hands. And what a spate of talk followed when he had shuffled to his chair and been made comfortable!

He talked as he lived, emphatically, kindly, wisely. He was vitality personified, vitality chained by that irksome foot disease, yet refusing to acknowledge bodily limitations. He was ageless, and without boundaries of race.

Now he was inquiring the health of his many friends in England, now passing shrewd comments upon the Sierra Leoneans—amongst whom he had been educated and with whom he had worked long years, now remembering the many gone and the few left, now speaking of Lagos and its cathedral and its work and its people and its mighty need for the Only One whose blessing carries with it no sorrow.

He had been making notes of Samuel Adjai Crowther and the early Western Equatorial work. These his wife must find and bring, and when they were in his hands he looked at them like mother on babe. 'What hath the Lord wrought!" he exclaimed, looking from notes to photograph of the Prince of Wales amongst the Lagosian clergy, and holding out an age-stained sketch of the first local church building. "We have nearly two hundred thousand communicants, and an income that averages annually nearly ten shillings per head!"

"So-and-So" (he mentioned the name of a church dignitary known to both of us) "came in the other day and said his work, he thought, was done."

"His work done!" shouted the old man, hastily getting on his bandaged feet and in sheer excitement forgetting the pain the action caused him. "His work done!" he exclaimed again, in that powerful voice known and loved so long. "No one can say that! You can make a motor and finish it, or a house, but you cannot end *our* work! It is endless, like *His* grace, for we work for the souls of men and for eternity!"

And, stumping round that room so full of records of his past triumphs, he told me of some of the plans he had in his heart—when those foolish limbs would permit—for his Church and his people. "Take these notes," he said, when the moment for leave-taking had come. "Put them into shape and send me the proofs quickly. And don't alter the title, whatever else you change!"

They are before me now, screeds and notes, chapters and paragraphs, written and typed, sermons, addresses, biographies, all kindling with vigour of intellect and of spirit, flames and sparks from the fire no longer burning here, the fire that has become a new glow in Oluwole's new sphere of influence, where his greater enthronement has been accomplished. And the title he wrote is, "An African Pentecost."

GOLD COAST LETTER.

THE NEW SCRIPT.

After taking due time to consider the matter, the Akan Language Association, of Accra, has issued a definite list of objections to the new script that is still in course of being introduced into the Gold Coast. The Association points out that no nation writes absolutely phonetically, nor is it necessary, except, perhaps, to infants. Special scripts have long since been adopted by phoneticians in Europe, but no one has ever supposed that they would come into regular use, and since Africans for some generations to come are likely to have to go to European tongues for their principal stores of literature, the Association thinks that their alphabet should be as like that of Europe as possible, more especially since people with special alphabets of their own,—Russia, Greece, and Germany,—are adopting the more usual Roman characters. The final argument against the new script is that it possesses no suitable cursive characters, and is consequently difficult to write rapidly. It is suggested that further Government consideration be given to the matter before more textbooks are produced, as it is useless going to the expense of special type if the result is to produce books helpful only to foreigners.

The Railway Revenue Committee.

The report of the Gold Coast Railway Revenue Committee does little to help the cause of the line against motor competition, and there is much to be said for the minority report signed by the Solicitor-General, advocating an independent enquiry by outside individuals with experience of other railways in Africa. One or two members of the committee were disposed to accuse the railway of lack of enterprise, but the main reports agree that the principal difficulty is caused by motor competition, which is the more severe since the industry has not contributed its full share toward the cost of construction and of maintenance of the roads. It is proposed that this be corrected by increases in the cost of licences, but not by raising the import duties on vehicles and petrol, nor by road tolls, and that the traffic on certain routes be limited to the light luggage of car-passengers, the whole question being under the control of a Motor Transport Board. Among its subjects of enquiry, the committee was asked for an opinion regarding the future of the Central Province ports, Cape Coast and Saltpond, and came to the conclusion that their non-closure had justified itself, and that they should go on as at present, but that in respect of the services offered by Accra harbour dues should be charged.

No Levy on Salaries at Accra.

It is good to find that someone is not suffering from depression! Asked by the Government to make a levy upon the emoluments of its servants, the Accra Municipal Council has decided that such a course is unnecessary, for the body is not faced with the financial stringency that was the sole reason given by the Government for its cuts in regard to the Civil Service, nor were its officials enjoying the privileges of Government servants. Apart from these considerations, there was a doubt as to whether the Council had power to touch the salaries of the Europeans engaged through the Crown Agents, for in the case of the Government itself a special ordinance had been found necessary. The claim to comparatively easy financial circumstances made by the Council is borne out superficially by the estimates for the coming year, for the grant-in-aid from general revenue is expected to be only £970, apart from the usual refund of customs duties on municipal stores. On the other hand, the town pays nothing for water beyond £2,000 for municipal supplies, and some £55 for wages, so that conditions are perhaps less happy than would at first appear.

Nana Annor Adjaye.

The deposition of Nana Annor Adjaye, Omanhene of Western Nzima, which has recently been approved by the Governor of the Gold Coast, comes as a shock to many, for he was a promising member of the modern educated progressive class of ruler. Possibly he is a little too modern, for his charge has been a difficult one, as may be gathered from the historical notes on his people by Mr. Welman, and from his own book on Nzimaland. His election as Omanhene took place in 1920, and eight years later the Western Provincial Council chose him as its representative on the Legislative Council, in which assembly his questions gave evidence of a wide and informed interest in the affairs of the country.

Fruit from the Gold Coast.

Mr. G. N. Alema, who has shown himself so active in the practical promotion of agriculture in the Gold Coast, made a first shipment of pawpaws to the United Kingdom at the end of June, being assisted by the hearty co-operation of Mr. T. Whitfield, of Elder Dempster and Co. Ltd., who allowed the free carriage of 70 crates of fruit, and by exemption from harbour dues at Takoradi. Mr. Alema, who, it will be remembered, obtained his B.Sc. (Agric.) in England two or three years ago, has done much by example, as well as by exhortation, to encourage new efforts in farming, and at present he is manager of the West African Fresh Food Supplies, Ltd. Everyone will wish him success in his venture.

Railway Sense of Proportion.

The Accra magistrate showed a better sense of proportion than did the Gold Coast Railway when, in binding over an African fitter accused of using for another woman a free pass granted for himself and his wife, he said that the matter should have been handled departmentally. It appears that the fitter, who had 19 years' good service to his credit, had received his first free pass, and since his wife had been unable to travel with him he had seen no harm in allowing another traveller to benefit by her share in his pass, for no money changed hands. Had the "crime" formed one of a series committed by this worker there might have been reason to take a serious view of it, but in the circumstances it should never have been allowed to waste the time of the court.

Race Problem-1934

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The deposition of Nana Annor Adjaye, Omanhene of the Gold Coast. writes abso- lutely phonetically, nor is it necessary, except, per- haps, for the Governor of the Gold Coast, comes as a shock to the good Bishop and his partner were born one definite list of objections to the new script is that it is not definitely still in course of being introduced into the Akan Language Association, of Accra, has issued a script that is

Omanhene, Omanhene Adjaye, has recently been approved by the Government of Western Nzima, which has recently been approved by the Government of Western Nzima, which has

They are before me now, screeds and notes, sermons, ad- dresses, biographies, all kindling with vigour of intel- lect and of spirit, flames and sparks from which limbs would become a new fire no out superficially by the estimates for the coming year. Take these notes, chapters gaged through the Crown Agents, for in the case of ave-taking vice, nor were its officials enjoying the privileges of d st ld me the Government servants. Apart from these considera- title, whatever tions, there was a doubt as to whether the Council had power to touch the salaries of the Europeans en- upon the emoluments of its servants, the Accra Muni- cipal Council has decided that such a course is un- necessary, for the body is not faced with the financial stringency that was the sole reason given by the Government for its cuts in regard to the Civil Ser- vice for its cuts in regard to the privileges of Government servants. Apart from these considera- tions duties on municipal stores. On the other hand, the town pays nothing for water beyond £2,000 for municipal supplies, and some £55 for wages, so that

Fruit from the Gold Coast.

It is suggested that further Government consideration be given to the practical promotion of agriculture in the Gold Coast, as it is in the case of pawpaws to the Coast, made a first shipment of pawpaws to the United Kingdom at the end of June, being assisted by the hearty co-operation of Mr. T. Whitfield, of Elder Dempster and Co. Ltd., who allowed the free carriage of 70 crates of fruit, and by exemption from harbour dues at Takoradi. Mr. Alema, who, it will be remembered, obtained his B.Sc. (Agric.) in England two or three years ago, has done much by example, as well as by exhortation, to encourage new efforts in farming, and at present he is manager of the West African Fresh Food Supplies, Ltd. Everyone will wish him success in his new venture.

Railway Sense of Proportion.

The Accra magistrate showed a better sense of proportion than did the Gold Coast Railway when, in binding over an African fitter accused of using for another woman a free pass granted for himself and his wife, he said that the matter should have been handled departmentally. It appears that the fitter, who had 19 years' good service to his credit, had received his first free pass, and since his wife had been unable to travel with him he had seen no harm in allowing another traveller to benefit by her share in his pass, for no money changed hands. Had the "crime" formed one of a series committed by this worker there might have been reason to take a serious view of it, but in the circumstances it should never have been allowed to waste the time of the court.

NIGERIA LETTER.

PRIVATE DOCTORS IN THE DEPENDENCY.

The tendency of the private medical practitioner to confine his activities to one or two old-established Nigerian centres often draws criticism from visitors, parliamentary or otherwise, to West Africa, but from a letter by Dr. S. P. James in the "Nigerian Daily Times" it appears that lack of enterprise is by no means the only obstacle to the extension of medical services in the provinces. While he has at times met with administrative officers who have given him every assistance in making the best use of his time, Dr. James says that on the other hand he often finds himself regarded as a charlatan, poaching on the preserves of another, that other being sometimes a W.A.M.S. man and sometimes even a medical missionary. Official disapproval, apparently, does not always stop at grudging him a welcome, for he complains of misrepresentation of his qualifications to possible patients, and of the sudden dispersal of those who had started to receive his treatment. There is, of course, another side to this,—the remuneration asked might be disproportionate to the services rendered, or the treatment started by a travelling doctor may prove wasted unless it can be kept up,—but the need of medical services is everywhere such that no one with the interest of the people at heart would seek to prevent them from obtaining any alleviation of physical distress that might be possible.

Petty Trading in Lagos.

The first step towards the improvement of marketing and petty trading conditions has been taken in the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry of which the unofficial members are Mrs. Obasa, Dr. Sapara and Messrs. T. A. Doherty, A. S. W. Shackleford, P. J. C. Thomas, and L. D. Street. The terms of reference are comprehensive, and the committee is wisely moving slowly, and sparing no pains to draw confidences from all interested. The lines of inquiry opened up are wide, and include the conditions in which food is exposed in markets and elsewhere, the rights which traders consider they have established in certain sites, and, more important, perhaps, than all, the abuses to which children, especially girls, are exposed when employed as hawkers. In regard to each subject there are arguments that, from the general African point of view, are as cogent for a conservative policy as any that may be urged for rapid reform, and the African members of the committee have been well selected to ensure that no aspect is neglected.

Legislative Council Questions.

The absence of the First Lagos Member made itself felt at question-time in the June session of the Nigerian Legislative Council, for the Government was called upon to answer few inquiries. Two members asked whether the audit of Native Administration accounts was now being considered, and were answered in the affirmative, and in regard to land tenure in the Eastern Division, it was said that no new inquiry would be held until the report of that in Western Nigeria had been received, and the relation between security of tenure and the expansion of economic crops there ascertained. A question regarding Marine vessels brought the information that there were at present five dredgers, two colliers, four tugs, 12 reclamation barges, and 13 launches, etc., laid up, their total original cost being about £653,000, while since January last the dredger Sandgrouse and two launches, built from 1894-1909 at a cost of £97,103, had been destroyed. Mr. Clinton (Calabar) asked questions on education, their drift reflecting the popular feeling that the modern policy in African education is one of restriction. He was anxious also to obtain equalisation of salaries for Government and mission teachers, but in this, as the Director of Education said, it is impossible to do more than fix minimum scales without danger of restricting the number of schools. Among expenditure approved at the session was £12,000 from the provision for unspecified works, to construct a new telephone exchange at Lagos, an advance of £15,000 at 5 per cent. to the African staff housing scheme, £458 for various gratuities for long service, and gratuities of £21,212, with pensions of £4,019 for officials now being retrenched.

Nigerian import and export duties for the first quarter of the financial year 1932/3 amounted to £433,701 and £131,608, or increases of £68,020 and £20,179 on the first quarter of the preceding year. On the estimates for the period, the totals represent a decrease of £34,049 on imports and an increase of £18,808 on exports.

At Port Harcourt on July 1 the Marine Dept. collier Ajasa collided with the U.A.C. vessel Kumasian. A strong ebb tide made the steering of the Ajasa difficult, and both vessels were damaged.

Within a few days of each other the ex-Elekos Sanusi Olusi and Eshugbayi celebrated minor triumphs at Lagos. The former, on June 30, moved into the new house which forms part of his compensation for withdrawal from public life, while the latter celebrated on July 4 the first anniversary of his return to Lagos. Both occasions provided opportunities for joyous, but peaceful, demonstrations by supporters.

Mr. W. P. Riegels, charged with alleged fraudulent appropriation in connection with his firm, Onitsha Industries, Ltd., has been released pending the hearing of an appeal against his sentence.

Another trade-mark case was decided at Lagos on July 5 by Mr. Justice Webber, when he allowed, with costs, the opposition of the British-American Tobacco Co. against John Sinclair, Ltd., in connection with an "Old Castle" brand of cigarette that might easily be mistaken by an illiterate purchaser for the "Three Castles" label.

On July 3, the Bishop of Lagos dedicated new stained glass windows in the Cathedral in memory of Dr. O. Johnson and of Mr. and Mrs. G. Debayo Agbebi.

Mr. P. J. C. Thomas occupied the chair at the Salvation Army Founders' Day celebrations at Lagos on July 4, when the Territorial Commander in West Africa, Col. Grimes, described the marvellous expansion that had taken place since the Army first came to Lagos.

South African Market

"The Friend" in a subleader commenting on the letters appearing in the same paper on the dairy industry by "Boerbok" says:—

"In his interesting letters in "The Friend" on the dairy industry, 'Boerbok,' [illegible] State creamery authority, stressed the point that the best market [illegible] world for [illegible] products was South Africa itself, and that it should be the policy of all concerned in this industry to develop this market, both European and non-European, to the utmost. He showed that if every person in the Union could be induced to purchase an extra two ounces of butter a year, the entire output of the Union creameries would be consumed at a fair price and there would be no surplus to be dumped on European markets.

POPULAR ERROR

The point made by "Boerbok" is confirmation of a view frequently expressed in "The Friend" in regard to South African industries and development generally, namely that while we are struggling and paying heavily for oversea markets we do little or nothing to develop a practically untouched market within our own doors. If the Native people of the Union were trained and developed and allowed to produce and to earn up to their capacity, they would become a splendid market not only for their own produce, but for the produce and manufactures of the European. The longer Native development is delayed, the more difficult will become the future of the European in this country. The popular view among Europeans in South Africa is founded on the grievous error that the Native is a competitor with the White artisan and the White producer, whereas his development is supplementary to theirs. The more he becomes civilised and the larger a consumer he is, the more advantageous it will be for the European community and for the country as a whole."

We may add that if the Administrations in the Native Territories could take this as a hint and bring it into practice what a benefit would it be to both Europeans and Natives in South Africa. The Territories have a better chance of taking the lead in bringing these ideas into practice than the Union Government because in the Territories the Natives bear the bulk of taxation, and are by right, entitled to more benefits than Europeans but unfortunately the officials at the spot are the exponents of the view stated above, namely that, "the Native is a competitor with the White artisan and the White producer," and they are seeing to it that he is kept back as long as they can possibly keep him, and in this way they hold back the South African progress.

Race Problem-1932

Africa

An Achimota Inspection.

THE report of the first quinquennial inspection of Achimota (Crown Agents; 1s.) gives a good present-day picture of the institution as it appears to non-Gold Coasters, for of the four inspecting officers only one, Mr. H. S. Newlands, was serving in the Gold Coast. Of the others, Mr. E. R. J. Hussey came from Nigeria, and Messrs. A. Mayhew and W. W. Vaughan from the United Kingdom, Mr. Mayhew being Joint Secretary of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, and Mr. Vaughan an ex-Headmaster of Rugby.

Very wisely, the report makes no attempt to tie the aims and ideals of the institution to a verbal formula, for the educational outlook is changing steadily, both through variation in the needs of the people and through the education, by experience, of the directors of Achimota itself.

In regard to the association of the college with Government, the inspecting committee is clearly in favour of financial independence, preferably secured by an endowment fund from private sources. This is a matter for the future, but in the meantime, if the college is to maintain a reputation for independence of thought, it will need to be careful in "interpreting action taken or contemplated by Government," for "interpreting" here will be understood by the public in the sense of uncritical propaganda.

In regard to personnel, the committee would like to see someone other than the Principal presiding over the Achimota Council, and does not favour increasing the staff membership of that body. Reductions in the number of teachers and others are recommended, and although certain extravagances are explained as having crept in while the college was a Government institution, their removal has apparently had to await the arrival of an external inspecting body.

Here and there one notices hints of a lack of practical teaching experience on the part of some of the higher staff, and instances are given in which Africans might be more fully utilised, although the committee in one paragraph sets an exaggerated value on faultless pronunciation of English as a qualification of employment. We should like to hear the Scottish and English members of the staff deciding what *is* faultless pronunciation!

It is a little surprising that while on the subject of African teachers the inspecting body did not draw attention to the difficulty of preserving African culture when the task of deciding what *was* African culture was so largely left to European minds, or to the fact that culture is not the result of mere preservation, but of continuous evolution.

A further difficulty in this respect is the lack of continuity in European staff, for already one-third of those appointed have left. No doubt some of them will place their experience at the service of West Africa in other ways, but the Gold Coast taxpayer cannot be expected to approve of the abuse of Achimota as a profitable method of securing knowledge of African customs and languages.

On the financial side, the report gives an analysis that shows how dependent the college is on the Government grant of £68,000, to which should be added Government's assumption of pensions liabilities and cost of certain scholarships for teacher training.

Fees amounted to only £7,276, but this is a real figure, not one swelled by adding cost of scholarships and concessions allowed by the college itself. With some £2,113 received from such miscellaneous sources as sale of books and farm produce, the total income was £85,353, against expenses of £67,690, a superficially satisfactory state of affairs which merely means, of course, that the taxpayer contributed more than was immediately needed. Part of the surplus has in consequence been refunded to the Treasury.

Of the future of the college the report has little to say, for its present multifarious activities make it impossible to foretell the line of main evolution, even if the immediate economic problems of the country were removed. In regard to the university classes, however, it is evident that unless there is a larger demand the retention of highly-qualified teachers specially for this work will have to cease.

The report closes with a high tribute to the experience and personal qualities of the present Principal of Achimota, to whom the institution undoubtedly owes a very great debt indeed.

THE TRIBAL ADMINISTRATION (COLONY) ORDINANCE, 1932.

AMONGST the Bills which will be considered by the Legislative Council during its present Session, is the Tribal Administration (Colony) Ordinance which is intended to substitute a similar Ordinance of 1924, by which Tribal Rulers were invested with powers to adjudicate on criminal or civil cases of a petty nature, so long as they relate to persons of the same tribe. Government had cause to think that some corruption involving oppression was being carried out by some of the Tribal Rulers. In consequence, a Commission was appointed and the report of that Commission led to the sudden withdrawal by Government of the official recognition of all the Tribal Rulers in the Colony.

But it was recognized that the need for such intermediary between Government and the people of the respective tribes, was an urgent proposition. The present Ordinance is therefore intended to make such provision as would meet the situation, at the same time withdrawing jurisdiction, civil or criminal of any nature, in respect of the members of any such tribes.

We think the present Bill covers many important points which have become so very urgent for the purpose of regulating the movements of the Protectorate Tribes in the Colony. It is only to be hoped that these important clauses will not remain as dead letters with no effort at their enforcement. For instance, there is the provision for regulating the ingress into and departure from the Colony of the people of the Protectorate set forth in the following terms:—

"It shall be the duty of every Tribal Headman to enforce the return to his chiefdom of any native who has in contravention of the native law, left the chiefdom to which he belongs without obtaining the consent of the chief or proper authority."

"Any member of a tribe arriving in Freetown from the Protectorate or elsewhere shall within twenty-four hours report his arrival to his Tribal Headman. The Tribal Headman shall keep a register, and shall enter therein, the name, address and date of arrival of any such persons and shall furnish him with a card of registration."

"If any member of a tribe fails to give satisfactory account of his means of subsistence, he shall be liable to be ordered by the Police Magistrate to return to his Chiefdom, and if he fails within a reasonable time to comply with such order, he shall be liable on summary conviction to imprisonment with or without hard labour, for a period not exceeding three months."

These are provisions urgently required to regulate the vagrant, idle life which a large proportion of the people, particularly the young ones, have been leading. Gradually they increase the criminal population and become undesired dependents on the Revenue of the Colony. It is to be hoped that the passing of this Ordinance will tend to bring about that reform amongst them and there will ensue such a measure of increased usefulness among them, as would result in their making their own contribution towards effective production of the means of a return of prosperity to the Colony. There is also one point to which we may refer in connection with the Protectorate people resident in some of the villages. The facility of deserting their own homes in the Protectorate has become so easy that with the decadence in the population of the Sierra Leonean or Colony born element in some villages, the aboriginal elements are coming to out-number the original inhabitants of the villages and by such preponderance, they are getting to assert themselves in such a way as was never contemplated.

At a recent election of a headman in one of the villages, the aboriginal section resolved to take management of the affairs of the village into their own hands and after canvassing they secured a majority of votes for one

of themselves whilst the Colony born voted for one of themselves but found themselves in the minority. The question comes, was it the intention of Government that the position of Headman of any of the villages should be occupied by any member of the Protectorate, not because he had obtained the confidence of the people in general, not because he had shown any degree of ability to carry out the duties of the appointment, but just because he felt he ought to occupy such a position amongst his own people whom he had found to be in the majority ; and regardless of the feelings of the more intelligent section, wins a majority and aspires to a position obtained by a distinct party vote. It is easy to see how the purpose of the ordinance has been defeated by the evolution which has afforded easy access of the Protectorate people into the Colony by means of which they are now aspiring to take the lead in these villages. It is difficult to see how such a situation could mean progress in the light of intelligent leadership. But into such a pass have matters come that a careful re-consideration of the situation becomes an urgent duty. We trust that this will be done.

It is in this direction we feel that the Health Authorities have got some important and difficult problems for practical solution. What steps should be taken to reduce the rate of mortality amongst the people of the Protectorate who reside in the City of Freetown, and, how best could the percentage of infant mortality be brought to an appreciable mininum? Whatever Government may say about its programme of expenditure, care should be taken that there should be no stint in the direction of ample provision towards the maintenance of the health of the people for it is here that such spending could not but be wisely and most profitably done.

Since the withdrawal from some villages of certain Dispensers and the closing of some Dispensaries, on the pretext of the alleged incompetence of the Dispensers, the people of some of the villages have been left without any provision for the maintenance of good health. In some parts of the Colony the people simply suffer and die. Recently certain representations have been made to Government in the interest of some of these villages ; and it is encouraging to state that the Colonial Secretary has been favourably impressed by the representations, and it is to be hoped he will do everything in his power to bring some relief to the people.

There is no subject in which our undiminished practical interest should go to the support of the Government than that which concerns the health of the People and with all earnestness we therefore commend the observanee of Health Week to their whole-hearted co-operation.

HEALTH WEEK 1932.

THE Authorities are once more, as is their wont annually making a Week's Demonstration of the importance of the co-operation which should exist in the community in the observance of those conditions which would insure the maintenance of healthful personal environments and consequently a state of health on individual lives and on a healthy community. The subject is to everyone, of such vital personal interest that there should be no need of inducing any one to give good heed to the instructions to be imparted ; but there should exist some spontaneous enthusiasm to make the effort realise some tangible success. Beginning from tomorrow which is to be observed as Health Sunday, when Sermons are requested to be delivered on the importance of the duty to maintain and do everything towards the propagation of sound health, there will be on each of the four succeeding days, Demonstrations to Managers and School Teachers on various aspects of the duty in this direction ; then Friday the 2nd proximo will be Cleanliness Day and on Saturday in the Victoria Park from 2.30 to 6 p.m., there will be a Baby Show, under the distinguished patronage of His Excellency the Governor and Lady HODSON. The enthusiasm with which this function was carried out last year was very praiseworthy and the revived interest with which the people were inspired was rather marked and encouraging.

But as if by a strange irony, the disappointment experienced by the Community in general in the maintaining of good health this year, has been of a rather exceptional poor order. The threatened invasion of the Small Pox epidemic and the consequent hardship and great pain of the vaccination campaign, the general run of sickness right through the whole year, accentuated by an unusually high mortality—mostly children under three years and young people, appeared as a sort of mockery of the efforts of Health Week.

It has struck us that some action other than those inserted in the programme of Health Week have become urgently necessary ; such as would influence the conditions in which the aboriginal section of the community live.

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA (SIERRA LEONE SECTION) AND THE PUBLIC WELFARE ASSOCIATION

A joint meeting of the above Societies was held at 4 p.m. on Monday the 21st instant at the Cathedral Boys' School room to consider certain matters which vitally affect the interests of the community and the country viz., the trade and general economic depression and consequent unemployment and the policy of the Government in relation thereto as indicated in His Excellency the Governor's address. The President and Secretary having declared the object of the meeting after some discussion the meeting was adjorned to Monday next the 28th instant at the same time and place.

Basutoland Council

A motion was brought forward complaining that there are already too many Europeans in the Territory and the danger of their rapid increase so that they take bread out of the peoples mouths by filling up posts which formerly were filled up by Natives, thus increasing unemployment among the educated Basuto. Councillors were unable to support this motion on the ground that every business man was at liberty to do as he pleased in his work and nobody could instruct him what to do and how he should run his business.

Another motion asked that cases which had been decided by the Paramount Chief's court without appeal should be passed on to the Government court for final settlement if any of the parties concerned in some way or other interferes with that decision afterwards. While the members disagreed with such cases coming on before the Assistant Commissioner's courts without appeal they were however aware of the fact that the P. C. did not take steps to see that his decisions were respected and for that reason cases which had been decided often came up to court again for hearing. Some members pointed out that there was a general complaint among the people that where damages or claims were awarded in disputes the chiefs courts did not take trouble to see that judgment was executed but where there was a fine to be paid to the court the chiefs were careful that it was paid without delay.

Cr Leloko spoke strongly on this matter admitting that the P. C. was slow in executing his judgments and yet the parties for whom judgments were given were anxious that they should be executed without delay. He pointed out that this was a weakness that would undermine his authority.

His Honour urged the P. C. to use his power to carry out his judgments, not only that the fines should be paid without delay but that the dispute must be finally settled. He pointed out that the chiefs were the props of the P. C. and they should stand on their feet and work for the interes of their people with a view to bringing the grievances of the people to an end.

The next subject of importance was a complaint from Quthing district about the fence marking the boundary line between Basutoland and Griqualand East. This fence has broken down and stock easily crossed into Matatiele district, and once they had crossed it was not easy to recover them. It was a so complained that people from Matatiel are in the habit of stealing stock from this side of the border and drove them over into their districts, and the police do not help to trace these lost stock. After a few members had spoken on the subject it was suggested that Chief Sempe should report to the P C. who would refer the matter to His Honour the R. C. who would take steps to inquire into it.

Race Problem-1932

Africa

I would like also to mention how much we all appreciate the beautiful ceremony of the Mounting of the Guard, with full military honours, at Fort Thornton, which not only gives a new variety to the weekly round in Freetown but also provides Lady Hodson and myself with an opportunity of meeting and entertaining our African friends. I must not forget to mention the Tattoo which was privileged to see it will never forget the magnificent performance put up by the Royal West African Frontier Force. A sum of over £160 was collected and expended in contributions to poor relief and to various sporting organizations. It is proposed to make the Tattoo an annual event, with the addition of a firework display at the end of the performance. I am a firm believer in arranging entertainments of this description for the benefit of the public. They break the monotony of the common round and triva task, and are greatly appreciated. It is only too true that "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy." Colonel Green, the energetic Officer in Command o the Royal West African Frontier Force, has been making enquiries into the possibility of arranging a tour of the Band in England next summer. I consider this to be an admirable proposal; such a visit would have an educational effect on the Band, of course, and also on some of our friends at home, many of whom know nothing about Sierra Leone except that it is called the White Man's Grave; a libel which it is hard to kill. This Colony at one time indeed deserved such a name, but nowadays it is just as sensible to call it the White Man's Grave as it would be to call it the resort of pirates because Buccaneers took up their abode here in the old days!

16. Whilst on the subject of the Military I will mention that arrangements have been made next year to form a volunteer reserve consisting of 122 Africans. The latter will be voluntarily recruited from the Court Messengers' Force. No praise is too high for the members of this famous force, who carry out many responsible and difficult duties in the Protectorate. I have a first hand knowledge of these men and their work and can only say that I hold them in the highest admiration.

RAILWAY.

17. In my address to this Council last year I pointed out that among the many financial problems we had to tackle there was not one which presented so many difficulties as that costly but invaluable property of ours—the Railway. I appointed a Committee to enquire into the Railway Revenue and Expenditure, whose Report has been furnished to all Honourable Members of Council. I then expressed confidence that when the recommendations of this Committee were carried into effect a great improvement would result in the financial situation of the Railway, and an increase of its utility to the public service. I expressed confidence also in the energy and ability of Mr. Malthus, the General Manager, and in his capable staff. It is no small satisfaction to me to-day to be in a position to assure you that my confidence has been justified by the result of the year's working. The General Manager and his staff have faced a difficult situation with courage and have scored a complete victory. We are sometimes apt to forget that benind success there is always hard work. The position of the Railway at the present time is that it has to haul an increased traffic in both passengers and goods for a proportionately reduced revenue, and thus has to do more work with less means at its disposal. These are conditions which make achievement all the more meritorious.

PASSENGERS TRAFFIC.

18. I would like to mention with special emphasis the fact that the reduction in third class fares from one penny to a halfpenny a mile has been justified by results. This drastic reduction has resulted in nearly a threfold increase of passenger traffic and satisfactory augmentation of revenue. Our Railway is therefore now nearly three times more useful to the travelling public than it was last year. The inerease in the number of passengers is, of couese, only partly due to the decreased fares; it reflects to some extent an increase of prosperity in the Colony and Protectorate.

PALM KERNELS.

19. The tonnage of this commodity transported by rail is expected this year to exceed all previous records and to pass the 40,000, ton mark for the fist time in the history of this Colony. The tonnage hauled for the first eight months of this year is about 250 tons more than the total hauled for the whole twelve months of the previous year. We expect to total 43,000 tons: 4,500 tons more than the previous best, in 1927. The significance of these figures requires no emphasis. I am not thinking so much of the consequent profit to the Railway, although that indeed is important, but of the increasing properity which must be brought into the Protectorate by the additional export of palm kernels. This will bring security and comfort to many African homes.

RAILWAY—GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

20. The work of strengthening bridges and relaying the track has not been abandoned, although it is confined to cases of immediate urgency. A system of relaying with old material has been devised by the Enginering Branches, whereby the line can be made safe at a cost of about £210 per mile as against over £1,000 per mile for relaying with new material. Among the changes in personnel, I would like to refer to the case where it has been found possible to propose an African for the post of Assistant Locomotive Inspector. This is the first appointment of the kind that has been made in Sierra Leone, or indeed, I believe in any other West African Colony. I am sure that all Honourable Members of this Council will be as pleased as I am to find that an African, with the complete confidence of his superior officers, has been selected to fill such a technical and influential position.

PUBLIC HEALTH DEPARTMENT.

21. The work of this Department during the past year has been restricted chiefly to maintenance. During the past two years the European staff has been reduced by thirty-two officers. This year the repairs to public buildings have been reduced to a minimum and no new furniture has been purchased. The main roads throughout the Colony are being maintained to a satisfactory standard, but with all possible regard to economy. The past year has seen the completion of the Protectorate roads programme, and has brought the total length of the Protectorate roads to approximately 814 miles.

ELECTRICITY BRANCH.

32. In spite of the financial depression there has been a steady increase in the number of units sold, Every item of expenditure has been subjected to the closest scrutiny, and wherever economiss have been found possible they have been adopted. The street lighting scheme has been increased by over 150 new lights placed at advantageous parts in the outlying quarters of the town. Honourable Members will be pleased to hear that this branch which was formerly run at a loss is now earning a profit, and my thanks are due to Captain Wilson Brown, the new Director of Public Works and his staff for this satisfactory position.

CUSTOMS.

23. When I come to examine the reports of the Customs Department I do so with much the same some sort of feelings as a doctor who inspects the temperature chart of his patient: here is the test which will tell me whether or not the invalid is on the road to recovery; here, and here only, can I discover for a certainty whether or no the crisis is past. I find when examine the documents that the trade depression has, as was anticipated in the Trade Report for 1931, paragraph 79, at last taken a turn for the better. The export of paim kernels for the first seven months of the year shows an increase over the same period in 1931 of 17,727 tons in quantity and £185,360 in value. I will not bother you with many more figures, I am content to record the fact that our revenue from Customs imports and exports for the period January to July exceeded my estimate for that period by £45,309. Those figures are more eloquent than any comment, and more persuasive than any argument. This at last is something real, evident, certain. Not even the most obstinate pessimist can refuse to recognise here definite proof that the worst of the fever is past and that the patient is on the road to recovery.

CUSTOMS—GENERAL REMARKS.

24. There has been some re-organization in the Department during the past year, and certain changes in the system of working have been effected which bring our curriculum more into line with the practice of other Colonial Customs. There have also been a few changes in the staff. The Colony has lost one of its well loved and most devoted servants in the person of Mr. Mackie, late Comptroller of Customs, who retired after a full term of service, in May of this year. Imperial Preference Duties were introduced in April. It is too soon as yet to report results with any accuracy. There is, however, little doubt that Empire goods are gradually replacing the foriegn-made article.

AGRICULTURE.

25. During the past year I have visited all parts of the Colony and Protectorate and profited by many opportunities of acquiring first hand knowledge of the people and their problems and difficulties. I am now fully convinced that this country has before it a great commercial future as a producer of new materials, both agricultural and mineral, of which the outside world will have a steadily increasing need. I need not now go into too much detail. You know that we hope to see great developments in the cultivation and export of rice. But we are not in a hurry; in Africa it is never wise to be in a hurry. We depend for the success of our scheme entirely upon the co-operation of the African farmer in the rice growing areas. Many of them are beginning to take advantage of the useful information from other rice growing countries which is supplied by the Government's agricultural officers, and to realise that there is a safe market for all the surplus rice they can grow. The Government will do its best to encourage this new agricultural business, which is bound to be successful, provided that the people show sufficient energy and initiative.

MASANKI OIL-PALM PLANTATION.

26. You will be pleased to know that this undertaking is now almost completed; we have about 129,000 palms growing on 2,000 acres; a most valuable property. Annual expenditure has been reduced from £7,500 in 1930 to about £300, a sum which will continue to decrease as the the palms grow and become able to fight alone against the competing undergrowth. The Newton Fruit Farm has also been re-organised on a less expensive, and I think, a more practical system. Here we are spending less than half the sum required in previous years; about £1,500 is the estimate for next year, against £3,500 two years ago. We now have a station which is of real experimental value and can supply plants of the highest grade which will prove of great assistance in promoting the development of an export fruit industry in the Colony. Here again the Government can only encourage and advise. A successful industry can be built only by the people themselves. The Agricultural Department is paying special attention to the education of the young men of the farming community, and is receiving valuable help in this work from the Trustees of the Mabang Agricultural Academy. Lectures on Agriculture are given to student teachers at Njala in co-operation with the Education Department.

MINERALS

27. *Precious Minerals.*—I now come to the most recent and promising development—the mining industry. As a revenue producer, at the present moment, gold heads the list of minerals, and production is increasing. Up to the end of July, our exports of gold and platinum combined, valued at over £27,000, already exceeded the value of our kola nut exports, and are two-and-a-half times greater than the corresponding figure last year. Since July, I am glad to say, the export of these precious metals has been considerably higher. It is interesting to note that two exceptional nuggets were recently found; one of gold weighing approximately 8½ ozs. and the other of platinium weighing 1 oz. 4 dwts.; the latter is a record for the British Empire. Several new prospecting licences have been granted during the present year and the new areas exploited show promising results. An arrangement foreshadowed in my last address has now been completed with the Consolidated African Selection Trust, who are to explore our diamond areas. In the terms of our agreement the Trust is to spend at least £25,000 in labour and supplies between now and May, 1934; this sum will probably be largely exceeded; during the first six months the Company returned an expenditure of nearly half that amount. As I have promised not to reveal for the present the results of prospecting furnished me by the Trust, I can only say that our expectations have so far been fulfilled.

IRON.

28. The existing amount of precious minerals in this country is of course unknown and exploitation of such minerals is obviously speculative. No one can foretell what fortune may be lying hidden, waiting for the successful prospector. We possess, however, a more visible and a more valuable property in our extensive iron deposits. In those at Marampa the Government has a special interest, as we will be holders of £500,000 debentures in the Sierra Leone Development Company which is exploiting that area. The extensive works which are going on at Marampa are well known to you all. During the month of August the native labour employed in connection with the scheme exceeded 2,500. The railway is nearly completed, and it is hoped to finish all the preparative work by June of next year, so that exploitation of the ore may then commence.

29. In all our negotiations with mining companies it has always been the immediate object of the Government to make such terms as will help to alleviate the distress which has been caused by widespread unemployment. The Government has constantly urged the vigorous prosecution of the works at Marampa so that some relief might be obtained for those artisans who had been unavoidably retrenched from the Public Works Department and for othe skilled workers who are unable to find employment. The Sierra Leone Development Company has always done its best to meet the wishes of Government. To-day large numbers of skilled men are happily employed at Marampa, engaged in laying the foundations of what I am convinced will prove to be a prosperous and permanent industry. In our negotiations with the Diamond Trust, the Government insisted on the inclusion of a minimum expenditure clause in order to ensure that work should be available for those who are unemployed. The Government intends to continue this policy and will see that no individual or company is allowed to exploit our valuable mineral resources until adequate safeguards have been given for the employment of labour. I am pleased to say it has been possible to create a new post in the Mining Department, i.e., African Assistant Inspector of Mines.

COLONY AND PROTECTORATE.

CAN ANNEXATION BE AVOIDED?

NINE years ago, during the debate on the Bill that was to usher in a new constitution, granting the right of elective representation in the Legislature to the people of this Colony and nominated representation to those of the Protectorate, the late Mr. A. J. SHORUNKEH SAWYERR, O.B.E., with the patriotic foresight for which he will long be remembered, while heartily supporting the scheme for admitting Protectorate chiefs into membership of the Legislative Council, pointed out that as such persons were technically not British Subjects it would be an anomaly to have them legislate for British Subjects and, with a view of getting over the irregularity, moved for annexation of the Protectorate. Government strove to wriggle out of the tight hole into which this argument had driven it by begging the question: there was no legal difficulty in the matter, it replied in effect, because *it* did not see any, and then retorted with equally forceful reasoning, on the principle, perhaps, that *two* wrongs could make *one* right, that the Colony had all along been legislating for the Protectorate.

The motion, as must be expected under unofficial minority conditions, was lost. Since then as before certain forces—too potent to be ignored—have been at work to determine the future relations between both sections of the country and to make the question inevitable—can annexation be avoided? Now, what are those forces? They are expansion, miscegenation, unification, with nationalisation as an ultimate result—all thoroughly natural forces and, for that very reason, impatient of restraint.

The desire of seeking more convenient room in which to develop one's talent is human and catholic; it urged the Aryan to wander from his bleak environs around the Caucasus to more congenial regions in Asia and Europe; for a hundred years on end, it made England regard France as a natural outlet for her surplus population till Colombus' discovery and Spain's colonial success diverted her attention to the possibilities of "plantations" in the New World.

The same desire that led in more modern times to Anglo-Boer settlement in the south of this continent and still more recently to British settlement in Kenya, moved our forefathers more than one hundred years ago to forsake the scenes of their long exile and seek here, as others of their kindred did in Liberia, a scope for unfettered expansion in the homeland from which they had been ruthlessly torn more than three hundred years before. With an area of less than one-square mile, less than one square-mile originally, the tiny "Colony" has gradually extended to an approximate length of twenty-four miles and a breadth of fourteen settled entirely by peaceful negotiation with the aboriginals who, to their honour, have seldom treated their returned kinsmen with anything but brotherly kindness and friendly sympathy. Mutual goodwill, strengthened by intercourse of trade, encouraged the Colonial to make a peaceful penetration into the hinterland, where he helped his benefactors morally as well as materially and in some cases so far won their confidence as to be rewarded with a chieftaincy; even to-day there is in the Bulom a certain Colonial who has the proud distinction of being a duly crowned sub-chief, possessing all the paraphernalia and authority of a local ruling nobleman: what appears to be asinguular honour in these days of anti-Colonial feelings was not quite uncommon in pre-Protectorate days.

When the old order changed, too, and it became necessary in the interests of the Colony and of friendly neighbouring tribes to establish British rule in order to suppress inter-tribal wars, fomented by slave traders of territories now under French rule, it was Creoles who formed the rank and file of the Police Constables and Frontiersmen that broke the formidable stockades at Yonni, Tambi and Sofa and brought freedom to the Mendes, peace to the Limbas and rest to the harassed Yalunkas. Yalunka women and children, wailing in the forests to Heaven for very woe at the dust-clouds of prancing Sofa horsemen, shed tears of joy at the approach of the Creole war-boys, who taught the savage Cossacks of the borderline such a lesson that they never came back for more.

The Colonial has, indeed, made the Protectorate possible and has every natural right in the world to share in the fruits of his labour. The desire for more room in this country is not, however, confined to the Colonial, it is equally strong in the up-country native who, largely owing to the tyranny of present day tribal rule, is constrained to seek greater freedom in the more friendly atmosphere of colonial environment. There are thus thousands of up-country people living in peace and contentment in Freetown and in the peninsula; many of them have acquired freehold property and it is even becoming a fashion with Paramount Chiefs to invest in real property in this City. It cannot, then, be consistent with justice to deny the Colonial settler in the Protectorate the exercise there of a right that is enjoyed here by the up-country man without let or hindrance. and it is only natural and fair that he should in turn expect to be allowed to acquire Protectorate land on exactly the same terms as any Protectorate native. For the benefit of some readers, it may be stated that in African customary law, land cannot be transferred by sale, although in practice some lands, as rice wet lands, do occasionally get so transferred.

Ordinarily, though an applicant "begs" the land of its owner with a small present and is given possession; thenceforth the land belongs to the new occupier and may be handed down to his heirs for ever and a day. If the family line becomes extinct or otherwise severs connection with the Chiefdom, the property reverts to its original owner; forfeiture, settler's fee, ground rent and lease rent are foreign innovations unsanctioned by customary law, the only payments exacted from strangers and natives alike being tribute and, on occasions of communal labour, a contribution of man power or a small sum of money in lieu thereof. So long as a settler conforms to these conditions he is entitled to enjoy the full rights of citizenship. Left to themselves therefore, without the estranging influence of legislation, which tinkers materially with the essence of native land tenure, the two peoples would now after a hundred and forty years of intercourse have evolved a relationship happier far, because more voluntary, than that which subsists between the settlers and aborigines of Liberia.

As regards the other forces working towards a United Sierra Leone, miscegenation, from which unification and nationalisation follow as a natural sequence, is proving the most effective breaker down of barriers, natural or artificial, that dare to stand in the way of "Brethren dwelling together in unity." So great has been the mixing of the tribes that scarcely a single Colonial can now honestly declare that he is without a tincture of up-country blood. If this levelling process continues, as it is bound to do with the coming years, what will be the state of affairs between Colony and Protectorate a hundred years hence? As the hands of the clock of progress do not move backward nor remain at a standstill, in the year of our Lord 2032 it may reasonably be hoped that Sierra Leone will have Dominion Status. When that day comes can it be expected that the farce of "Colony" and "Protectorate" will still be tolerated by the new race of Sierra Leoneans?

Race Problem - 1932

Africa.

difficulties. Finally, there is a wide range of factors which bear on the possibility of reducing working costs, and in an essentially low-grade industry like that of the Rand a relatively small reduction of costs means a considerable extension of its life. The industry is being splendidly served by scientists and engineers in this struggle to increase its expectation of life, but the questions at issue are not merely questions of science and engineering—they are also questions of industrial, financial, and economic policy, South African and international. A shortage of native labour, an industrial upheaval, a fall in the value of money, a change in currency policy—all these are factors of vital import for the industry. It is not too fanciful to see it as the centre of a drama of economics, made vital by the play and interplay of a great number of varied forces, and fraught with the possibility of a tragic issue for the South African nation.

The realisation of all this, expressing itself in that solicitude to which reference has been made, led to the appointment two years ago by the Government of a Commission of Inquiry into the mining of low-grade ore on the Witwatersrand. That Commission has recently reported. The value of its conclusions is largely vitiated by its lack of unanimity; yet the report is most valuable in setting forth the essentials of the problem. It has concentrated on questions relevant to the cost of mining in relation to the probable life of the industry. Here the essential fact is that there are on the Witwatersrand vast masses of low-grade ore which cannot be mined profitably to-day, but could be mined if costs were reduced. The Commission accepts the estimate that a reduction of 2s. in the cost per ton milled (i.e., roughly 10 per cent) would increase the average life of the mines by 50 per cent; a reduction of 4s. per ton milled would lead to an increase of over 100 per cent. These figures in themselves present the challenge: How can such a reduction be brought about?

Various possibilities are discussed by the Commission. There is the question of wages, which account for 46 per cent of the total costs, and in this connection it has been contended that the fall in the cost of living since 1927, when present wage rates were fixed, justifies a readjustment. There is the heavy burden of compensation for miners' phthisis and the suggestion that the State should relieve the industry of a part of it. There is the possibility of more underground work being entrusted to low-paid natives and less to highly paid whites. There is the industry's grievance in respect of the high railway rates it has to pay in order that agricultural produce may be carried below cost. There is also a proposal that relief from taxation should be given by means of a system of rebates in respect of the mining of low-grade ore. There is no doubt that much could be done along some, if not all, of these lines. It is unfortunate that the Commission's lack of unanimity should, in fact, compromise the possibility of their being effectively followed up.

And, indeed, it is to a different expedient that the controllers of the industry have been giving most of their attention of late. It was while the Commission was sitting that England's departure from the gold standard opened up the possibility of South Africa following suit and so obtaining the benefit of the premium on its gold. At first the mining industry gave heed to the warnings of the past. It had indeed derived considerable benefit from the gold premium in 1920-2, but when deflation followed inflation and wages had to be forced down the disastrous strike which resulted dissipated all—and more than all—of that benefit. But in due course the industry decided that it would take whatever risk there was, and so it came out wholeheartedly in support of the policy of South Africa abandoning the gold standard, which it championed chiefly on the ground that the premium on gold would give a considerable stimulus to the mining of low-grade ore. By that time, however, the Commission felt that it had gone too far in its work to take account of the possibility of a change in the monetary system, and the industry was therefore left to find other ways of promoting the new policy wherein it thought it saw salvation.

It is, indeed, from the point of view of the stimulus to goldmining and the resultant beneficial effect on the country as a whole that the case for the abandonment of the gold standard has in recent months been presented most effectively. The Government, however, still remains unconvinced, and, indeed, it may be doubted whether the policy advocated can really be regarded as offering more than a temporary solution of the low-grade ore problem. From that point of view it is unfortunate that the suggestions considered by the Commission have been receiving far less attention than is their due. Yet it must not be forgotten that the problem has other than merely South African aspects. International action in currency matters may profoundly affect the situation. Devaluation by international agreement would undoubtedly increase the life of the Witwatersrand—the adoption of bimetallism would go far towards destroying it. The suggestion that bimetallism should be discussed at Ottawa led to the post-haste dispatch of one of the leaders of the industry as an adviser to the South African Delegation; possible developments at the World Economic Conference will be watched with the closest attention from Johannesburg and Pretoria.

THE SIERRA LEONE
WEEKLY NEWS

Saturday, October 1, 1932.

THE TEST OF CAPACITY IN PEOPLE OF A SUBJECT RACE.

Our survey of British Trusteeship in West Africa would become one sided and unbalanced if it did not include the consideration of what contributions the people themselves have made and are still making towards that grand finale to which the Bishop of Liverpool referred in his now memorable sermon. There is no doubt, that if there should be anything like growth or development, steady and continuous, extensive and intensive, there must be established that fellowship, that inborn native true attachment which, like the electric wire establishes a connection with the source of energy and maintains the current of the supply of light and power towards stable and abundant life.

It follows, therefore, naturally, that, whilst care is being taken to secure all that may tend to wholesome and healthy development, there should also be evidence on the part of a people of a subject race, that they possess the capacity, the endowment to discriminate, accept and assimilate those qualities of mind and resolve them into potential forces. Under such healthy conditions, it would be easy to appreciate how the test of such a capacity would eventuate in co-operative endeavours amongst such a people on the march of progress, and whose watchwords would be, Unity, Integrity and Industry.

Where the soul of a people is girded with this triple armour of battle that ensures victory, it ought to be provided with a constant supply of that power of endurance, that grit and spirit of resoluteness which would turn disappointments into divine appointments and the current of oppression into favourable tides of advancing prosperity.

We have in the past endeavoured to point out the baneful effects which the lack of a united purpose in this community has had on the progress and advancement of the people, individually and corporately. This lack of unity is due to the absence of that moral standard, which we have named integrity, a state of being completely and entirely honest, a life that is actuated by purity of motives, in which the element of probity and high nobility are so evenly blended, that it forms a magnet, an attraction to others for fellowship and co-operation. It is easy to see how with such an equipment, unity is bound to exist amongst any people, and thus a healthy genesis is given to every co-operative endeavour in the direction of industrial pursuits.

We would not be fair to our own convictions, were we to keep back the fact that too often the disabilities, wrongs and injustice we have pointed out as sometimes forming the policy of our Rulers over us, have been provoked (though that does not afford justification for such wrong doings) by such disruptive elements of character in some of those who pose as leaders, but who, with a bent of feathering their own nest, have set no limit in their need for fishy transactions, to the detriment of their fellow creatures. It is here that that aspect of knavery to which we referred in our last has played serious havoc with the character and life of many who, in spite of their limitations, had been doing some good to their country.

It is indeed unfortunate that there has not been that clear and out standing policy, amongst those who bear rule in the various departments of life, by which the honest, outspoken and independent minded person, is encouraged and is made to feel that only in that direction may the test of capacity be found. In the Government, in the Church and Commercial Houses, it is very difficult to find those who would go by their own judgment and be ready to give their honest convictions, encouraged or even tolerated. They are usually regarded as obstructionists, trouble makers and haters of the white man's rule. Very soon such persons would become marked men and be the victims of falsehood, misrepresentations and even slander. The pity of the situation lies in the fact that

even though there may be the conviction that such persons are on right lines, yet as it is not in human nature to endure opposition and resistance with complacence, there is often preference given to those who are willing to submit to any proposals made without raising any question, than to those who would exercise their judgment and go only by their conviction.

This policy has, if unintentionally, become fertile soil in the production of knaves, hypocrites and a class of professed leaders of the people, but who have sold their souls for less than a mess of potage. They are not difficult to find in any community : they are often standing aloof when they should be moving along with the people ; they are mysteriously silent at a time when they should be eloquent.

Such passions as are thus used for the destruction of unfortunate persons who have become victims of their spite, could have been turned to great profit towards the furtherance of some useful industries in whose development a large number would have participated and thus proved the means of increasing the sphere of contentment in the community.

Within the last twenty years we have seen one by one the men of capacity pass away and their places left vacant : we have cast wistful eyes on the generation coming up who must occupy the places left vacant. We dare not say there are none, because we have seen none ; we are not out for numbering of the people to tell who are the mighty men of valour and who are not. But we want to sound the clarion call to our young people that the opportunity offers for them to show capacity and prove themselves worthy of the inheritance which is being bequeathed to them. We plead for the manifestation of the greater show of honest purpose, of disinterested motive amongst our young people. We plead for a higher standard of manhood and womanhood which will rather endure sufferings than compromise with wrong-doing and barter high principles.

THE FIGHT AGAINST SLAVERY.

The proposal to create a permanent committee of experts to study and encourage the progress of the campaign for the suppression of slavery in all its forms is one which has long been advocated by the British Government. Now it has been unanimously accepted by the League of Nations Assembly, and an advisory committee of seven experts will be appointed by the Council and will meet for the first time in 1934.

The Assembly has also approved the report drawn up by a committee of which Lord Lugard was a member and now published. (Allen and Unwin. Price 15. 3d.) This report gives a survey of the present situation all over the world, including British colonies, Abyssinia, and other parts of Africa, and the districts bordering upon the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Slave-trading, slave-raiding, domestic slavery, and other forms are all described, and suggestions made for future improvements.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

FARMERS' MESSAGE No. 8.

AGRICULTURAL CREDIT SOCIETIES (CONTINUED).

As was promised in the last message we will now turn our attention in the final one for the present to some illuminating facts regarding mutual credit co-operation in different parts of the world. They are not only interesting, but should be of much encouragement to us.

IN EUROPE.— Saint Peter Fourrier, who was parish priest of Mattaincourt in France from 1597 till 1640, is the Patron Saint of the French People's Banks, because he organised 300 years ago in his parish such a bank. It was a savings and loan bank, functioning wonderfully and succeeding beyond all expectation. Many families in Lorraine were at that time saved from ruin and made prosperous.

The beginning of co-operative credit in Poland dates back to the eighteenth century. In 1715 the first society was inaugurated for the purpose of making loans to assist the peasants during the epidemics which were raging among their farm animals. In 1765 two rural loan banks were formed, the capital being created by contribution of the inhabitants of two villages. At the same time two other banks, which had already been accepting deposits, were established as loan banks. Towards the end of the century several grain store-houses were created at different plaees of the country ; these were really loan banks lending their capital in the form of grain to the people of the neighbourhood.

Remarkable is the Scottish "Cash Credit" system which is said to have, in the space of 150 years, raised its country up to its present proud position.

This system was not strictly co-operative, as the banks made a small loan to an individual tradesman on the guarantee of two respectable citizens to enable him to start a business for himself, but it resembles the co-operative credit system in enabling comparatively poor men to obtain loans on their personal security backed up by the guarantees of their friends.

A report of the Lords' and Commons' Committee of 1826 reveals some special Raiffeisen elements in that system, for the report states : "that system had the best effect on the poor classes of society in producing and encouraging habits of frugality and industry ; people could begin business with little or no capital but their character, the system had a great effect upon the moral habits of the people, because those who are securities feel an interest in watching over the conduct of the borrowers for whom they pledge themselves."

You should go into the valley of the Rhine in Germany where the Raiffeisen banks have been longest at work and observe to what extent homes have been made habitable and comfortable, how cultivation has been improved, how machinery has been purchased, how the wine grower has been enabled to sell his produce for cash at double the former price ; how the small peasant can buy his implements and manures, of the best quality at the cheapest wholesale prices, and you shall see how small industry has been developed, how the usurer, once all powerful, has been driven out of the field and those once poor men have become small capitalists.

2nd. Message to Bas. Native Teachers for Co-operation

It is just and equitable that the Native Teachers arrange for general B. N. T's. Conferences to be held annually for reasons best known to Teachers themselves.

It may be asked, why such meetings? The answer to this question is as simple as it is concisely clear.

In fact just as man cannot change his mind when he has no mind to change, likewise people cannot meet if there be nothing to meet for.

To-day unlike yesterday the problems of education are likely to receive more attention than was previously the case in the days of yore.

We must needs know how education should be conducted so as to develope the community's many—sided life. We should, of course, realize that education is something having much to do with elevating the welfare of the community, conditions, for education, that fails to promote the betterment of the people (not only intellectually but morally and physically) retards progress and seriously loses it's educational aspect.

It goes without saying that the average "Mosotho Parent" of today is more anxious and keener about his or her child's education than the Mosotho of 50 years ago when education was still in its infancy.

That now-a-days more than formerly there seems to be a "Fatalistic Faith" in education is a fact free from any racial disputes.

That we—enthusiastic educators often fail to gratify these perplexed parents in their noble ambition in regard to sound education being given to their sons and daughters is a self-evident truth, manifested by those who personally disinterest themselves in Native Education.

As a result the parents fail to get what they anticipated and give way to dispair and their faith in education is followed by futility and the turning of children out of schools.

How dreadful! dreadful!!

O, yes! but whose fault is it? The fault is, in my humble opinion partly due to the fact that, up to the present, the teachers are depending too exclusively upon their individual knowledge or School Aims often unrelated and conflicting.

In consequence the educators as well as the parents finding themselves at such a loss with ever increasing difficulties staring them in the face become sad and dismayed.

It is high time the Basutoland Native Teachers meet to effect a solution respecting all the educational problems.

Let the B. N. T. forget their petty differences and for all intents and purposes organize Teachers' Federal Conferences.

In fine let them remember this "Divided we fall ; United we stand!" Now gentlemen bury the past;

Allelujah for the future.

J. B. C. Kgoadi
P. C. Road,
Matsieng P. O. Moriia:

Race Problem - 1932

Africa

OUR RACIAL BALANCE-SHEET.

WE do not set ourselves as purveyors of our racial charnel-house, nor do we admit that we have become so morbid in taste as to be only capable of seeing naught but the unhealty conditions of our social and religious life. When recently it became the duty of a Medical Officer to exhume the bodies of three members of the Kroo Community, it was not from any desire for contact with grave clothes and putrid mortal remains, but it was from the determination to discover what sinister agency may have been responsible for an alleged untimely destruction of life. Even so, have we in these series left unnoticed what redeeming features there could have been mustered in favour of our claim to manhood for there can be no advantage in ignoring the plague spots, to gloat with congenial complacency over those portions of the body which are healthy. That way would certainly end in painful and costly disillusionment. The bankrupt is not necessarily without any assets at all; the significance of his situation would rest on the fact that his credit has been insufficient to balance his liabilities and, perforce, he must needs declare himself a bankrupt, unable to meet legitimate claims on him and without power to fulfil his commitments produce a favourable balance sheet. It is just the case with us as a people, as we measure our accomplishments with our pretensions to self-determination and our bid for self-expression and independent action.

It has been a strong point amongst the Leaders of the new Methodist Church that the claims and importance of the youths of Methodism should arrestingly be kept to the fore and that everything should be done to gain a hundred per cent. of their interest in the activities of the Church. For whatever the achievements or failures of the present may be, it is possible to make a true appraisement of their values, at the same time allowing of such adjustments as would retrieve some losses, or avert some undesigned calamity. But the scope for further progress and development rests absolutely with the young people; they stand in the valley of the immortals to take the torch and blast the bugle call—"We will be brave."

The history of organisations or of peoples, has been determined by the provisions which have been made for their continuance and healthy development; and therefore, we deem it most important to enquire what preparations are being made so that the young people of this community may prove themselves worthy of the inheritance which shall be bequeathed to them. Never before has the interest in public games been so intense and patronage towards the development of a manly spirit, the spirit of the game—been so ungrudgingly given. It is for this reason we think that the men who are responsible for regulating the educational destiny of our young people should graduate in the University of Humanity, win high distinctions and become knights-errant in human prudence and wise benevolence. We venture to hope that both Fura Bay College and the Education Department of the Colony have been gifted with men presiding over their destiny who have made themselves students of the African young people and have shown satisfactory willingness to adjust any preconceived knowledge with the actual discovery of the people's needs to meet their present condition.

The recent reunion of old and present pupils of the veteran ANNIE WALSH Memorial School (a suggestion emanating from the Lady Principal), is to us a timely gesture which, we trust, indicates a genuine desire for that co-operation that will ensure continuity of interest and tend to a consolidation towards the production of a healthy *esprit de corps*, indispensable to stable development.

Over and again we have heard Mr. BLACKMORE express his burning desire to do his best for the young people under his responsible charge. He has had some desperate fight to get all that he wants for the furtherance of his work. We have great confidence in his asseveration; but we want to remind him of the need of some greater attention to that specialisation that would fit the African to take up the responsibility of his own destiny as soon as he may. Above all, we want to remind the Director of Education that unlike the other departments in the Government or even the mercantile section of Empire Builders, none there is whose task is as important as his. He is the great husbandman in the garden of human progress and of him it is expected, to turn out such healthy trees, the plantings of Divine Providence—trees whose fruit would be well in their season; they shall never wither nor prove barren, because they have been constantly digged about and dunged.

By a natural process of adaptation, the children of this country would take root in the soil of their destiny and by a sound policy of specialised education each pupil of the schools—elementary and secondary—would be nurtured and prepared to take his or her share, however humble, and work out the purpose of life that in the end there would come out, a race of people, the New Sierra Leonean, self-reliant, dependable and wise in the wisdom of the ancients.

At the "Bantu World" Inks of Basutoland.

The "Bantu World" a European paper published in Johannesburg in the interests of the Bantu people of the Union of South Africa, in its issue of the 1st inst. discusses the position in Basutoland. The paper reviews the history of the Territory and ends with a constructive criticism of the present policy of the administration. It however expresses the views that have been expressed in this and other papers published in the Territory on many occasions. It says:—

"In view of the forthcoming session of the National Council of Basutoland which takes place at Maseru on October 1st it is fitting that the world should know something of the History and Development of this "Switzersland of South Africa." As everybody knows the founder of the Basuto nation and the man who secured Basutoland for our race is Moshesh, the greatest diplomat that Bantudom has ever produced. Out of the chaos that reigned in South Africa subsequent to the devastating wars of that Great Bantu Military Genius-Chaka-Moshesh gathered around him numerous Bantu tribes and welded them into what is known as the Bantu Nation

This wily Chief of the mountain of Night was a far-sighted statesman. He foresaw, what most of our rulers failed to see, the fact that the rising tide of European civilisation in this country would overwhelm our race. To prepare his people for the onslaught he invited the French Missionaries in 1833 to settle in his country so as to civilise and evangelise his people.

Having secured the services of Missionaries for the spiritual and intellectual life of the Basuto nation he sought the protection of Great Britain for he foresaw that without such protection he could not maintain the independence of the nation he had established. At the time Europeans had started grabbing land all over South Africa, despite the protests of such men as Drs Philips and Vanderkemp. The Voortrekkers were digging themselves in the Free State, Natal and Transvaal, and Moshesh, as he viewed the scene from Thababosigo, was convinced that his position was untenable. Consequently he appealed again and again for British protection which he secured in 1868.

Since then Basutoland has made strides in progress under the guid of British administrators. The which was 175,000 in to-day approximately in education there is also a ogress as the following ill show. In 1021 there were 403 schools and 30,005 pupils in the country, and 576 schools and 50,486 pupils in 1930.

The country "is financially self supporting, the principal sources of revenue being the Native tax customs, Income tax and wool export duty." But no one can deny that if a serious attention is given to its agricultural and industrial development, the country can maintain its population.

The National Council, which is modled after the National Pitso was established in 1903. It consists of a hundred members, ninety-five of whom are nominated by the Chiefs and five by the Government

No doubt, this Council has served the nation well; but it cannot be denied that as constituted at present it is not as representative as the original Basuto Pitso. It must be reformed so as to allow the representation of the people by their nominees.

Young men of education, whether they are sons of Chiefs or of commoners, should have an opportunity of sitting in the Council. After all the destiny of Basutoland is in the hands of the educated. Given an apportuni y to participate in the administration of the country's affairs, they will be of great service to the nation; but excluded from his privilege they will be a source of danger to the community."

United Transkeian Territories General Council

Purchase of Threshing Machine by General Council

Cr. S. S. Maqoti: I get up to second this motion on this very important matter. I think the District Chairman of Mt. Fletcher could tell you of the work such a machine has done in connection with wheat in that district, and the price of that machine is about £800. In one year that machine paid for the purchase price. Even this year we have got help from the machine on the other side in Glen Grey. In my ocation they threshed about 500 bags, and that was all. Other bags had been threshed by cattle, and as to those people who threshed their wheat with cattle, the corn is not wanted by the millers. They say it is too full of earth. In the district of Xalanga they should be able to raise thousands of bags of wheat to send to the machine to be threshed. Maize is not one of the foremost products that we want to grow. We have to send to such places as Queenstown, where there is a machine. Last year we did not get the machine, because we were told it was a local machine and could not go over to the Transkei. It could not go into other districts before it had finished with the ratepayers' wheat. This is not a small matter, because we value wheat more than mealies. I had occasion to speak with the man who was in charge of the machine and asked him how he was getting on, and he said he had already made over £400 this year, and had not finished threshing yet. I think if the Council bought a machine for the ratepayers, it would be a thing that would bring in an income for the ratepayers, although I am in doubt as to whether that machine would cope with the whole of the Territories, right from Pondoland to St. Mark's. In regard to the expense, there would be no fear, because in one year that machine would be able to earn enough money to cover its purchase price, and during subsequent years it would be a source of income to the Council.

The debate was adjourned.

Cr. E. Qamata: I want to say a few words in connection with this motion. The necessity for threshing machines is very great in these Territories. There are difficulties in the way of purchasing these machines. The people in the districts where wheat is grown will bear me out as to the difficulties they encounter. Sometimes the wheat is reaped in November and December, and is not threshed until about the end of March and sometimes in April, when the available machines have finished threshing on the other side of the border. We find that while our wheat is waiting for threshing the price has gone down. The machines belong to Europeans and they cannot be used for threshing for Natives until they have finished threshing the Europeans' wheat, whether European crops have been harvested or not. I want to point out the difficulties in this matter in those districts near the border, such as Matatiele, Mount Fletcher, Xalanga St. Mark's and Tsolo. I found out that in 1926 Matatiele produced 2,000 bags of wheat in Native areas; Mount Fletcher, 884 bags; Xalanga, 1,401; Tsolo, 272.

In supporting the motion I would like to put in an amendment, substituting the words, "the machines to be placed in the most wheat producing districts" instead of "at one of the schools of agriculture."

I think the amendment would meet the case. The mover has said that this scheme would pay for itself but the only way the machine could pay is that it be taken to a centre where the wheat districts are. I hope the Council will support the motion. The amendment is not in conflict with the motion, but rather supports it, and it prevents the Council embarking on an expensive scheme.

Cr. P. Qosho: I second the amendment. It is not in opposition to what was said by the mover and others who have taken part in the discussion. In view of this being a new thing, I can see that a machine is required to assist Natives in producing wheat. It will be a good thing to have the machine taken to the places enumerated by the mover of the amendment. He wants the machine to encourage people to plough and plant wheat. There are rich people and poor people, and this thing should be done so as to help people of small means to carry on until they reach the estate of the rich ones. It will encourage people to put in wheat instead of mealies.

Cr. Z. Mtirara: I support the motion proposed by the member for Umtata. If this demonstration could be made by the Council it would be a very good thing and would encourage those who have not yet put in wheat. In the amendment there is a thing that troubles. It says that the machine should be placed in the most wheat-producing districts, and not in one of the agricultural schools under the Council. That would leave the control of the machine with the man where it was placed. I want to know who will control the machine if it is taken up there. The motion also says that the machine should be taken round, but it should be under the control of one of the schools of agriculture.

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment does not suggest that the control should be in nobody's hands. It may be under the Director of Agriculture, even though it may be placed actually where a school is, because these schools have what one might call spheres of influence. I take it the machine would be used primarily for the wheat-producing districts—say Mount Fletcher would have it first. They don't grow wheat in Willowvale. The amendment is not so clear as the motion. It simply says "placed in the most wheat-producing districts." I think the mover had better make it a little clearer.

IMMIGRATION REQUIREMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Union-Castle Line Memorandum.

The Union-Castle Mail Steamship Co., Ltd., have issued the following amended memorandum on immigration requirements in South Africa:—

All passengers entering the Union of South Africa, excepting those domiciled therein, must comply with the Immigrants' Regulation Act, No. 22, of 1913. This applies equally to British-born subjects and subjects of other nations.

Visitors intending to spend a short holiday in the Union must be prepared on arrival, if called upon, to take out a temporary permit, covering the period of their stay, for which they will be required to deposit with the immigration authorities any sum not exceeding £100 (one hundred pounds). (£50 is the amount usually required). A charge of £1 is made for such temporary permit. Such deposits are refundable on the departure of the visitor from the Union upon production of the temporary permit.

All persons entering the Union for permanent residence must be prepared to deposit with the immigration authorities, on arrival, any sum up to £250 (£50 is the sum usually accepted), which the authorities will retain in their possession until such time as they are satisfied that the passenger is not likely to become a public charge. On obtaining employment the passenger should arrange with the employer to furnish the immigration authorities with a guarantee, when the deposit will be returned. Failing this, the intending passenger should arrange with relatives or friends already domiciled in the Union, or, if going to definite employment, with the prospective employer, to furnish the immigration authorities with a guarantee on the particular form which will be supplied by the Immigration Department on application. To facilitate the passenger's landing in the Union, this guarantee shou'd be in the hands of the immigration authorities before the passenger arrives in the Union, and, if possible, the date of arrival and the name of the vessel by which he or she is travelling should be given. The production of letters of appointment or contracts, though helpful, may not be sufficient to satisfy the immigration authorities on arrival. The authorities require either a cash deposit or a guarantee.

Persons may claim domicile in the Union after an unbroken residence therein of three years.

All passengers desiring to enter Rhodesia must be able to comply with the immigration requirements of either Southern or Northern Rhodesia, which are, briefly:—

Southern Rhodesia.—All persons entering Southern Rhodesia, and not being able to claim domicile, must be in possession of a sum of money, their own property, of not less than £250, or have proof of definite employment in the territory. Visitors are also required to be in possession of a sum of money of not less than £50 (fifty pounds).

Northern Rhodesia.—All persons entering Northern Rhodesia for permanent residence are required to be in possession of a sum of money, their own property, of not less than £100 (one hundred pounds), or to be able to produce proof of definite employment in the territory for a period of not less than six months. Visitors to the territory are also required to be in possession of a sum of not less than £100 (one hundred pounds).

If a passenger, bound for either Southern or Northern Rhodesia, has made arrangements beforehand with his or her relatives or friends in the territory to furnish the Rhodesia immigration authorities with the necessary guarantee, the guarantor should at the same time arrange that the authorities in Rhodesia advise the Union immigration authorities that they hold such guarantee.

Apart from the requirements of the immigration authorities, the Union-Castle Company requires all third-class passengers for the Union of South Africa and Rhodesia, not domiciled therein, to take out a letter of credit with the company for £20 (twenty pounds) in the case of British subjects, and £35 (thirty-five pounds) for subjects of other nations. In the event of the passenger being restricted from landing in South Africa, such letter of credit will be used by the company for the expenses incurred.

Race Problem - 1932

Africa

Mary Kingsley.

OF most of the women who have served Africa there is no printed record. Their names, like the names of the men of their races, are not known.

But in the annals of Africa of the last half century or so the names of three women stand out. We may feel pride and gratitude in the fact that all three were of the racial strain of the people of Great Britain. Olive Schreiner Mary Kingsley, Mary Slessor were in their different ways articulate. The world has recognised their greatness. The three had one thing in common, which European nations with responsibilities to Africa will do well always to act upon. All three had more than an affection for Africans They had a firm belief in them. 10-15-32

Of these three it would be difficult to say who was greatest; perhaps Mary Kingsley was pre-eminent for a certain Englishism. Of this quality a passion for justice is part of the heart, and Mr. Stephen Gwynn, an Irishman of letters to whom all readers of English owe a debt for just criticism in public affairs expressed with scholarly tolerance, gives example after example of it in his just-published "Life of Mary Kingsley" (Macmillan, Ltd., 10, St. Martin's Street, W.C., 12s. 6d.), which, alike because of its excerpts from Mary Kingsley's writings and of Mr. Gwynn's connective comment, is surely destined to be a classic of British-Colonial literature.

Since Mary Kingsley first put pen to paper about West Africa a whole school of British West African authorship has arisen, and names among which Bridges, Reeve, Johnston, Meek, Blyden, Talbot, Danquah, Hastings, Duff, Rattray and Geary rise quickly to the lips are rightly held in honour: but it is still true to say that if a young Briton taking up life in West Africa wishes to get the most human view of the people of the coastal regions he will turn to "Travels in West Africa" and inscribe its unobtruded teaching on the tablets of his heart. It must be in the main because of this passion of hers for justice, and her unshakable conviction that the appeal to justice is the all-conquering appeal to Britons, that Mr. Gwynn can make for her the tremendous, perfectly true claim, that she brought about in this country a change of heart towards the African, and that no other single person, "without the support of an organisation, has so powerfully and beneficently influenced the course of history."

Perhaps Mary Kingsley could appeal to the love of justice in the British character the more successfully because she herself never hesitated to recant if she found she had erred. Most of all was this so about the African—always, be it remembered, in her case the African of the coasts and the forest regions, upon whom a cruel climate has borne hardest; of the races of the great Mohameddan States she had little or no experience, though in one brief sentence she lets a flood of light on the oft-heard, to our mind groundless, accusation, that British officials in Africa, as in India, have an undue leaning towards Mohameddans.

She had been told that for tropical Africa there was nothing for it but chartered companies or the Crown Colony system indefinitely; "God help us if there isn't" was her conclusive comment. On the contrary, in a letter in which she confesses her great longing to see and study Liberia, she affirms her belief that the Africans are not a people passing off the stage of human affairs but a great world-race coming on to it, and with an immense amount of history before it. In the same letter she tells Africans that "unless you preserve your institutions, above all *your land law*, you cannot preserve your liberty"—a principle, we are proud to add, which WEST AFRICA has expounded from its birth.

Again, Mary Kingsley had heard British traders in West Africa described as "palm-oil ruffians," b[illegible] on gin-sodden Africans. The reality she found as far [illegible] n that slanderous picture as it could be, and over and ov[illegible] again she urges the greatness of the debt which Great Britain owes to those whom she found extending British trade in the Coast Colonies, and cites instances where the traders who in one breath anathematise the Africans among whom they work are in the next found defending them, in some cases, as in that of Newberry of Batanga, at no small risk. And of the founder of a famous fine old Liverpool-West African business she has the great remark (superb epitaph!), "John Holt is the one man in ten that would in my mind save Sodom and Gomorrah."

It was much the same story with missionaries. She was never quite a propagandist for Christian missions officially; she did not accept the general mission view on alcoholic drink or of polygamy; but read her references to individual missionaries, to the wives of missionaries ("one heroic form of human being whose praise has never been adequately sung"), to the work of the Catholic missions in improving methods of farming, to the "fearless honesty and perfect chivalry" of the Nonconformists!

A West African Council in England, in close touch with another in Africa, composed of Chiefs, and over the whole a Governor-General dividing his time between the two countries, was this high-hearted, statesmanlike Englishwoman's desideratum for West Africa. Whether or not this be the precise form which development will take remains to be seen, but certain it is that the spirit of Mary Kingsley's policy for West Africa can work out only for the enduring welfare of West Africa and of Great Britain, and both owe Mr. Stephen Gwynn a debt of gratitude for his eloquent reminder of it.

To the Editor of the WEEKLY NEWS.

Weekly News

Sir,—In your interesting leading article of October 8, 1932, you very kindly referred to the question raised by what you call "a high dignitary of the Anglican Communion" in regard to the churches in West Africa, especially the Sierra Leone Church, being kept in leading strings too long, and closed by asking what this tutelage consisted of, and answered yourself by saying further that it meant having a European Bishop at the head of affairs. We were amazed when you asked the question but much more so by the illogical conclusions you made from the answer you gave, as if the captain of a boat with the chart and rudder under his control meant nothing. Further, it did not appear to us that you were properly informed what the dignitary in question really said, or whether you understood him as we did, if you read his argument. Please read *West Africa* of September 3, and your eyes will be opened to see things as we see them. Let us remind you of some of the arguments advanced by that dignitary. He called attention to the fact that when the Divine Teacher came down to plant the Christian Church, he left it after about three years in a state apparently hopeless.

The Apostles, who followed in His wake, went about to plant Christian churches in Asia Minor, in Europe and other places; and, after explaining the Gospel and gathering converts together, appointed Presbysters and Bishops, and left the then Christians to develop the master's outline, believing as the Founder did, that each nation was to contribute its own quota towards the sum-total of Christ, from their peculiar racial idiosyncrasies.

We wonder, Mr. Editor, from your wide and varied experiences whether you can instance a child who had been kept under parental control and direction for about 70 years and who was able to shew, in such atmosphere the abundant life and the recognition of a full measure of responsibility you spoke of. How does it come about that in the city some people who are well to do and who do all they can for their children, day by day, see their children superseded in the race of life by the poor children from the villages? The reason is that the children from the villages are thrown on their mettle very early. English children, after sixteen years at most are turned out to find a living, with the result that the Englishman shows early signs of abundant life and grit.

Let us take as another instance, a small church in our connection like Songo or Mabang church. If the people in these places are thrown on their mettle, and left to look after themselves the personnel of church officers will soon be changed, and a new set of officers will take their places, so that if they have life at all, they will begin to shew abundant life, and officers and members will quickly recognise the full measure of their responsibility. We agree with the Anglican Church dignitary that if the European teachers continue this principle of "stick-to-it-iveness," the churches in West Africa as those of the Congo and North Africa will die out. As things are, they are only spoilt babies. Our European and American teachers have delivered the Gospel message of Salvation. If they believe in its potentiality, they are to go away and not wait for "a grateful farewell."

The African in his homeland has not yet been able in the circumstance to speak out his mind, but anyone who knows him intimately cannot avoid the conclusion that he is unable to assimilate anything which seems to savour of dictation or sound advice from any standpoint but his own. If our churches are to shew abundant life and a sense of responsibility, past experience ought to be a guide to the fact that even the remonstrant presence of a trusted Missionary from abroad has a tendency to create disintegration, to divert, or prevent fair-minded discussion or investigation or to interfere with free expressions of opinion from the purely African point of view. The African who delights to dance attendance on the white man to be a pro-European that he may have the chance to stab a brother in the dark is increasing in number, and weak-minded white people think a lot of them.

The English Church, in spite of the full privilege which Rome gave her, nevertheless, with the Papal Legate always in evidence to interfere with the Archbishops, and Henry VIII's failing affection for Catherine and his increasing love for Anne Bolyn, the State and the Church, each with its own axe to grind, united to separate itself from Rome and brought about the many denominations that we know to-day. The churches in West Africa, under the various denominations, and under pupilage for so many years [illegible] old to be of any use. The foreigners must go to the regions beyond and then the New Negro will study the Christ of history from the Negro's point of view, and set up an African Church which will be a true branch of the Universal Church of Christ.

Thanking you, Mr. Editor—Yours etc.

TWO METHODIST SYNOD MEMBERS.

12th October, 1932.

GOLD COAST

Population, 3,120,000; Capital, Accra; Governor, Sir Shenton Thomas. Chief Imports, Cotton Goods, Motor Spirit, Motors, Tobaccos, Preserved Foods, Bags and Sacks, Flour, Rice, Soap, Liquors. Chief Exports, Cocoa, Gold, Diamonds, Manganese. Mahogany, Palm Kernels, Shea Nuts, Copra.

The Acting Governor's Address.

In opening the September session of the Gold Coast Legislative Council, the Acting Governor, Mr. G. A. S. Northcote, paid a tribute to the services Sir Ransford Slater had rendered during his 13 years' connection with the Colony, and to the part Lady Slater and her daughters had taken in the organisation of such matters as welfare work and the Girl Guides.

Mr. Northcote touched upon the work of the Education and Railway Committees. In regard to the former, the Government was acting on recommendations to reduce teaching and inspection staffs, to reorganise the senior trade as a middle boarding school, to transfer certain schools in the Northern Territories to the missions, to increase fees, and to reduce grants next year by £16,000 to £78,000.

In regard to the Railway Committee, all the recommendations had been adopted but one, and new motor vehicle licensing rates were already being prepared. Remarking on the small apparent savings (£32,974) on recurrent expenditure, Mr. Northcote pointed out that the real figure, which was £291,759, was masked by the unavoidable increase in gratuities and pensions.

Aids to Financial Stability.

Mr. Northcote was glad to see the growing interest in banana production and the promise of an extension in gold-mining. In regard to the latter a "very rich and responsible corporation" was determined to investigate certain reefs that had hitherto been unremunerative.

The best restorative to revenue, however, would be a rise in exports. He feared the farmers could not influence the commodity prices, but they could increase the quantity, quality, and variety of exports.

Sir Ransford Slater had also favoured the introduction of two economic measures, the broadening of the basis of taxation by the institution of a direct tax, and the decentralisation of expenditure, transferring some of the burden from the general taxpayer to the communities that profited by local services.

These two matters had been before the joint Provincial Councils at Saltpond last April, but discussion had been prevented by "deliberate obstruction and organised intimidation."

As regarded the matters before the Council, there was nothing contentious, and nothing, therefore, that called for special comment.

Kroos on the Warpath.

There were wild scenes in the James Town and Riponsville areas of Accra on September 23 and 24 owing to the visit to the Gold Coast of Col. McClain, Secretary to the President of Liberia. While Col. McClain was heartily welcomed by the Kroos from Piccanin Cess, his own people, the Cesstown Kroos, in the area armed themselves and assembled near by, being restrained from immediate battle only by the presence of the police, administrative officers, and the Secretary for Native Affairs. The grievance of the Cesstown people is that Col. McClain took part in the recent Liberian punitive expedition against their home towns, and although they dispersed quietly on Saturday they assembled again next day to attack their brethren of Piccanin Cess. The police were forced to arrest some 40 persons before they were able to restore order.

Trouble in Kumasi.

Following the friction between the Sarikin Zongo at Kumasi and his people, which resulted in a judgment being given against the Ruler in the Provincial Commissioner's Court in August, a party of his opponents were called to court on September 14 to sign a bond to preserve the peace, and two Chiefs were arrested on their refusal to do so.

On return to the Zongo, their followers started to riot, and the throwing of stones and bottles was followed by the shooting of arrows. Some 70 people were hurt and three are reported dead, while the Assistant Commissioner of Police, Mr. Sinclair, was struck by a stone and removed to hospital.

On the following day, the unauthorised carrying of arms and ammunition in the Zongo was forbidden, and troops and police carried out a search of the area, arresting over 300 persons, most of whom have since been released.

After discussion with the Kumasihene, the Government realised that the majority of the people were in favour of the Sariki's destoolment, and this was accordingly sanctioned.

Since then, it is reported, the Sariki left by night for Bekwai, afterwards proceeding via Sekondi and Lagos to Katsina, his home town.

(A picture of the Sariki appears elsewhere).

A SHORT-SIGHTED ATTITUDE.

In last week's issue we dealt with the more important aspects of Sir Albert Kitson's report on Kakamega, which that acknowledged expert considers has every prospect of developing into a valuable goldfield, and we referred to the interest which has been taken in the field by the important group with which Sir Robert Williams is associated.

Cable advices from the Kenya capital this week report that the Nairobi Association, which has the support of prominent unofficial members of the Legislative Council, has decided to petition the Governor against the grant of an exclusive prospecting licence over the North Kavirondo area, contiguous to the Kakamega Goldfield, as being against the best interests of the country. What the settlers' representatives appear to have overlooked is that it is impossible to develop and prospect such a large area on an adequate scale without large financial resources, which cannot be provided within the colony. Much the same objection was raised by the settlers of Southern Rhodesia to the grant of prospecting rights over a new area in the Gatooma district to the Victoria Syndicate, which had the support of all the principal South African mining groups, and had therefore practically unlimited resources at its disposal. Owing to this local opposition the scheme fell through, and the district was deprived of the skilled prospecting which if successful would have resulted in the establishment of a new mining industry which would have added materially to the colony's resources. Should the Kenya settlers persist in their short sighted attitude we have no doubt that the companies concerned will withdraw their application, but we trust that wiser counsels will prevail, and that when the position has been reviewed by the Government in the light of Sir Albert Kitson's report, the necessary steps will be taken to ensure the thorough prospection of this promising field on a scale commensurate with its importance.

CENSUS OF LAGOS.

Increase in Birth-Rate.

The details have just been published of the seventh decennial census of the Lagos Municipal Area, which was taken on April 23 last year. While a certain degree of inaccuracy must of necessity creep into the census of a district where a considerable number are unable to write and where the fear has not yet been completely eradicated that the census will be used as a basis for new taxation, it is clear from this report that every effort has been made to obtain the greatest possible measure of accuracy. Another difficulty that had to be contended with was the superstition which exists among most Nigerian tribes that it is unlucky to reveal the names and numbers of their families, and especially of their children.

The first census of Lagos was taken in 1871, and the following are the figures which have been obtained at that and subsequent censuses:—1871, total population, 28,518; 1881, 37,452; 1891, 32,508; 1901, 41,847; 1911, 73,766; 1921, 99,690; 1931, 126,108. The decrease in population may be accounted for by the fact that the enumerators in 1881 were paid by the head, according to the number of people each of them recorded, and this arrangement was altered in 1891. It can therefore be taken that the return for 1881 was too high, and that for 1891 too low, and it is reasonable to assume that the population of Lagos has shown a steady increase during the past sixty years.

Another table of considerable interest which appears in this report is that showing the natural increase of the population of Lagos during the past decade. Here it can be seen that the birth-rate in the area has increased from 3.002 in the year 1921 to 3,494 for 1930, while the death-rate has fallen during the same period from 2,472 to 2,016. The decline in the infant mortality rate has also been extremely satisfactory, the figures being 284.8 for the year 1921, decreasing gradually, but rather more rapidly since 1926, to a rate of 129.1 for the year 1930.

Copies of the report, which is published as "Census of Nigeria, 1931, Vol. IV," are obtainable from the Crown Agents for the Colonies, price 6s.

Race Problem - 1932

Africa.

Woman and the Home.

Rainproof Leather Coats.

Great advance has been made this autumn by the fashion experts with the leather coat. The new model is rainproof, perfectly and lastingly rainproof, not by a mere surface dressing but by a special tanning process which makes the leather completely impervious to water while allowing it to retain its natural glossy texture.

These coats were shown in the smartest of shapes at the Shoe and Leather Fair at Islington last week, where they were much admired at the Dunlop stand.

For men there was an attraction—a new golf coat-jacket introduced this autumn by Dunlop. This garment has a special sleeve construction which eliminates all the old discomforts and limitations. It does away with elbow pull, gives freedom under the arms and on the shoulders, provides a snug fit at the waist and prevents that awkward bulge at the front which has been a common fault in golf jackets.

A novelty at the Dunlop stall at the Shoe and Leather Fair was a household set for the use of women who believe in hygiene in the home. The set includes rubber gloves, a rubber apron, rubber sleevelets, daintily gathered in at the wrists and above the elbows, and a rubber dust-cap. Some of the colours in these sets are most artistic. A perfect shade of apple green gives an idea of what can be done nowadays in the colouring of rubber goods.

A Sierra Leone Wedding.

Twelve bridesmaids, six grown-up and six little girls, all in pretty white dresses and picture hats, were in attendance at the wedding recently at the Catholic Cathedral of the Sacred Heart, at Freetown, of Mr. S. H. I. Faulkner, of the Medical Service at Mano, Sierra Leone Protectorate, and Miss Irene Ibitayo Ajagbe.

The bride wore white satin and orange blossom, and a bridal veil of net. She is a daughter of Mr. O. Ajagbe, architect, of Lagos, and Mrs. Ajagbe, daughter of the late Colonel Graves, of the Liberian Army.

The bridegroom is a son of the late Mr. Enoch Faulkner, District Commissioner, Headquarters District, and first Assistant Colonial Secretary of Sierra Leone, and Mrs. Faulkner, second daughter of the late Rev. Joseph May, Assistant Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions, Sierra Leone, and sister of the late Rev. J. Claudius May, first Principal Wesleyan Boys' High School, and the late Mr. Cornelius May (Editor of the "Sierra Leone Weekly News").

In the wedding group which appears on this page are, sitting, front row, from left to right, Miss Joya Bishop, bridesmaid; the bride and bridegroom, Mr. C. Eman Inniss, best man, and Miss Marie Le Pinton, bridesmaid. Second row, Mr. J. Newton Faulkner, brother of bridegroom; Mr. T. Nelson-Williams, M.A., B.C.L., LL.B., B.L., cousin of bridegroom; the Misses Appio, Hulsen, Lewis, Williams, bridesmaids; Mr. John A. Williams, cousin of bride; Mr. Fred Smith, and Mr. H. E. Faulkner. Back row, Messrs. Collier, Ralph James, Montfort Faulkner, Victor Faulkner, Deyendé George, Harold Hebron, Salvador Paquete, Francis Hebron, and J. E. Davies. In the foreground are the six little bridesmaids and S. A. Faulkner, nephew of the bridegroom.

Pumpkin Recipes.

Pumpkins are on the market, and they make an excellent vegetable course when cooked and served in the same way as vegetable marrow, though most people can only think of them in association with pies.

Another good way of serving the pumpkin is with grated cheese, the pumpkin being sliced, boiled and then placed under the grill.

Pumpkin cut up in lengths and cooked with meat in the oven is delicious. The cooking is the same as that for potatoes. Cold slices of pumpkin fried with bacon and mushrooms are also good.

The Harvest of the Hedges.

This is blackberry jelly making time, and the harvest of the hedges is in good order for adding to the store cupboard.

To make a jelly, cook the blackberries in a preserving pan with just enough water for the necessary moisture. They should simmer gently for about an hour. Place the liquid and the berries in a jelly bag, and let it drip for a night.

Boil up the juice for 15 minutes, then add sugar, three-quarters of a pound to a pint of juice, and let the jelly boil until it will set. The juice of a lemon to each six pounds of blackberries gives a nice flavour to the jelly.

Population of French West Africa.

According to the 1931 census, the population of French West Africa has increased to 14,575,973, a growth of about a million per decade for the last 20 years which, it is hoped, is as much the result of good health services as of improved methods of census-taking. Nearly a quarter of the whole population (3,000,243), is found in the relatively small colony of Haute Volta, where the density is some 10.23 per sq. kilometre. The French Sudan, with 2,855,658, but a density of only 1.97 comes next, followed by French Guinea, with 2,234,692 and 8.91. The others in order of population are: Ivory Coast, 1,866,316 and 5.76; Senegal, 1,584,273 and 7.86; French Niger, 1,542,714 and 1.30; Dahomey, 1,112,000 and 9.10, and Mauritania, 323,498 and .40.

In the 60 racial groups, the Fulani number some 2,000,000; Moshi, 1,300,000; and Bambaras and Mandingos, 1,200,000. The European population was 21,088, a number now reduced by retrenchment and commercial depression, and French subjects outnumbered others by more than two to one. The largest towns, and their populations, are Dakar, 42,391; St. Louis, 29,608; Porto Novo, 26,611; Bamako, 19,952; Diourbel, 15,402; and Abomey, 15.049.

Mr. S. H. Faulkner, of the Sierra Leone Medical Service, and his bride, with their wedding retinue and some of the guests in attendance at their marriage recently at Freetown. Other details on this page.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

FARMERS' MESSAGE No. 7.

AGRICULTURAL CREDIT SOCIETIES.

(CONTINUED).

In the last message, we saw how mutual credit societies with unlimited liability do the work for their members. Their duties and the ways of carrying them out are plainly indicated in the laws that are made for their guidance and control. Now, we will consider how they obtain money and lend it, and protect both those from whom they borrow and those who are honest and wish to keep themselves in good standing with their fellowmen.

Existing Societies.—We all know that in the Colony (besides the Friendly Societies recognized by law) there are being formed more or less constantly groups of persons who "club together" for mutual help. But these are unsafe and unstable, and do not last long, because they do not possess any effective means for making defaulters fulfil their obligations. So those who have given their trust to them are often deceived.

Security.—In the kind of Society that we are describing, there are three things that make for security, the first of which is the most important. They are, the mutual trust of a group of persons who know one another well, and have chosen and elected one another into the group because they are all regarded as respectable, trustworthy people; the fact that the members of the group are legally responsible collectively for the repayment of loans made to the group as a registered Society; and the circumstance that any member or his sureties can be sued at law for money due to the group as a whole. Thus the Society, though small, is strong, because it is made up of good men, and both the Society and its members can be made to pay their debts. Experience has shown however that it is very rare that recourse has to be had to law in connection with such Societies, for they allow their members to borrow only to a reasonable extent, and then only for productive purposes; and all the members are proud of their Society and make it a point of honour that it shall be regarded with respect, esteem and trust.

Getting money for the Society—We have seen already that the Society borrows money from banks, companies and private persons who, for the reasons given, are willing to lend it—who look upon the Societies in fact as providing a good way of laying out their money. This is the most important source of the cash that the Society must have, especially at first. This money is usually borrowed at not more than five per cent.

The money is lent to members at a higher percentage that this—often 12½ per cent, in the West Indies, but it is probable that in this country Societies will try at first lending it at 10 per cent. (which is 2d. a month for each pound sterling—an easy figure to deal with). Taking advantage of the difference between the two percentages, the Society builds up its Reserve Fund, which (as is shown by the advertisements of the large Banks) is its financial strength. Other, less important, moneys that come in to add to the Reserve Fund are deposits by members and non-members, which receive interest up to five per cent, but are hardly large enough to be called loans. Then lastly, there is the small amount from Members' Shares, which are only important in that they mark the fact of membership in the Society. In some parts of India the capital is made up almost entirely of such shares, members being entitled to buy as many as they can afford, and Reserve Fund is built up by lending the money to members at high rates. But this is a slow process, suitable for backward communities far from contact with those who could usefully lend to them.

Agricultural Banks.—*Now*, we come to Agricultural Banks, or (Co-operative) Central Banks or Banking Unions, as they are better called. When the number of mutual credit societies becomes sufficient a Bank of the kind is formed *by them*; and as they increase, more such Banks arise. For example, in the Punjab, India, there were already in 1927, 117 Banks of the kind serving 16,563 Societies and having a working capital of over three-one-fourth million pounds sterling. These Banks belong to the Societies and take care of their funds, working with ordinary banks to do this to the best advantage. They are a *strength* to the Societies for they are able to obtain and grant loans for them and use their money in the ways that are most profitable to them.

Tools and Implements.—To help to make matters plain, we have not included above the resources of the Society in such things as tools and implements, which are bought by it on favourable wholesale terms and lent for monthly payments to its members or sold to them for such payments, the latter method being suitable for seeds, etc., and manures as well. These are all assets of the Society which increase both the efficiency of members and its power to help them.

Money lent to members, and tools and implements, can be returned at any time, when of course the payment of interest or money for hire immediately stops. Members will appreciate this, and feel that it is to their individual and collective interest to pay off loans or return appliances as soon as possible, thus releasing money and material for further lending to members and enabling them next season to take out a new loan themselves and start again, probably for a new purpose, free of old debt.

Co-operative Marketing.—We must keep our minds clear, and realize that all this has nothing to do with Co-operative Marketing, except that it helps farmers to have something to market. It is hoped that legislation for such marketing will soon he wanted; and when it is, the law will probably be made so that Agricultural Credit Societies already existing may be easily made into Co-operative Marketing Societies, as well.

The next Farmers' Message will deal with some general aspects of what we have been giving our attention. It will be the last on the subject of Agricultural Credit Societies for the present.

OUR LONDON LETTER

with Russia—The Tote Club and the Lotteries Commission Under a Cloud—London as a Fashion Centre

Between 1928 and 1931 the value of agricultural and pastoral products exported from South Africa annually fell from £31,800,000 to £12,900,000—the value of its gold production increased from £44,000,000 to £46,200,000. Those figures indicate the extent of the Union's dependence on its goldmining industry. Two years ago the Union's Government Mining Engineer estimated, however, that, apart from a possible fall in working costs or the emergence of other new factors, the production of gold would fall to £25,500,000 a year in 1940 and to £10,000,000 a year in 1950. Those figures suggest the insecurity of the Union's economic position.

To-day the significance of facts such as these is appreciated in South Africa as never before. In the past the capitalistic mineowner, the mythical Hoggenheimer, was an ogre with which to terrify the timid elector. It was natural enough that that should be so in the light of the events between the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand and the outbreak of the Boer War. The goldmining industry, developed by oversea capital, controlled by oversea directors, worked by oversea-born miners, sending nearly all its profits oversea, was conceived as an alien element in the country. To-day most of the workers are South African born; a considerable proportion of the dividends remains in South Africa; the industry is spending some £35,000,000 annually in South Africa, and the significance of that fact has been brought home, especially in these times of world depression, when the goldmining industry remains the one stable element in the national income. And so there is growing up an attitude of friendliness towards the industry where there was hostility before, and that friendliness almost becomes solicitude when thought is taken of the morrow and of the implications of the reduction of output which seems to be portended.

The essentials of South Africa's economic position can be summarised in this way. The goldmining industry supports to-day, directly or indirectly, anything up to one-half of the Union's population. In the process of developing its own prosperity and that of the country, it has set a standard of public and private expenditure which, but for its existence, would have been beyond men's dreaming. But in essence the goldmines are at once a low-grade industry and a waning asset. Already the end of the industry is within measurable distance. To put it differently, the main pillar which supports the Union's economic structure is sagging. Other pillars—agriculture and secondary industry—must be, are being, constructed in its stead. Will they be ready in time to take the strain? The future of South Africa in effect depends on its success in a race against time, a twofold race, calling for the retardation of the decline of the mining industry and for the acceleration of the advance of the activities which are to take its place.

As for the retardation of the shrinkage of gold production there are hopeful possibilities. There are still gold-bearing areas in the course of development or yet to be developed, mainly at the eastern extremity of the Witwatersrand, and recent indications of the productivity of those areas have been favourable. Then, in so far as the developed areas are concerned, there arises the question of the depth up to which mining operations can profitably be conducted. To-day the greatest depth of mining on the Rand is 7,700 feet. Mining at such depths has difficulties all its own, which add to the cost; but, in the main, it is still a new phase in mining practice, and methods may yet be devised which will neutralise the effects of those

Race Problem-1932

Africa

SIERRA LEONE

Population, 1,768,479; Capital, Freetown; Governor, Sir Arnold Hodson. Chief Imports, Cotton Goods, Coal, Tobaccos, Apparel, Flour, Bags and Sacks, Liquors. Chief Exports, Kernels, Kolas, Ginger, Palm Oil, Gold.

The Police Force.

The annual report on the Sierra Leone Police for last year, signed by the Acting Commissioner, Capt. P. T. Brodie, shows that the improvement in efficiency mentioned in recent reports has been maintained. The strength of the force was 322, and about a third of this number were illiterate, a proportion which is about the same as before. There were no cases of bribery or other corruption during the year, but, on the other hand, nine men received special rewards for good services. The Police Reward Fund, established in 1923, has, by the way, now been abolished, and its place is taken by the inclusion of £100 in the annual estimates for rewards, recreation and sports. Since this means that the balance of the Fund, £158, has lapsed to revenue, and that fines will continue to be levied in the normal course of maintaining discipline, many erring members of the force will undoubtedly feel that their punishment is to be influenced by financial conditions, forgetting that in the past it was yet more easy for an officer, zealous in the accumulation of a good balance to be biassed thereby. Sixty aliens were registered during the year, bringing the total in the country up to 1,1515. Other activities included the capture and destruction of 3,140 ownerless dogs, and the licensing of 769 cars, 69 lorries, 14 'buses, and 104 cycles.

Population of Sierra Leone.

Departmental reports are treated so fully in our columns that a summary of them, such as is contained in the Sierra Leone Annual Report for 1931 (Cmd. 1578, H.M. Stationery Office, 2s. 6d.), will contain little that is new to our readers, unless it be the particulars of the census. The total population of the Colony and Protectorate respectively was 96,422 and 1,672,057. The proportion of "African Natives" in each area was 64.08 and 99.75 per cent., and of the people curiously called "African non-Natives (Sierra Leoneans)," 34.06 and .19 per cent. It is evidently difficult sometimes to become a native of Africa by being born there!

"Other African non-Natives," who, presumably, are largely non-Africans, such as West Indians, or Africans of other Coast Lands were few in number, representing .96 per cent. of the Colony, and .19 of the Protectorate population, while Asiatics accounted for .46 and .05 per cent., and Europeans for .44 and .01 per cent.

Taking the Colony and Protectorate together, "Sierra Leoneans" amounted to but 2.04 per cent., and "Other African non-Natives" to .07 per cent. The strongest tribes were Mende and Temne, representing 32.78 and 27.95 per cent. respectively, followed by Limba, 8.24 per cent., and Bullom and Sherbro, 8.15 per cent.

The birth and death rates for the Colony (there was no registration in the Protectorate) were 21.78 and 23.9 per 1,000, with an infantile mortality rate of 264.6 per 1,000 births. This last figure, however, may be considerably affected by the fact that births are far less meticulously registered than are deaths.

The Finances of Sierra Leone.

The revenue and expenditure of Sierra Leone for the first half of this year amounted to £506,534 and £407,630, a decrease of £48,692 and an increase of £4,919 compared with the first half of 1931.

The apparent decrease in revenue is really an increase of £76,288 masked by the inclusion of a domestic loan in 1931, and by an increase in Colonial Development Fund receipts, while an increase in expenditure on the Development Fund hides a real decrease of £12,739 in general expenditure.

The Late Mr. W. Schaefer.

From details received from Sulima, it appears that the bush-cow which killed Mr. W. Schaefer recently was caught in a trap, and had already injured two men who sought to kill it. Having partially freed itself, the animal came unexpectedly upon Mr. Schaefer as he was advancing with his shotgun, and he was charged before he could do more than take a hasty aim. He was gored and trampled, and, since the beast kept the villagers away from the body for hours, he died without the possibility of medical aid. His remains were ultimately recovered by two fellow-countrymen of his, Messrs. Reczko and Schutt, and conveyed to Pujehun for burial.

During his recent tour in the Protectorate the Governor of Sierra Leone climbed Tingi Mountain, visited the source of the Niger, opened the new Wesleyan Girls' Boarding School at Segbwema, and enjoyed a strenuous, though unsuccessful, day's search for bush-cow.

Resident Commissioner's Address.

On the Opening of the Twenty-seventh Session of the Basutoland Council, 8th October, 1932.

The Chief, Sons of Moshesh, Chiefs and members of the Basutoland Council:

1. I greet you on the occasion of the opening of the Twenty-Seventh Session of your Council.

2. I very much regret that since we last assembled here the Council has been deprived by death of the services of Chief Makhaola, Sub-Chief Thaabe Matela, and Councillors Lekarapa Mokhehle and Nkoy Mahlakeng. I have little to add to what has been said in His Excellency's Message in regard to the very great loss we have sustained by the death of the Chief Makhaola, save that he will be greatly missed by us all.

3. I also regret that since we last met there has been practically no sign of any return to normal prosperity, and that you are still faced with very low prices for your produce. It is impossible to say at the moment how much longer the depression will last, but from all accounts a gradual move for the better is anticipated in the near future. This is evidenced by the reports of a slight upward tendency of prices for wool at the coast. One thing appears to be certain, namely that recovery from the present depression will be slow, and it behoves us to relax no effort on our part to meet the changed conditions.

4. You will have learned from the High Commissioner's Message that there are several important matters to which His Excellency has drawn your attention. One of which bears upon the question of wheat production and the care of wheat lands by eliminating rye. As you are already aware, the Agricultural Officer is doing his utmost to get the people to realise the importance of selecting good seed, and unless his advice is followed, I fear that some difficulty will be experienced in finding a market for your crops. From reports that I have received I understand that there is likely to be a shortage of seed wheat in the mountain areas, owing to the disposal of a large portion of last year's crop. It is therefore proposed to test a new kind of hard wheat which is reported to be more prolific in yield and is considered to be very suitable for growing in the more mountainous parts of

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4. You will have learned from the High Commissioner's Message that there are several important matters to which His Excellency has drawn your attention. One of which bears upon the question of wheat production and the care of wheat lands by eliminating rye. As you are already aware, the Agricultural Officer is doing his utmost to get the people to realise the importance of selecting good seed, and unless his advice is followed, I fear that some difficulty will be experienced in finding a market for your crops. From reports that I have received I understand that there is likely to be a shortage of seed wheat in the mountain areas, owing to the disposal of a large portion of last year's crop. It is therefore proposed to test a new kind of hard wheat which is reported to be more prolific in yield and is considered to be very suitable for growing in the more mountainous parts of

Mr Verney

5. His Excellency has also referred to the experimental measures which the Principal Veterinary Officer is anxious to carry out for the improvement of your wool

6. Another matter to which I would ask your attention is that of 'Dagga.' You will remember that the suppression of this drug was fully discussed by the High Commissioner and Chiefs and Headman at the Paramount Chief to issue definite orders to the Chiefs and Headman to this drug, which illustrates that the Chiefs and Headman have not taken the promised steps to eradicate this Inoxious weed wherever it is found. The majority of the cases which have been brought to my notice have occurred in the Southern Districts. I would therefore ask the Paramount Chief to issue definite orders to the Chiefs and Headman for the most stringent measures to be adopted for its destruction.

7. I also wish to refer to the advisability of prohibiting the

past year for being in possession of

further importation of donkeys into the Territory. You may not be generally aware that these animals are the worst of all destroyers of pasture. Apart from this consideration they have no economic value and cannot therefore be considered an asset.

8. The following is a statement of the Revenue and Expenditure for the year ended the 31st March 1932—

REVENUE.

Native Tax	£116,783
Customs and Excise ...	80,842
Posts and Telegraphs ...	9,964
Licence	7,821
Fees of Court or Office ...	1,042
Judicial Fines	976
Income Tax	3,957
Fees for Services Rendered	1,165
Interest	3,997
Wool Export Duty ...	19,265
Miscellaneous	8,040
Education Levy ...	13,017
	£266,869

EXPENDITURE.

Establishments ...	£39,151
Police	35,455
Posts and Telegraphs ...	11,027
Allowance to Chiefs and Headmen	11,628
Basutoland Council ...	1,613
Public Works	26,622
Medical	25,394
Education	49,735
Agriculture	29,381
Leper Settlement ...	20,317
Administration of Justice	13,255
Lerotholi Technical School	5,541
Miscellaneous	6,758
Capital Expenditure ...	4,312
	£280,189

9 The following are the more important Proclamations issued since the last meeting of the Council :—

Proclamation no No. 44 of 1931—Appointing the Deputy Resident Commissioner as a Judical Officer of the Resident Commissioner's Court.

Proclamation No. 45 of 1931—Amending the Habit Forming Drugs Proclamation of 1922 by imposing a penalty not exceeding two years imprisonment in default of payment of a fine,

Proclamation No. 46 of 1931—Amending the Export duty on wool and mohair.

(Sgd.) F. FOORD
Acting Resident Commissioner

High Commissioner's Message on the opening of the twenty-seventh session of the Basuto-land Council, 8th October 1932

1. I greet the members of the Council on the occasion of the opening of the Twenty-Seventh Session.

2. I have heard with great regret that four members of the Council have died since the last Session. I wish specially to record the irreparable loss sustained by the Council and the Nation generally by the death of that very wise Chief and Councillor, Makhaola. I have already conveyed my condolence to the Paramount Chief and the late Chief's family through the Resident Commissioner, and take this opportunity of expressing my sympathy with the Council at the loss of one who has so often acted as its leader in the past.

3. I have read the Minutes of the Proceedings of the last Session of the Council with interest, and since then I have had an opportunity of paying my first official visit to Basutoland since assuming the Office of His Majesty's Higher Commissioner for South Africa. Both Lady Stanley and I appreciated highly the very cordial welcome extended to us by the Chiefs and people of Basutoland. It was a matter for regret to me that my visit had to be curtailed and that I did not have an opportunity of seeing the whole of the Country, but I hope in the near future to be able to visit those portions of the Territory which I was obliged to omit from my programme last November.

4. I desire to impress upon the Council the great importance which I attach to the holding of meetings by members of the Council in co-operation with the Chiefs in their respective wards both before and after each Session of the Council, as it is only by this means that the people can be afforded an opportunity of submitting their views, and of becoming aware of what has been discussed or decided upon. I trust that all members will bear this in mind and that they appreciate that their duties do not begin and end with their attendace at the annual Sessions.

5. I commend also to the careful consideration of the Council the importance of following the advice of the Agricultural Officer and his demonstrators with regard to the selection of seed wheat and the care of wheat lands. I am informed that the quality of the wheat at present grown in the Territory is rapidly deteriorating—particularly in the mountain areas where a large percentage of rye is allowed to grow and mature with the wheat. If this evil is allowed to continue it will eventually deprive you of a market for your grain. I would therefore urge you most strongly to do your utmost to remedy this state of affairs.

In order to effect some improvement in this direction and also to assist you to obtain better results from your lands, I have recently authorised the engagement of eight additional Agricultural Demonstrators with the necessary implements for work in the mountain areas where hitherto the people have had no practical demonstration of the results to be obtained from better methods of Agriculture. I desire most strongly to emphasize the importance of getting the utmost benefit from your lands, particularly during the present time of depression, in order that there may be no shortage of food in the Territory.

6. I have noted with satisfaction the discussion which took place at the last Session of the Council on the subject of tree-planting and donga prevention, and I am glad that the importance of these matters is appreciated. I regret that further action by the Government which involves expenditure will have to be deferred until funds are available. I desire, however, again to urge the Chiefs and Councillors to do their utmost to preserve the pasturage on the mountain slopes, and I would particularly emphasize the danger of giving out lands where there is likelihood of causing further soil erosion. I hope that the Paramount Chief will give very definite instructions on this matter.

7 For some time past the Veterinary Department has had under consideration various measures for the benefit of wool producers in the Territory, and I have sanctioned, as an experiment for the improvement of your wool, demonstrations in the proper method of shearing, in the selection of sheep, and in the classification of wool. I trust that every assistance will be given to the Principal Veterinary Officer and his Staff.

8. I am confident that in the consideration of the various matters to be placed before the Council you will use your best endeavours to further the true interests of the Basuto Nation.

(Sgd.) H. J. STANLEY,

KAKAMEGA GOLD FIELD.

Sir Albert Kitson's Report.

NAIROBI, October 26.

The opening up of a new large goldfield is expected to follow the publication of the report of Sir Albert Kitson, the eminent geologist, who was specially brought out by the Government to report on the possibilities of the Kakamega area.

The effect of the report, which is distinctly optimistic, has been sensational, and previous minor rushes are expected to develop on a big scale.

In the course of a document of twenty pages, Sir Albert Kitson reviews the history of the fields from the time of their discovery at the end of last year, following which considerable alluvial operations with a certain amount of success were carried out in numerous streams in North Kavirondo—an area of over 420 square miles.

Prospecting for auriferous reefs commenced later, when numerous claims were pegged. During subsequent operations, continues the report, a great number of small reefs, veins, and threads of quartz, varying from eighteen inches to several feet, were discovered.

[By courtesy of "The Times."

Clove Growers' Association.

The report also gives a history of the Clove Growers' Association, and to outline proposals for its reconstruction. It is suggested that the main reason why this association has handled so small a percentage of the produce—the balance sheet for 1929 shows only 23,000 frasillas out of a total crop of 930,000 frasillas sold by the C.G.A.—is that it is neither a compulsory and official organisation nor a spontaneous and co-operative organisation. The alternatives and, as an eventual development from these, of housing and land-purchase societies is also advocated.

In support of his arguments he points to the frequent disputes as to boundaries, the uncertainty as to titles and the fact that Zanzibar was unable to take part in the proceedings of the recent World Census of Agricultural Production through being unable to give with any degree of confidence the figures of cultivation and production required.

Copies of the report ["Co-operation and certain aspects of the economic condition of Agriculture in Zanzibar"] are obtainable from the Crown Agents for the Colonies, price 1s.

Strickland emphasises the necessity for complete land survey and the regis-

further importation of donkeys into the Territory. You may not be generally aware that these animals are the worst of all destroyers of pasture. Apart from this consideration they have no economic value and cannot therefore be considered an asset.

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Police	35,455
Posts and Telegraphs ...	11,027
Allowance to Chiefs and Headmen	11,628
Basutoland Council ...	1,613
Public Works	26,622
Medical	25,394
Education	49,735
Agriculture	29,381
Leper Settlement ...	20,317
Administration of Justice	13,255
Lerotholi Technical School	5,541
Miscellaneous	6,758
Capital Expenditure ...	4,312
	£280,189

9 The following are the more important Proclamations issued since the last meeting of the Council:—

Proclamation no No. 44 of 1931—Appointing the Deputy Resident Commissioner as a Judical Officer of the Resident Commissioner's Court.

Proclamation No. 45 of 1931—Amending the Habit Forming Drugs Proclamation of 1922 by imposing a penalty not exceeding two years imprisonment in default of payment of a fine,

Proclamation No. 46 of 1931—Amending the Export duty on wool and mohair.

(Sgd.) F. FOORD
Acting Resident Commissioner

High Commissioner's Message on the opening of the twenty-seventh session of the Basuto-land Council, 8th October 1932

1. I greet the members of the Council on the occasion of the opening of the Twenty-Seventh Session.

2. I have heard with great regret that four members of the Council have died since the last Session. I wish specially to refer to the irreparable loss sustained by the Council and the Nation generally by the death of that very wise Chief and Councillor, Makhaola. I have already conveyed my condolence to the Paramount Chief and the late Chief's family through the Resident Commissioner and take this opportunity of expressing my sympathy with the Council at the loss of one who has so often acted as its leader in the past.

3. I have read the Minutes of the Proceedings of the last Session of the Council with interest, and since then I have had an opportunity of paying my first official visit to Basutoland since assuming the Office of His Majesty's Higher Commissioner for South Africa. Both Lady Stanley and I appreciated highly the very cordial welcome extended to us by the Chiefs and people of Basutoland. It was a matter for regret to me that my visit had to be curtailed and that I did not have an opportunity of seeing the whole of the Country, but I hope in the near future to be able to visit those portions of the Territory which I was obliged to omit from my programme last November.

4. I desire to impress upon the Council the great importance which I attach to the holding of meetings by members of the Council in co-operation with the Chiefs in their respective wards both before and after each Session of the Council, as it is only by this means that the people can be afforded an opportunity of becoming aware of what has been discussed or decided upon. I trust that all members will bear this in mind and that they appreciate that their duties do not begin and end with their attendace at the annual Sessions.

5. I commend also to the careful consideration of the Council the importance of following the advice of the Agricultural Officer and his demonstrators with regard to the selection of seed wheat and the care of wheat lands. I am informed that the quality of the wheat at present grown in the Territory is rapidly deteriorating—particularly in the mountain areas where a large percentage of rye is allowed to grow and mature with the wheat. If this evil is allowed to continue it will eventually deprive you of a market for your grain. I would therefore urge you most strongly to do your utmost to remedy this state of affairs.

In order to effect some improvement in this direction and also to assist you to obtain better results from your lands, I have recently authorised the engagement of eight additional Agricultural Demonstrators with the necessary implements for work in the mountain areas where hitherto the people have had no practical demonstration of the results to be obtained from better methods of Agriculture. I desire most strongly to emphasize the importance of getting the utmost benefit from your lands, particularly during the present time of depression, in order that there may be no shortage of food in the Territory.

6. I have noted with satisfaction the discussion which took place at the last Session of the Council on the subject of tree-planting and donga prevention, and I am glad that the importance of these matters is appreciated. I regret that further action by the Government which involves expenditure will have to be deferred until funds are available. I desire, however, again to urge the Chiefs and Councillors to do their utmost to preserve the pasturage on the mountain slopes, and I would particularly emphasize the danger of giving out lands where there is likelihood of causing further soil erosion. I hope that the Paramount Chief will give very definite instructions on this matter.

7. For some time past the Veterinary Department has had under consideration various measures for the benefit of wool producers in the Territory, and I have sanctioned, as an experiment for the improvement of your wool, demonstrations in the proper method of shearing, in the selection of sheep, and in the classification of wool. I trust that every assistance will be given to the Principal Veterinary Officer and his Staff.

8. I am confident that in the consideration of the various matters to be placed before the Council you will use your best endeavours to further the true interests of the Basuto Nation.

(Sgd.) H. J. STANLEY,

KAKAMEGA GOLD FIELD.

Sir Albert Kitson's Report.

NAIROBI, October 26.

The opening up of a new large goldfield is expected to follow the publication of the report of Sir Albert Kitson, the eminent geologist, who was specially brought out by the Government to report on the possibilities of the Kakamega area.

The effect of the report, which is distinctly optimistic, has been sensational, and previous minor rushes are expected to develop on a big scale.

In the course of a document of twenty pages, Sir Albert Kitson reviews the history of the fields from the time of their discovery at the end of last year, following which considerable alluvial operations with a certain amount of success were carried out in numerous streams in North Kavirondo—an area of over 420 square miles.

Prospecting for auriferous reefs commenced later, when numerous claims were pegged. During subsequent operations, continues the report, a great number of small reefs, veins, and threads of quartz, varying from eighteen inches to several feet, were discovered.

(By courtesy of "The Times."

Clove Growers' Association.

The report also gives a history of the Clove Growers' Association, and to proposals for its reconstruction. It is suggested that the main reason why this association has handled so small a centage of the produce—the balance for 1929 shows only 23,000 frasillas a total crop of 930,000 frasillas sold by the C.G.A.—is that it is neither a compulsory and official organisation nor a spontaneous and co-operative organisation societies and, as an eventual develop- ment from these, of housing and land- purchase societies is also advocated.

to Strickland, is to society, a co-operative propaganda ance it that vigorous to appoint a staff and Department staff and estimated at Copies of the report ["] Co-operation and suggested, or certain aspects of the economic condition erage com- of Agriculture in Zanzibar"] are obtain- ures whether able from the Crown Agents for the Colonies, price 1s.

In support of his argu- ments he points to the frequent disputes as o boundaries, the uncertainty as to titles and the fact that Zanzibar was the recent ake part in the proceedings of the Production World Census of Agriculural with any through being unable to give figures of cultiva- legree of confidence the production required.

ration of titles. according the abandonment, register to complete

necessity carried on, and be competent manager of the Agricultural

complete Strickland land survey and. the

JUSTIFICATION OF BRITISH RULE IN AFRICA.

WE reproduce in this issue from our contemporary the *African World*, a summary of the speech given by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir PHILIP CUNLIFFE-LISTER, G.B.E., as guest of the evening at the Annual dinner given by the African Society in London on the 31st May, as we are sure it will be of interest to our readers.

The Secretary of State had no difficulty in justifiying the advantages of British Rule in Africa and adducing proofs in support of his statement There is no doubt that great advantages have accrued to the native races since England assumed rule over them & their countries. Of all the Powers that have become overlords of the African North, East, South, and West, we are decidedly of opinion that despite its defects and some of its drawbacks—(for no human rule whether indigenous or foreign can be perfectly satisfactory). British Rule is just and humane, liberal and beneficent. Apart from the proofs given by him we may mention the stoppage of internecine or tribal wars, slavery, and slave-trading, the primal cause in most cases of those wars—the introduction and establishment of education and the Christian religion. The last two have been the most civilising factors, the latter more so—and are mainly responsible for the peace, order and loyalty which prevail where British rule has dominance.

For all these the African, especially the educated African, whether Christian, Mohammedan or Pagan is appreciative and truly thankful, but like OLIVER TWIST, he is contented with little but not satisfied, and is thankful for more.

The Secretary of State cited and praised Indirect rule.—We admit the wisdom of the policy—but the advantages of it would be increased if the Chiefs were allowed more scope and the exercise of the powers of a Ruler and not subjected and be so much under the supervision and control of the Representative of British Rule whether as District Commissioner or Resident. A ruler whether illiterate or educated—pagan or Christian likes to have power and to exercise it—not to have merely its shadow. And so long as he exercises or is tactfully and delicately guided in exercising it, justly, wisely, humanely and for the greatest good of the greatest number of his subjects. he should not be interfered with or made to feel that he is under constant surveillance.

Health and Sanitation, Child Welfare and Maternity. We admit that great advances have been made in some of these more than others. We think a great deal more can be done for the last two as well as the first, for whereas the death rate of the European has been reduced to a minimum, thanks not only to scientific discoveries but the circulation of literature and extra considerations made and given for the promotion of his health and comfort in the tropics which we do not begrudge when judiciously and not extravagantly made, the death rate of the native and infantile mortality and fatal cases of maternity are still very high and call for more efforts being put forth by Government to effect an appreciable reduction. Among those efforts, we may mention increase of African doctors, dispensers and nurses, the frequent or regular and systematic giving of lectures, the providing and the circulation of cheap literature on health and hygiene.

Agriculture: While we concede that some advance is being made, there is still a large lee-way to be brought up. There is need for the teaching of scientific agriculture in its practical and popular form, that is, on the farm, so that the farmer or cultivator can improve his crops and increase production; there is also need for the granting of freeholds instead of leaseholds to our people so that they may have the absolute right to the land they farm or cultivate which would result in the Colony having in a short time a large class of farmers. In the old days Crown grants of lands were given free of cost or at nominal cost, why not revert to the old custom now? It would encourage the people to remain on the land, increase production and population and result in the prosperity of the people and Colony which would have a reflex benefit on the revenue.

We are pleased that the Secretary of State seized the opportunity of declaring publicly the view of the Government on that phase of the Colour question by which hospitality is denied the African visitor by certain class of hotel-keepers and restaurant owners in England. The warning he gives is timely, namely, that "it was through the eyes of these African visitors (many of whom were men of seniority and high position in their own country or young men who had sought and gained admission in the Inns of Court or the Medical profession—still our two exclusive trade unions) that thousands of others would see England and untold harm might be done when through some individual's thoughtless conduct such men were refused admission to a restaurant or hotel on account of their colour." This cannot be too strongly brought home to the British Public who, he said "while they talked much of the unity of Empire and profess to believe in it was here given an opportunity to practise what they preached." It is high time that the British spirit of love of fairplay and good-will to Africans which existed in Victorian days, re-asserts itself.

But while we appreciate and thank Sir Cunliffe Lister for the forcible manner he has indicated the evil and for his public official declaration that the Africans *are* British citizens, we cannot refrain from pointing out the Britishe Government's responsibility and its own share in this evil.

In the course of his speech the Secretary of State made use of the significant and pregnant expression "still our two exclusive trade unions" i.e. the legal and medical professions and he was perfectly right, for it is the spirit of trade unionism that excludes Africans admittedly, legally qualified as their white confreres from legal appointments in this and other British West African Colonies except in the few cases latterly made in the Gold Coast and Nigeria but not in Sierra Leone.

Then as to the medical profession—there is the West African Medical Staff which rigidly bars and excludes all Africans, however highly qualified and experienced in the profession on the ground solely of colour. In both cases the liberal education, which the white medicos possess has not justified itself in enabling them to evince a liberal and sportsman-like spirit by giving every confrere whatever be his colour, equal rights and privileges as those which belong to the members of the West African Medical Staff. The National Congress of British West Africa & the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Societiy, made representations, requests, protests to the Colonial Office for this act of simple justice and fairplay, but in vain.

We do not see why Africans should not be given opportunities and scope in their own country to fulfil their highest aspirations. The present policy has a depressing if not a paralysing effect and should be abandoned. It is here the British Government can set a good example to its subjects and practise what it preaches. for "Example is better than precept."

Here we feel we must join issue with our contemporary *The African World* in his comments on that portion of the above speech which deals with the colour question. He has mixed up common public hospitality with social equality or fraternization; whereas the Secretary of State dealt only with the former. The right of entering a resaturant or hotel would not entitle even an Englishman to enter uninvited the private house of his neighbour much more admission to his board or any social function at his house.

Whether at a boarding house, restaurant or hotel, the African on admission thereto—need not fraternise with the other occupants just as he would not do so with his fellow passengers in a train or ship. We agree with him that the nearer the African approximates to the ideals of the Englishman the more easy the intercourse and the better the appreciation.

But in this the Editor differs from the Right Honourable Mr. ORMSBY GORE who after his official visit to British West Africa in 1925 expressed quite an opposite view. We also differ from our contemporary that intercourse and fraternisation can only result in degeneration of both races. History teaches that every less advanced nation or race has more or less profited, improved and benefited by contact, intercourse and association with a more advanced nation or race. We see it even now in the British West Indian and Afro-American; of course there is the other side, which supports the Editor's views,—that is, where the worst of both classes associate and consequently degenerate but the intercourse to which the Secretary of State refers is one between the best of both races.

It is only by treating the African on his merits—socially, mentally and morally, and not as a pariah or undesirable on account of his colour that the "Inferiority Complex" based on colour will cease to exist, despite the fact that "Prejudice dies hard."

BISHOP AND BLACK MAGIC.

ADMITS BELIEF IN NATIVE WITCH-CRAFT.

MYSTERY POWER.

Staying at his mother's home at Tonbridge, Kent, recuperating after a severe attack of malaria, is a Bishop who believes in witchcraft.

He is Dr. John Aglionby, Bishop of Accra, and yesterday he told a reporter secrets of the unholy black magic of the Gold Coast.

"At home in England," he said, "it is easy to scoff at African witchcraft and call it just foolish superstition; but in Africa wizardry has such a hold that millions and millions of people are absolutely in the power of spells and charms.

"They live their lives shadowed by a wall of fear, as their forefathers have done for centuries past.

"Surely it is not possible that such an unholy sway can be maintained by fraud alone?

"FEARFUL POWER OF EVIL"

"Sorcery and witchcraft are the monopoly of a vast secret society which has ramifications all over Africa. Meetings at midnight, curses, spells and charms are the stock-in-trade of the witch and the wizard.

"It is very difficult to obtain evidence. Even the lips of my own Church members are sealed.

"I have been on the Gold Coast for eight years now, and have learned just a little of this fearful power of evil.

"I have considered carefully all the evidence I can get. Though a great deal of so-called witchcraft is undoubtedly just fraud and quackery—simply playing on the credulity of a superstitious people—yet beneath all this I am quite sure there is a substratum of truth.

SPELL OF DEATH.

"When everything possible has been explained there is still a great deal that cannot be accounted for by natural means.

"There is certainly a good deal of poisoning going on and I am sure that these witches have knowledge of poisons which are undiscoverable by modern science.

"When a man dies after being cursed he may have been poisoned. On the other hand auto-suggestion plays a great part.

"I knew a strong man, well and hearty who had a spell of death put on him. He sickened and died without any resistance. Doctors could do nothing for him; they said there was nothing wrong. He just gave up hope and died.

"It may have been poison, it may have been fear, or it may have been some occult power of which we know nothing.

"Cattle and crops may be cursed, and I have seen some extraordinarily queer cases where cattle died for no particular reason and blight has affected the crops of the man bewitched while leaving those of his neighbours absolutely clear. It may be natural causes; it may not.

"We in England scoff too lightly at these things. You know the saying:—'There are more things in heaven and earth....'"

"MISTAKES" IN KENYA

Lord Moyne's Report on Native Taxation

Lord Moyne's Report on the Taxation of Natives in Kenya has now been discussed at some length in the House of Commons.

The most remarkable and significant utterance in the debate was that of Captain Cazalet:

> I do not think that Kenya . . . wants any more Committees or Commissions. . . . The interests of the settlers and the natives are one. . . . Everyone admits that mistakes have been made in the past; but they have been made in good faith; and it is because of those mistakes that we have Lord Moyne's Report and an indication that the Government are in favour of many of the proposals in it; and it is because we admit some of the mistakes in the past that the Land Commission are now sitting. I am certain that common sense can settle these questions with complete fairness,

and more to the same ingenuous and soporific effect. We have long been aware that "Kenya" (meaning by that term the Convention of European Settlers' Associations) has not "wanted" any "Committees or Commissions." Unfortunately it is also the fact that until six of such bodies have been set up within seven years it has not been possible to induce either the Colonial Office or any Kenya governor to admit (except in the single case of the particularly outrageous treatment of the Masai—which did cost one governor his place, but which was never redressed) that any "mistakes," whether in good or in bad faith, have been made in the treatment of natives. The forced-labour policy was first justified, then minimised, and then resolutely denied.

Lord Moyne's Observations

But now comes Lord Moyne, and, with a really indelicate lack of appreciation of the established local tradition, dispassionately records a series of propositions, obvious on the face of the facts to any critic of administration not hypnotised by Afrikander ideas about the proper functions of Government in a white man's country, describing some, but by no means all, of the "mistakes" which Captain Cazalet assures us that everyone now admits. He observes that the system of direct native taxation (which the British Government has contentedly kept in stereotype for more than thirty years) is "primitive" in its character and unjust in its incidence as between the natives who pay it; that the system is "no longer satisfactory" (which it has often been pointed out it never has been) and should be transformed or replaced as soon as possible; that

> By Lord [illegible] conditions of native life near Nairobi give no indication of the extreme poverty found in areas little affected by civilisation, . . . in some of which the native is now meeting with very great difficulty in finding money to pay his taxes, and is therefore compelled to wander in search of employment at wages; that excessive railway rates are charged on the cheap cotton cloth and blankets principally used by the natives; that it is evident that the public services not specially established for any section of the community are by no means of equal benefit to the natives and the Europeans; that, considering the services provided for the natives in return for their taxation, they have long paid an "ample" contribution towards the general revenue; that in the development of the "general" services the prevailing bias has been towards the convenience of a civilisation of which the native so far shares little of the direct advantages; that in comparison with taxpayers anywhere else in the world the European population of Kenya enjoy the amenities of civilisation in return for a relatively light scale of contribution, whilst native taxation is exceedingly onerous and cannot possibly be increased.
>
> He also observes that in the provision for secondary education the European community enjoy an unduly high scale of advantage at the public expense, whilst the "totally inadequate" provision for native education has just been cut down by £9,250; that, whilst provision has been made entirely from central funds for school buildings for the European and Indian communities, local native councils have had to provide large sums to make up for the insufficiency of their Government building grants; that whereas the European district councils, which receive grants for roads on the understanding that they shall levy rates on their districts, have never levied such rates but have used road grants for other general purposes, the local native councils have been taxed to supplement the Government expenditure on their main roads; that the expenditure on direct medical services has been "unduly" reduced; that even if direct native taxation is reformed so as to fall equitably on those who pay it, it will, if maintained at its present amount, represent a heavier individual sacrifice than that at present imposed upon the non-native population; "and that, so long as this disproportion is maintained, "the vital services of native development which are the main justification" pleaded for it . . . ought not to be subjected to "recurrent cuts"; that the level of native taxation is high in proportion both to the natives' wealth and to their enjoyment of direct services (for example, in one of the poorest districts £7,578 is raised in direct native taxation whilst only £710 comes back in services of direct native benefit—which Lord Moyne is "satisfied" is not fair); that European district councils are unfairly financed by the Government for services for which the local native councils are compelled to find money themselves.

"In the Interest of the Natives"

Such, then, are some of the "mistakes" which Captain Cazalet concedes have been made in the past, which he thinks have been made in good faith, and the admission of which shows that "Committees and Commissions" are not wanted. In so far as they have been made in "good faith," they have, no doubt, been made under the influence of Captain Cazalet's agreeable axiom that "the interests of the settlers and the natives are one"; so that the over-taxation of natives for the advantage of settlers was really in the interest of the natives all the time.

Lord Moyne appears as incapable, as are the most ignorant of the natives of appreciating the goodness of this faith. His report, full as it is, is not exhaustive in its specification of the "mistakes" of this character that have been made and that are still in activity. Nor are all his judgments altogether indisputable; for example, there might be more to be said on the question whether railway expenditure has been distributed fairly in the interests of natives and settlers. And his sugges-tions for the recast of native taxation, though just in principle, are not all well advised. But the value of his report, the value of the Government's action in procuring it, and the value of the proceedings of the Joint Select Committee out of which such action arose lie in their exhibition of an entirely different kind of "good faith" from that in which Captain Cazalet assumes these abuses to have grown up.

Readers of the "Manchester Guardian," which has for years past opened its columns to statements of the true facts of the situation, now lightly rehearsed as obvious by Lord Moyne, are aware that in no other sense can these abuses be represented as due to mistakes made in good faith, because every one of these oppressive injustices which "everyone now admits," has been precisely stated and argued in these columns, both by specially qualified correspondents and editorially. And the statements made have repeatedly been denied and denounced by spokesmen on behalf of the settlers and even by colonial governors.

The informed correspondents who have written in the "Manchester Guardian" and other accessible parts of the press on these subjects in the past, and whose corrections of the "mistakes" of Kenya government have been pooh-poohed as the misrepresentations of disgruntled ex-officials and meddlesome missionaries, might, but for such commissions, have continued to plead in vain until, by divine good fortune, some sufficiently intelligent, just-minded, and courageous governor could be found to face and admit the facts and to renounce the political faith in which the government of Kenya has so long been conducted.

TANGANYIKA CONCESSIONS.

The report of Tanganyika Concessions provided a very welcome surprise, the profit shown of £294,103 being an improvement on the figures for the preceding year. These satisfactory results were achieved by a substantial advance on profits derived from realisations, and an appreciable decline in general expenditure. Originally formed to develop the mineral deposits of Broken Hill in Northern Rhodesia, Sir Robert Williams, the energetic administrator, became attracted by the reports of vast mineral wealth which awaited exploitation across the boundary in the Belgian Congo, and it is undoubtedly due to his energy and personality that the famous Katanga belt was explored and has proved to be one of the most wonderful storehouses of base metals in the world. To develop the territory necessitated railway communication, and Sir Robert thereupon continued the Rhodesian Railway system from Broken Hill to the Katanga. The early development of Katanga was slow and presented many difficulties, but the indomitable persistence of Sir Robert won through until to-day the Union Minière ranks among the largest individual producers of copper in the world. Completion of the great task opened up the vista of providing an outlet to the Atlantic not only for Katanga and the agricultural wealth of Angola, but to Northern Rhodesia. The Benguela Railway came into being, and at last has been completed. It is ill-luck that the completion should have synchronised with world-wide trade depression, which, however, has but deferred the full reward which the future will confer on those responsible for the great work, which even now has not been recognised for anything like its full and undoubted value. There is undoubtedly a great future for the railway. As for the other interests held by the company the disappointment of shareholders at the passing of a dividend must be mitigated by the fact that they are bearing a part of the cost of Empire expansion, and that their present patience may receive adequate reward when restoration of world prosperity causes the wheels of commerce to revolve once more.

Africa

United Transkeian Territories General Council

Mr. R. D. H. Barry: I would like to get some information from the mover before he replies, as to what he really has in his mind. He has referred, I think, to people trading on their own kraal sites as well as trading at specially-granted trading sites. It is a very important matter if more land has to be granted for trading purposes. It will be a tremendous encroachment on our very congested land, and those grants will have to be made to applicants who already occupy land in the location by virtue of their residential and arable rights. I think we are all agreed that, viewing the economic strength of the Native, there is not very much prospect of the Native being able to acquire trading stations, and the motion that has been brought forward might have the advantage if it could be made practicable of opening the door to the Natives to trade amongst themselves. I think that is something that ought to be aimed at, without, of course, doing a wrong and injury to the established trader who has invested a large amount of capital in his trading station. It is going to be a very difficult matter to reconcile the two interests, but I certainly think the motion is worthy of serious consideration, but for the benefit of those who have to deal with these matters after they pass out of the Council I think it would be well if mover could explain whether he limits the scope of his motion to the granting of trading sites or to the trading at the Natives own individual kraal sites or homestead building sites. Without going against the European traders, I must say my own personal feeling is that we ought to try to encourage the Natives to go in for trade. It is not a matter that it can be lightly dealt with, it is not as easy as it looks on paper, but the principle is one to which I do not think very many fair-minded people will take objection, but I would just again ask the mover to make clear what he intends the scope of his motion to be.

Justice in Basutoland

The Comet
5-2-32

As had been agreed upon in a joint conference of the Progressive Association, the Lekhotla la Ba[illegible] and the other Association the delegates of the B.P.A. went to the Paramount Chief's Great Place on the 16th instant to interview him on the laws of Lerotholi which had been made by the Basutoland Council ten years ago, as a remedy for the grievances of the Basuto people against the chiefs courts. Unfortunately the other two associations were not represented and did not even give an excuse why they did not attend. Whether they were prevented from attending by rain that fell the whole day of the 14th we do not know. Their absence however did not deter the delegates of the B.P.A. who were determined to lay their case before the Paramount Chief. Their persistence shows clearly that they have made up their mind to fight for the good cause on behalf of their people. They stood by this word.

They arrived at the Paramountcy on the 16 h a d found the Paramount Chief n t in good health but prepared to g ant them an interview. He received them. After expressing regret that the Paramount Chief was not in good health and wishing him a speedy recovery from his illness the President of the B.P.A. Mr. J. Mofolo introduced the subject of their mission by reading law No. 3. of Lerotholi laws. This is the law providing for appeals, and the delegates of the B.P.A. pointed out that though the law provides that anyone who is not satisfied with the decision of his chief's court may appeal to a higher court yet there were cases where some people who were not granted such appeal

TWO GREAT SUBJECTS.

TWO matters which go to the heart of European-African relationships have been raised in London during the last week or so. The first is the discussion on inter-racial marriage at a conference of the British Commonwealth League. The features of the discussion, features which should make the conference memorable, were the speeches of Miss R. M. Fleming, of the Royal Anthropological Institute, and Dr. Harold Moody. The substance of Miss Fleming's remarks is given in another column. No more useful speech on African questions has been made in London for a long time. The conference would have justified itself had it evoked only Miss Fleming's remark: "An unfortunate aspect of present racial controversies is that they tend to lay emphasis on skin colour as a criterion of racial character, though no one, so far as I know has ever attempted to prove that the skin is the seat of the intellect or the moral character, or of that elusive enigma, the soul." The reader does not need to be told with what satisfaction that sentence is quoted in a newspaper which has been making a like submission for the last 15 years or so. It is a sentence that deserves to be kept in mind by Governments and others responsible for residential segregation areas. In such areas, if they are not to promote racial ill-will, they must make habit of life, not race or colour, the sole condition of admittance. It is also to be commended to the notice of some in this country who discuss African matters. It was a shock to read recently in even the liberal and distinguished columns of the "Manchester Guardian" an editorial reference to the Liberian situation under the heading of "The Black Republic." What has *black*-ness (physical) to do with the issue? Miss Fleming's remark may likewise be urged upon the attention of General Smuts, who not long ago, in an address delivered at a great seat of learning, gave a gaping world the penny-dreadful judgment that "even the very soul of the Black is different from that of the White." Imagine knowing one's own individual soul! Imagine knowing the soul of one's neighbour. Then imagine knowing the soul of the entire aboriginal population of a vast continent! One cannot. The imagination boggles at it—unless one is a South African general!

Dr. Moody's speech was as noteworthy as Miss Fleming's, from another standpoint. It is to be regretted that there is not space in which to give it also. It is full of wisdom, social and political. The central thought and fact of it is that marriage is an individual, personal affair. Once we grasp that we must if we have a shred of logic in us realise that it would be equally absurd to advocate inter-racial marriage or to attack it. To some, marriage outside their own social or financial stratum, let alone outside their nation, is unthinkable. To others the only thing unthinkable is not marrying a person as to whom such things as race and status and even age are not. It is a business in which all of us must dree our own weirds. About the one positive thing the law can do as to recognition of the marriage of persons of different sections of the human family is to withhold it. Note: withhold recognition of the marriage, not prevent the marriage itself. The law tries to do this last, especially in South Africa, and fails, as completely as ever locksmith failed. The net result of the State's fulminations is increase of irregularity. No intelligent person is surprised at that. Dr. Moody gave the cases of the Welsh and the English in these islands and the British and the Africans in Jamaica as showing (the first-named section in each) that to the extent that the individuals composing a small section do not desire inter-marriage, it does not take place. He might have cited the much more striking case of the Jewish people—small, numerically, but socially and spiritually and racially how impregnable! It is all a matter of individual upbringing and the individual point of view.

The second great matter is that of the film. "The Film in National Life" has been issued, at a shilling, by Messrs. Allen and Unwin, 40, Museum Street, W.C.1. It is the report of a committee which has for several years been inquiring into the cinema and its work. All who are interested should read it for themselves. It is full of matter which must suggest useful thought with regard to the future of this form of art, until lately so much at the disposal of producers in the United States whose work usually exasperates people of above the mental age of about seven. The report suggests the establishment in this country of a National Film Institute, for which a programme of useful work is outlined. The Institute would be a clearing house, library, research centre, advisory body to help Governments throughout the Empire about films, etc., etc. It is proposed that the Institute should be financed partly out of public money. It is not clear why this should be done with films any more than with the stage or music or publishing. One of the duties proposed for the Institute is approval of films as suitable for backward races. What exactly does that mean? If it means that to be African or Asiatic is to be considered "backward," and to be denied access to film exhibitions open to the European section of the community, the Institute may save its breath to cool its porridge, for all the real use it can be in any Crown Colony. Really 'backward" people do not need to be barred access to any picture. If the picture appeals to educated people only, the "backward," because they are backward, will leave it alone. As to the other sections of society, if a film is fit to be seen by one, it must be made fit to be seen by all. Otherwise film supervision will drive the sections of the British Family further apart instead of bringing them nearer to mutual understanding and respect.

LABOUR IN NIGERIA.

A Bill amending the Labour Ordinance of 1929, about to be introduced into the Nigerian Legislative Council, applies such international Conventions as are not already in force to the night employment of women and children in industrial undertakings, but allows children under 14 to be employed in any industry customarily carried on by Nigerians in their own homes. The Governor in Council is also given power to fix minimum wages for areas and occupations where rates are unreasonably low, and penalties of £500 fine and/or five years' imprisonment are provided for the illegal recruitment of labourers for service overseas with forfeiture or detention of any vessel used for their transport.

TWO PLAYS ON AFRICAN LIFE.

Two African Plays," by R. E. Lloyd (Longmans Green and Co., 39, Paternoster Row, E.C.4,—6s. net).

"Plays" is rather an ambitious title to give to these sketches—one in seven acts and the other in four—written by R. E. Lloyd, and they are almost devoid of plot, but none the less they have interest, in that their author clearly knows the scenes described, and out to express definite views regarding Central Africa. The land is seen from the angle of the elephant hunter in the first play, and of the settler

in the second, and not only the land, but the other foreign influences in it,—the missionary and the official. Neither of the last is as narrow in religious or political concepts as the author would have him be, but to anyone who has lived in all three circles, the outlook on the missionary and the official brings back irresistibly the atmosphere in which the young trader or settler evolves his first opinions of Africa. And the atmosphere is not a bad one, for the plays are full of genuine desire to see Africa take the place in the world to which her natural resources entitle her, but, while railing at the way Europe looks at the continent from a distance, planning how to use it to her advantage, the plays, in inculcating the need to regard Africa as "just a place for people to live in," too evidently regard "people" in most instances as meaning "Europeans," and express a view of the environment that has not been borne out by British experience of colonisation in Tropical Africa. With this, clearly unconscious, over-optimistic view of the future of the European settler, the author combines a genuine regard for the existing interests of the people, and it is this regard for the masses that leads to the portrayal of the more Europeanised "mission boy" in a less favourable light, and to the introduction of such an incident, unnecessary to the play and not too true to life, as that in which a teacher, rebuked for not removing his hat, makes an attempt on the life of a missionary. Fortunately, few missionaries are so shortsighted as the priest in the play, nor are officials so woodenheaded or pompous as the author would have us believe, and perhaps official and settler or trader would understand one another better if they remembered the point made in the second of "Two African Plays," that when one comes down to the old accusation of "exploitation," the emoluments of a single senior official for a year may easily represent, at present rates of pay and taxation, 200 complete work-years of an African. Obviously, the true basis for comparison is not so simple as this, but at least the memory of it should check the offensive protestations of altruism with which some officials refer to their work in Africa.

PROGRESS IN HEALTH.

The subject of health in West Africa, recalled once more by the Gold Coast report summarised in another column, has been so commonly identified with that of the European's health on the Coast that it is hardly possible to begin an account of the subject without a reference to the "White Man's Grave," yet it is interesting to note that while sailors like Hawkins (1565), inexperienced in the ways of the country, gave it a bad name, in 1594 the Governor of Santiago, Cape Verde, strongly opposed a proposal to make a Portuguese settlement in Sierra Leone, on the ground that its climate was so pleasant that most of his people would be decoyed away. The truth is, of course, that then, as now and in Macgregor Laird's day, West Africa proved tolerant of the stranger prepared to adapt himself to local needs, but most inhospitable to those who sought, or were forced, to take liberties with its climate. Much illness was also caused by sheer ignorance of prime causes, but the announcement in 1898 of Ross's discovery of the connection between malaria and the mosquito paved the way for a number of discoveries of similar carriers of disease, and we now know much more clearly what proportion of ill-health should be debited to avoidable causes and what to the climate itself.

In regard to African health, however, we are still extremely ignorant, in spite of the medical and health services which have grown up since Laird first set foot in Africa. With increasing knowledge, theories of the physically "magnificent savage" have been swept away, and we are learning that the African, despite certain special adaptations to his environment, is a human being, subject to more, and worse, diseases than ourselves, although many of them, fortunately, are preventable. Malaria causes relatively few deaths among adults, but it is the cause of an enormous direct loss of efficiency, and of indirect effects on mind and temperament, while yaws, leprosy, and a long list of insect-borne diseases are distressingly prevalent. So much attention has been given to European health that it is only recently that the place of malnutrition in the causation of disease has been clearly recognised, save in such specific instances as outbreaks of beri-beri in prisons. As long ago as 1861, members of one of Laird's expeditions remarked upon the actual shortage of food in parts of the Niger Delta, but it is largely through problems of animal health that we have begun to recognise the deficiency of definite chemical elements in certain areas, and its connection with physical resistance to disease. An index to the gravity of the African health problem even to-day is to be found in the report made at Geneva last year during the Conference on the African Child, when it was stated that at a fairly conservative estimate the infantile mortality in "bush" areas was between 300 and 500 per 1,000 births.

Much, however, has been done to put things straight and although it was not until 1867 that so elementary a step as the institution of a Board of Health for Freetown was taken, to be followed in the following year by the completion of a well-water supply for Lagos, most of the great centres of population are being supplied with water and with sanitary supervision and hospitals or dispensaries, while Government efforts in research are well seconded by such institutions as the Sir Alfred Jones Laboratory at Freetown, and special assistance from the Rockefeller Foundation. Smallpox is being fought by vaccination, instead of by the old African method of direct inoculation, and spectacular cures of yaws are brought about by injection. With the aid of the missions and of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association, leprosy is being attacked in farm and other colonies, with prospect of success. Sleeping sickness, spread partly by the commercial activities of modern times, is being investigated, and although no preventive has yet been found, curative means are available, while another introduction of commerce, plague, is limited in risk by the closest attention to port health and to the movement of rats.

Important to health though education in hygiene is, this subject is still handled in many schools in a somewhat impractical manner, largely because, in its overconcentration on European health, the condition of African communities has too often been neglected by the Government, but on the other hand curative institutions have multiplied greatly, and the latest available figures show that 436,777 African patients were treated in Nigerian hospitals, 266,184 in those of the Gold Coast, and proportionate numbers in Sierra Leone and the Gambia, while the sums provided for medical services in the current financial year are as follows: Nigeria, £436,313, out of a total estimate, exclusive of railways, of £5,020,479; Gold Coast, £306,112, out of £2,621,935; Sierra Leone, £75,407, out of £812,746; and Gambia, £24,284, out of £184,401. These sums are, of course, exclusive of the provision under public works or other votes for the erection and maintenance of buildings, and for pension liabilities.

In the absence of any prospect of obtaining a full establishment of medical officers for West Africa, and of making greater financial provision for medical and sanitary services in the near future, the necessity of training further African staff has become clear, and since 1930 a general move has been made in the British Colonies to copy the policy of France, and to train African medical assistants to carry out many of the duties that are urgently calling for fulfilment.. At the same time, provision is being made, notably in the Gold Coast, for the further training of the most suitable in Europe, but progress must unavoidably be slow, owing to the time taken to secure full medical qualifications. In the meantime, a number of Africans have qualified privately, their total in Nigeria representing about one-tenth of the 240 or so practitioners on the local register, but they evince a natural tendency to practise in Lagos, rather than to undertake the financial risks and social separation incidental to work in the provinces. Evidently, therefore, the present policy of establishing dispensaries wherever possible and of instituting in them locally-trained dispensers supervised by Europeans is the best way of filling immediate needs, although with the extension of roads it should be possible to do more than has been done hitherto with a system of motor medical stations.

Natal and the Union

The growing movement in the Province of Natal for secession from the Union of South Africa is a graphic reminder that Constitution-making is one of the most difficult of the arts. When, twenty-three years ago, the Union was achieved the statesmen concerned considered whether they should set up a unitary or a federal system. In the end they chose neither. Chiefly in order to satisfy Natal, which was for historical reasons strongly federationist, a system of provincial councils was evolved with limited powers of local government, in which education was included. The plan has not worked well. The councils have no final executive power; they rely mainly for their funds upon the Union Treasury, and all of them are in debt. Both the political parties in the Union have, when in office, flirted with the notion of abolishing them on the ground that efficiency and economy will be better served by a unified plan of government; and the present Hertzog Ministry, even though its support is largely based on country districts that are strongly "provincialist," favours the plan. The result has been the formation in Natal of a Devolution League, which steadily gains strength at public meetings demanding federal status for the Province. Its adherents protest that the partnership into which Natal entered in 1909 has not been fairly observed. They object to the enforcement of bilingualism in the services. The primary producers among them are hard hit by the Union's "economic independence" in sticking to the gold standard. They urge, and not without support in the other provinces, that centralisation of government will lead in South Africa to an increase of bureaucracy, and that that has already gone far enough in Union politics. It is clear that the Constitution of 1909 is by no means ideal. It is equally clear that the Ministry which tries to reform it, either on federal or on unitary lines, will meet with bitter opposition.

Race Problem - 1932

Africa

Justice in Basutoland.

The Comet (Machachonona)

Two weeks ago we published the report of the joint conference of the political associations existing in Basutoland that had gathered together to discuss the question of the administration of justice in the chiefs' courts and the result of their deliberations which was to approach the Paramount Chief and discuss the matter with him with a view to pointing out to him the seriousness of the position so far as justice was concerned and how he and subordinate chiefs had failed to apply the laws of Lerotholi which had been amended, supplemented and held out to the High Commissioner as the remedy for the peoples grievances against the chiefs' courts. Ten years ago His Royal Highness, Prince Arthur, who was then High Commissioner had allowed these laws to be given a trial and the Resident Commissioner had been instructed to report from time to time whether by the application of the said laws cases were properly heard and decided in the chiefs' courts without undue delay.

4-13-32

Maseru, Basutoland

What report have been sent to the High Commissioner's office since then we do not know. They might have been re-assuring or otherwise for that matter we could not say but what we know is that ever since the remedy was offered it had not been applied. The chiefs have not personally supervised over their courts and neither have they made any attempt to avoid delay in hearing and deciding cases. People have still to stay weeks and months at the chiefs' courts waiting their cases to be heard. Worse still is the chiefs failure to see that the decisions of their courts are carried out except the fines paid to the courts.

From the words of his Royal Highness Prince Arthur the Basuto people had hoped that their interests were jealously gaurded by the Government against the tyranny of their chiefs and that the Government would eventually intervene on their behalf.

Later on about three years ago the Government took steps in the matter and proposals were actually laid before the Basutoland Conncil for the reform of the Native administration, and they were very promising proposals but the chiefs and the Council turned them down Although His Excellency the Earl of Athlone had strongly impressed upon the Paramount Chief and chiefs that if they did not accept his proposals they must make suggestions that they deemed suitable for the improvement of the position still the chiefs failed to do so. Thus matters were allowed to drift and conditions became worse with the result that the Basuto people are beginning to lose confidence in the Government and as it was stated ni a letter that appeard in our last issue they have now biscovered that the British Government representatives in Basutoland are nothing but puppets in the hands of the Paramount Chief, and we may add they have discovered too that protection is merely for the chiefs and not for the Basuto people.

The position in regard to justice and protection in this Territory is certainly serious and unless something is don to improve it we fear that deplorable happenings may result, as to which some one will be held reponsible. The Basuto have endured injustice and misgovernment for many years and their patience has been strained to the breaking point

On the other hand the chiefs have been allowed to ill-treat their people for a long time without restraint and they have become so accustomed to tyranny that it is imposible to expect that they could of their own choice bind themselves with any restrictions or voluntarily ask the Government to make laws retraining them from their despostic treatment of the people. They will always oppose and attempt to secure peoples rights as they consider it an injustice to themselves. The Basuto are a law-abiding people and they have always refrained from doing anything unconstitutional trusting that the Government would listen to their cries and see that their rights are not violated with impunity. How long will they wait for help from the Governmend?

Ridding Africa of Witches

WITCHCRAFT IN AFRICA can not be laughed down.

Literary Digest

It is not so many generations since the white man himself saw witches riding through the air on broomsticks, stirring up trouble, bringing disease and death. The witches in whom scientists and religious leaders believed as late as the eighteenth century still ply their satanic craft in Africa.

Recently, the Governor of Kenya commuted the death sentence of sixty Akamba natives convicted of the murder of a woman reported to be a witch. Some years ago a witch doctor was convicted of having killed 200 witches by immersion. Like cases come frequently before the courts, writes Frank Melland in the London *Times*, but they are only an infinitesimal percentage of the whole number of cases that occur and are not brought to trial.

6-4-32

The Bantu races believe in survival after death and in reincarnation in the new-born. That is their religion. They also believe in witches, writes Mr. Melland. This is not part of their religion. Witches are an abomination, and to the Bantu there is nothing inconsistent between "Thou shalt not kill" and "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" (Exodus XX, 13, and XXII, 18), because a witch is not a human being.

New York, N. Y.

SICKNESS breaks out in the village, a woman dies in childbirth, an elder's son is killed by a crocodile. A man seemingly in good health dies after a short illness.

Mutterings become active discontent, and the chief is anxious. A witch doctor arrives in the nick of time, as he has carefully arranged to do. He goes through his rigmarole, and finally seizes upon old Nakulukananga, whose daughter died in childbirth, and who reared her grandchild from infancy without milk.

The villagers fall upon her, stone her, and end her suffering with a spear.

The witch doctor, says Mr. Melland, is not necessarily a knave or impostor. He often believes that he possesses the powers ascribed to him. Yet all this chicanery or skill would avail nothing if the black man were not so blinded by superstition that he falls an easy victim to his fears. And, says Mr. Melland seriously

"This is a matter we shall never deal with by dubbing it ridiculous and inconceivable.

"Our attitude toward the whole problem has hitherto been wrong, and our law is wrong. It is absurd to expect native chiefs and headmen (who are themselves often witch-doctors) to administer the present law fairly and truly when it is so contrary to their beliefs.

"We confine ourselves to prosecuting those who are fighting what they believe to be the most evil and unnatural curse that afflicts mankind, and who do but hold the belief that was held by Bacon, Raleigh, Lord Coke, Cranmer, Knox, Calvin, Wesley, and many other men of intellect and culture."

WITCHCRAFT is still a terrible reality to the natives of Africa, and, writes Mr. Melland:

"Livingstone and Gordon roused England to the horrors of slavery in Africa; but England remains deaf and blind to this

mental slavery from which every native suffers, and which leads to far more deaths than appear in any chronicle. The actual killing of witches is bad enough, and the scale of killings is big enough, but that is of less moment than the obsession of the belief in black magic.

"Until we can study this psychologically and eradicate it, we shall never accomplish much in Africa. This is a job for anthropologists and psychologists rather than for lawyers, and it should be undertaken at once, or our planning and our new-born ideals are doomed at least to partial failure and dangerous delay.

"The first step, therefore, is to alter the law; until that is done nothing else avails; for the law as it stands stereotypes an attitude that appears preposterous to the natives; but once that is done we can proceed by education to temper, and ultimately to eradicate this all-pervading dread; and then Africa will move forward and begin to find herself."

London, May 9.

"OF AFRICA AND AFRICANS."

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—In view of the correspondence in your columns regarding the Colour question, I feel that a few observations on my part will not be out of place.

All of us have had some extremely unpleasant experiences in the course of our everyday existence in this country. We are, therefore, justified in being bitter.

But, that is only one side of the picture. Our very existence here depends on the goodwill of our many English friends. Every educated African knows that many Englishmen have devoted their lives to the welfare of the Black man both in Europe and in Africa. Indeed unfortunate is the African who, on returning home, has not heartfelt gratitude for the help and friendship of that section of the English community to whom he owes a tolerable existence here.

The persecution of the "Colour prejudice section" of the English community is a prejudice which, like all prejudices, is based on ignorance. Unfortunately, our friends, Messrs. Adoo and Moore, cannot plead this excuse in extenuation of their expressed opinions. It would be a crying shame indeed if we of the African race were to acquire a reputation for gross ingratitude.

It is so easy to concentrate on bitter memories. Personally I find it more pleasant and profitable to think of the happier moments of my stay here.

Yours truly,

London, May 4. GOLD COASTER.

M. DIAGNE'S MISSION.

M. Diagne, who arrived at Dakar by the *Koutoubia*, was met on landing by the Governor-General of French West Africa in the presence of a dense crowd representative of nearly every interest in the port. At the Colonial Ministry he has studied plans for the administrative and economic reorganisation of the French possessions in West Africa, and to him has been entrusted the task, in collaboration with the Governor-General, of carrying them into effect.

Miss Oju Macauley, of Freetown, who owns a B.S.A. machine, is the first African motor-cyclist in Sierra Leone, and probably in British West Africa.

SHAW ON SOUTH AFRICA

Well, George Bernard Shaw's premonition expressed just before setting sail for South Africa some months ago that he would never return to England, amounted to nothing. The old dramatist is back again, giving the country he visited a bad name.

According to him, they are still fighting the British-Boer War of the early years of this century, and the South African Dutch need an intellectual awakening. The white man without property in South Africa, having to sell his labor against native Negro competition, is just out of the South African scheme of things, Shaw believes.

"They do not seem to know that the South African War is over," he said. "In fact, they are prosecuting it with the greatest possible vigor. They are not shooting each other, but they are doing what they can to one another short of that. Apparently when an Afrikander Government gets in an Englishman has no chance of any public job. I presume that when the other party, which calls itself the South African Party, gets in, the Afrikander has no chance of a job. It completely astonished me.

"I imagine that the Afrikanders are looking forward to a time 20 years hence when there will not be any Englishmen left in South Africa, and the English are looking forward to the time when there will not be any Dutch left in South Africa. The fact is they have nothing apparently to do but to amuse themselves a little with all this.

"The Dutch are a very remarkable people. They are very productive physically, and they are quite up to the mark mentally. They look like the ideal people to colonize South Africa, but they are in the 17th century absolutely. The only event that has happened since the 17th century that they know anything about is the South African War, and they do not know that that is over.

"Their religious views belong to the 17th century. They believe in a brimstone hell, and they believe that any child who dies before it is baptized will roast to all eternity in that brimstone hell.

"A number of missionaries should be sent out to them. I have done what I can myself. They ought to send out H. G. Wells and a few other up-to-date and intelligent people to give the Afrikanders the information as to what century they are living in, and make them aware they are 200 years out of date. At the same time they are the most charming people you could imagine.

"Of course, there is the terrible native question, and South Africa is no place for the poor white. The only thing for poor whites, so far as I can see, is the lethal chamber.

"The poor white, who has no property, has to compete with a black proletariat and a low standard of living, and I see nothing for whites who are born there without property but to drown them when they are born. There is nothing to be done apparently."

It is rather odd that G. B. S. should suggest drowning as the means whereby the white proletarian of South Africa could beat the system. We understand the rivers there are few and shallow, and it really seems that a hard-luck man might have some little trouble in finding a locale for his final plunge into The Unknown.

The African's Land-Hunger

Everywhere in the world where white men have settled among natives the way in which the native makes his living has determined his relations with the whites. The largest part of native policy is land policy; and the largest problem of land policy is whether the native can be enabled to support himself adequately in secure tenure of his own land or whether he must be allowed to sink to the condition of a serf dependent on white bounty. Different colonial possessions of ours in Africa have given different answers to this question, some more and some less satisfactory. In Kenya long standing complaints over the provision of native land and the security of the natives' legal title in it were recently met by the appointment of a Commission to examine the whole question. Southern Rhodesia, on the other hand, has been more fortunate, perhaps because the difficulties caused by white settlement have not there been so acute. The first report of the Native Land Board which was set up under the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 is reasonably cheerful reading. It shows that purchases of land in European ownership for resale to natives are steadily being made. Some £16,000 was spent on this last year, and the current estimates provide for a further £12,000. This is not bad for a not very wealthy colony with a total white population about that of an English market town. At the time of its passing the Act was criticised on the ground that, in pursuance of the Rhodesian Government's policy of segregation of ownership, it abrogated the right of the native to purchase land on equal terms with whites. But whether segregation is the best long-term policy for Africa or not, it is plain that the whites in Rhodesia are trying to carry out their part of the bargain with the native which the policy implies. Their effort to provide land for the native contrasts favourably with similar legislation in South Africa which has too often remained a dead letter.

POOR WHITES SHOULD BE DROWNED

LONDON, England, May 12—(By CNS)—Expanding on his comments upon the characteristics of natives and whites in British South Africa, George Bernard Shaw, just returned from that colony, stated last week that the South Africans were 200 years out of date. He had stated previously that native Africans displayed far more intelligence than their white overlords.

Continuing his comment, Mr. Shaw stated: "Of course, there is the terrible native question, and South Africa is no place for the poor whites. The only thing for poor whites, so far as I can see, is the lethal chamber.

"The poor white, who has no property, has to compete with a black proletariat and a low standard of living, and I see nothing for whites who are born there without property but to drown them when they are born. There is nothing to be done apparently."

Race Problem-1932

Africa

"BLACK" AND "WHITE" PEOPLE.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—When your contributor "Spotted Dog" succeeds in persuading the Hausa of Northern Nigeria to refrain from describing himself as a black man (*baki mutum*) he will still be left with the problem of those peoples who are blacker (or if you prefer, darker) than the Hausa.

May I suggest that it isn't what one says but the way in which one says it that really matters, and that there is nothing inherently offensive in the terms "native," "black," or even in "nigger"?

When one Nigerian calls another "a black nigger" the description is not intended as a term of endearment. But, although in moments of excitement some people use the word "nigger" in the sense of "slave," this seems hardly sufficient reason for abandoning a useful word.

We all know that many of the so-called "blacks" are not black, but if in the interests of verbal accuracy they were described as "dark-skinned," would their thin-skinned friends be rendered happy?

Yours faithfully,

DAN HAUSA.

January 16.

[We agree that it is "the way in which one says it that really matters," but our point is that to seize first, and remark upon, the colour of skin of a person is the way of a rather vulgar little boy and that the stereotyping of "black" or "native" as the *first* description of an African by a European wounds the susceptibilities of African fellow members of the Empire and is therefore regrettable alike from the standpoints of courtesy and of Imperial interests though we do not for a moment suppose that in five per cent of cases is such term used with offensive intent. Unfortunately it is the latter minority of cases that are remembered and that cause ill-will. Does not our correspondent see that his remark "when one Nigerian," etc., supplies the best argument against our (Europeans') use of it to or of the Africans? It is more than doubtful if there are any black people. It is certain there are no white people. Why use terms which in any case are inaccurate and in many cases are regarded as insulting, when the simple, correct race names can be used?—ED., "W. A."]

Professor Jabavu Points to African For Pattern on Distributing Wealth

Native Civilization Erected Barriers to Enrichment, He Avers—Says That Moton Was Barred as a "Dangerous Man"

Western civilization might learn much in the way of social distribution of wealth from Africa, Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu, native African, told a group of social service workers, religious leaders and educators in a luncheon address at the Y. W. C. A. headquarters, 600 Lexington avenue, last Wednesday, during which he discussed race relations in the Union of South Africa and evaluated the white political leadership of his country.

He revealed to the public for the first time the fact that an invitation to Dr. Robert R. Moton to visit South Africa in 1927 was rescinded after authorities of the Union announced their intention to bar him from the country as a dangerous man likely to create unrest among the native population.

The culture of his people, Professor Jabavu stated, provided for a rigid social and military discipline, keeping the family and the tribe intact, and erecting barriers against the individual accumulation of wealth. "No man under the system of our fathers dared get rich. It was an offense for which the witch doctor 'smelled' the offender out, that is, made way with him. As a consequence no one has too much and no one starves. Everybody shares alike. In truth, ours was really a communistic society in the most admirable sense. Western civilization may yet learn something from Africa in providing for the welfare of all the people."

Professor Jabavu, a teacher of native and European languages at the South African Native College, Fort Hare, Cape Province, characterized Hertzog, premier of the Union and leader of the Dutch Nationalist party, as being bluntly and relentlessly anti-Negro in his policy of discrimination which he asserts is necessary to maintain white supremacy in South Africa. While Gen. Jan Smuts, Professor Jabavu said, had adopted an indifferent attitude doing nothing for the natives, yet doing nothing actively against them. Native South Africans, the speaker added, greatly appreciated Dr. Moton's calling the general's hand two years ago when in a speech in Town Hall here the white South African rated the Negro "next to the ass the most patient of animals."

The government of South Africa is fearful of the American Negro according to Dr. Jabavu. And for that reason barred Dr. Moton. Only under restrictions and with great reluctance did the government admit Max Yergan, Y. M. C. A. executive, at first. However, so favorable has been the impression made by Mr. Yerger that the restrictions against him had been removed and the speaker expressed the opinion that at this time the principal of Tuskegee Institute might be admitted to the Union.

At the speakers' table were Dr. Moten, Thomas Jesse Jones of the Phelps-Stokes Fund; Miss Mary White Ovington; Channing Tobias, the Rev. Sidney Gulick of the Commission on International Justice and Good-will, which together with Dr. George E. Haynes' Commission on Race Relations sponsored the luncheon. Dr. Haynes presided.

Professor Jabavu arrived in this country on December 29 to attend the Student Volunteer Movement conference in Buffalo. He has lectured at Yale, Princeton, Boston and Atlantic City. He left the country Friday.

50 East African Natives Are Sentenced To Die For Murder Of 'Witch'

NAIROBI, KENYA, BRITISH EAST AFRICA, Feb. 5.—(*AP*)—Sixty natives heard themselves sentenced to death today for killing a woman they called "witch," in one of the most extraordinary trials ever held in East Africa. 2-6-32

The leader of the accused group explained that the woman was a "witch" who had brought severe illness on his wife by casting a spell on her. He said a crowd dragged the "witch" to the sick woman's hut and was told to remove the spell. She agreed to do so, but according to the husband's statement, took off only "half the spell," then ran away.

A mob, mostly young men, chased her and beat her to death with sticks, in accordance with the native custom.

African Professor

"An intensive study of African primitive society might unearth the secret of how man can get rid of wars. We are not, as among tribes, cursed with tariff bariers. We are not always trying to crowd the other fellow out. We live a simple life, but this simplicity is our social salvation."

Thus believes Professor D. D. T. Javabu of the South African Native College, Fort Hare, Cape Province.

Professor Jabavu is one of the virile native African leaders and is now rendering signal interracial service in South Africa through interpretations of native mind and life to the white population. His recent trip to the United States was in connection with the great Student Volunteer Convention held in Buffalo.

Rev. Gow, who is also editor of the South African Christian Recorder, official organ of the A. M. E. Church in that section, has been in the United States for six months he told a Journal and Guide reporter, and will remain until after the General Conference in Cleveland in May.

LEARNED AFRICAN STUDIES COLLEGE PROBLEMS IN U. S.

Journal and Guide 3-26-32

Was Himself Educated At Wilberforce University

PETERSBURG, Va. — Rev. F. Herman Gow, president of Wilberforce Institute, Transval South Africa, was an interesting visitor on the Virginia State College campus during last week.

Rev. Gow is a native of South Africa who was educated in the United States, having attended Tuskegee, Wilberforce (Ohio), and other American institutions of learning. Before returning to his native land to assume the task of developing an institution for the education and development of his own people, he taught for some time at Tuskegee.

The learned South African college president is making a study of the administration of American colleges for the purpose of applying such principles and practices as he observes here to the administration of his own institution in Africa.

While here Rev. Gow lectured on African music to the members of the Choral Society.

Sunday, Rev. Gow preached at the Central Baptist Church, Berkley, of which the Rev. William R. Johnson is pastor. Monday night he

Welcome Leader

Eastern Features Photo.

REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGIOUS, social service and educational organizations welcomed Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu (seated right), native South African leader, to this country at a luncheon held last Wednesday at Y. W. C. A. headquarters, 600 Lexington avenue. Others in the photograph are (standing, left to right) Channing H. Tobias, senior Y. M C. A. secretary; George E. Haynes, executive director, Commission on Race Relations, Federal Council of Churches; Sidney Gulick, secretary Commission on International Justice and Good-Will; seated, Robert R. Moton, principal, Tuskegee Institute.

The Whip for the Native?

South African papers now to hand report the debate in the Union Parliament on the second reading of a Bill that may well arouse the liveliest alarm among all well-wishers of the native African peoples. The Native Service Contract Bill contains among its provisions one which would compel, by the incidence of stiff taxation, a movement from their homes of the present "squatting" native popula tion, numbering many scores of thousands, and condemn them, in the Bishop of Pretoria's words, to wander "about looking for shelter and sub "sistence until many drift into the "towns." Yet this is proposed at a time when the towns are crying out to the Government to stem an invasion of natives seeking work with which they are already unable to cope. The policy might be reasonable if, as General Smuts points out, there were land available which the dispossessed could take up. But it has been the curse of native policy since the Union Govern-ment was responsible for it that this cardinal need, the provision of land, has never been faced. It is hardly to be wondered that discontent spreads. It will not be allayed, moreover, by a yet uglier clause in the present Bill, one that seeks to legalise the flogging of natives, adult as well as junior, for the breaking of contract. The Minister of Justice, in defending this amazing clause, remarked that "no matter how "much they might gloss it over, the "fact remained that throughout South "Africa corporal punishment was "inflicted by farmers on natives." He added that "many natives were "practically barbarians and would "listen to no other argument," and concluded that it was more seemly that the whippings should be legal than private. Small wonder that General Smuts denounced the clause as "setting "at defiance the current of public "opinion everywhere" and as one that could serve only to "tarnish the reputation of South Africa." It is to be hoped that in this matter at least the Hertzog Government will have the vision to see itself as others see it and make an end of so monstrous a proposal.

M. BLAISE DIAGNE.

Economic Mission to French West Africa.

A decree has been submitted for the signature of the President of France appointing M. Blaise Diagne, lately Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Deputy of Senegal, to fulfil a mission having as its object the investigation in French West Africa and in the mandated territories of Togo and Cameroon, of questions affecting their reorganisations from an administrative, economic, and financial point of view.

M. BLAISE DIAGNE.

Find White Girl Raised In Jungle By African Tribe

FICKSBURG, Orange Free State, South Africa, April 13.—CNS— A white girl, the daughter of an Englishman and his Boer wife, was found here recently working in the fields with native omen, clad only in scanty dress and speaking only the Basuto language, an African dialect. According to information secured by a trained nurse who discovered the girl, her mother died and her father deserted her, leaving her to be brought up during the most of her life in Besutoland in a tribe of Basuto natives. The girl is stated to be about 15 years old. Her mannerisms her customs and her whole training has been in keeping with those of other children of the tribe with whom she was trained.

THE NEGRO AS AUTHOR.

Since it is in the sphere of music, drama and literature that the modern American Negro has so far particularly made his mark, it is important that the beginnings of Negro authorship should be thus recorded. Between 1760 and 1900 there are two hundred such writers whom Mr. Loggins has found worth consideration. His very readable and careful record should be followed as soon as possible by the still more interesting story of the newer generation of Negro authors, who are more concerned with the pure art of poetry and literature and not, as with these pioneers, with their racial wretchedness.

One of the first American Negroes, Paul Cuffe, who rose to a position of independence, was a Friend. He was born near New Bedford, Massachusetts, son of an African father and a Red Indian mother, and became a ship-owner and trader. "Filled with the moral earnestness of the religious sect to which he belonged," says Mr. Loggins, "he devoted his mature years to what he believed was the one means of saving the American Negroes from the abuses of slavery and social discrimination. That was the return to Africa as colonist." His work led him to engage in a considerable amount of writing, though this was not intended primarily for publication. His activities also inspired literary work in others of his race.

The first American Negro seriously to attempt the novel, the drama and travel literature was William Wells Brown, who also has Quaker connections, for he took his name from Wells Brown, a Quaker, who assisted him on his flight from slavery to freedom in 1834. His novel was "Clotel" A Narrative of Slave Life in the United States," while he also wrote a lively travel book, "Three Years in Europe."

Whittier's name figures frequently in the book as the friend of the coloured man, and, incidentally, in the case of James Williams as a victim. He acted as amanuensis when Williams dictated a vivid story of his slavery life, afterwards declared untrue. But this incident may rather be noted as signifying Williams' *flair* for vivid fiction.

Outstanding figures in the opening periods of Negro literature are Phyllis Wheatley, the slave girl poet, Frederick Douglass, orator as well as author, Booker T. Washington, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, poet and novelist, and Charles W. Chesnutt. The last named is still living at the age of 75. Chesnutt is the link between the old and the new, for it is impossible to tell from his books to which race he belongs. They strike the new note of world consciousness.

H. W. Peet

Africa

Intermediate School:- Maseru

(The Court Mochochonono.)

The 23rd. of April last was the day for the presentation of certificates to the students of the local Government Intermediate School. This interesting and enjoyable little function took place in the National Council Chamber where over five hundred people had assembled to witness the occasion, and that spacious Chamber was so packed up with men, women and children that large numbers had to content with appearing at the doors and through the windows. It was the second occasion that this function took place since the school was started nearly three years ago.

F. Foord Esq. Acting Resident Commissioner had been invited to the meeting by the Committee of the School and had kindly consented to present the certificates and prizes to the students. Present besides the Chairman of the Committee Mr. H. Ashton, Dr. Stirling and three Native members namely N. M. Sehole E. S. Mochochoko and N. M. Tlale, was Mrs Stirling and F. H. Dutton, Esq. Director of Education and two members of the Staff of the St. Catherine's School. Chief Fako, headmen of the village was also present.

The presentation of certificates was alternated with singing by the school children and followed by the reading of the annual report of the work of the School by the Secretary which is appended hereunder.

"I am standing up to read to you the annual report of the work of the Government Intermediate school, Maseru. You will remember that last year about this time we held here under this roof the first meeting for the presentation of certificates to the successful students and it was indeed a much greater success than we had expected as it had been the first occasion in which such a meeting was held.

It was in that meeting that the annual report of the School Committee was read to you. To the credit of the teaching staff and the children His Honour the Resident Commissioner invited the school on the following Saturday to intertain a distinguished visiter in the person of Dr. Jesse Jones who had occasion to visit Basutoland at the time. During that meeting the school and the people who were present had the privilege of listening to a short but encouraging address of that eminent educationist. Dr Jones was requested to present three prizes for good conduct to three of our students and as a token of his appreciation of the honour done to him he donated a sum of £1 to the school for prizes for good conduct

The teachers and the children during last year have worked hard in their lessons as you have seen from the number of certificates that have been presented in each class We have had better results compared with the previous year. I may mention also that our school has presented more candidates for examination than any other Intermediate Schools in Basutoland and has more passes than the rest. We have won four prizes in the general examination and three prizes in the Bible examination of the P E. M. Schools. This is pleasing and encouraging but we are hoping to get still better results for our next annual meeting.

As it was done in our last years meeting the sewing of the school is exhibited here on the tables and after the closing of the meeting you will have an opportunity to look round and see what your girls are doing in the school

It was reported last year that our foot-ball team was competing for Stuart Cup for junior boys and failed to obtain the cup They have once more competed for the cup during the foot ball season and again they failed to win the cup which went to Masite Intermediate School. The cup is competed for by six schools namely: Mafeteng. Kolo. Masite. Maseru and two schools at Morija. The school that scores the greatest number of goals wins the cup. Our team played against four schools instead of five and their agregate number of goals was 23 while the winning school had 25 goals. It is possible our school could have won the cup if it had played all the competitive schools. They have however maintained their good reputation in this sport. Of the four schools they played it was only Morija Practising School that beat them. We hope that proper arrangements will be made this year for competing for this cup and we hope that our present team will do its utmost to win the cup this year so that we also may drink out of it.

On the 3rd August last the Committee had arranged for athletic sports at the school grounds Owing to the inclements of the weather it was not such a success as it had been expected to be. Only a small number of parents, notable among which was Chief Fako, had attended and they enjoyed the day with the children. Thanks are due to the Director of Education the Chairman and others who contributed small sums of money for prizes for the winners of the day. The Committee has however decided that this should be made an annual event to be competed for by other Intermediate Schools. A trophy has been awarded by Mr. H. Ashton our Chairman that will be competed for by other Intermediate schools namely Thaba Bosiu, Matsieng, Morija, Mafeteng, Kolo and Masite.

This years meeting will be held on the 3rd October next, and we are hoping that parents will co-operate with the school in making the event a success that it is expected to be and that the children will do their best to be the first winners of this trophy.

It was reported last year that the Pathfinder and Wayfares movements have been started in the school and the leaders report very favourably about their progress. There are already two troops of 32 boys each of Pathfinders under the training of Mr Taylor and 15 girls under Mrs Gibson. For the Wayfarers it is reported that new recruits will not be taken until the present have been efficiently trained for leadership.

The Committee and the teachers thank the parents for their kindness in not hindering their children to participate in these sports.

The Head Teacher reports that discipline in the school has been very good and the attendance regular and children are acquiring habits of cleanliness.

The Committee must thank the parents for the support they have given them in carrying their duties and they must remined the parents that education should begin at home and in order that they may make sound foundations for the education of their children they must endeavour to make the home influence the chief source of encouragement to learning.

After the report was read Mr. Foord stood up to make a few remarks. He expressed pleasure for having had the privilege of presenting the certificates and prizes to the pupils of the Intermediate School His face was familiar to most of the people there assembled and as he had been stationed here before he had no doubt that most of the school children there present must have been born during his time as Assistant Commissioner for the district he therefore stood before them like a proud father He congratulated those who were successful in their examinations and encouraged them to continue to work hard in their lessons. To those who were not fortunate to pass their examinations he said they should not be discouraged but they must exert more effort so that next year their names should be among those who shall receive certificates. They were fortunate in having so energetic a man as their secretary and such capable men in their Committee.

He was pleased to see that they were taking a keen interest in sports and he hoped they would make every effort to make their school the first in sport among the schools of Basutoland.

After the singing of the National Anthem the meeting was closed with three ringing cheers for His Mayesty the King.

EMPIRE COTTON.

Increased Output in Uganda.

The production of cotton in all Empire fields, except Uganda, fell off considerably in 1931. The British Cotton Growing Association state, in their report for that year, that the cause in some instances was unfavourable climatic conditions and in others a disinclination to grow cotton at the unremunerative prices prevailing. For some years up to the end of 1930 the production and consumption of Empire and outside growths of cotton had been gaining ground at the expense of the United States, but last year this tendency was checked.

The increasing yield of the Uganda area, 200,200 bales from 739,690 acres under cotton, shows that the Uganda Protectorate maintains its outstanding position among the cotton-producing countries of the Empire, both as regards output and quality; and the association considers that in a year of comparative failure in many other areas the success of the crop in Uganda is a most gratifying achievement.

The total estimated production of cotton grown in new fields in the British Empire in 1931, in bales of 400 lb., was 395,200 bales. The chief areas of supply after Uganda were the Sudan (128,500 bales) and Northern Nigeria (14,000 bales).—"The Times."

United Transkeian Territories General Council

Abolish of Five-Mile radius: Trading Sites for Natives

Cr, M. M. Balfour: I stand up to second the motion. I do not known whether I am beating a dead horse over this matter. I think this matter was brought before the Council in 1921 or 1922. In those days the mover of this motion to-day was the interpreter at the Council. The motion says that the five-mile radius between shops should be abolished and that as the position stands to-day it prevents a Native from trading. That is the inner meaning of the motion. Anyone who considers this matter will find that the Native man has been given no chance to trade, whereas all the other races are doing all they can to trade, because that is a means of employment for a race. Now it is time for the Native to look about to find out that trade is the backbone of a nation's living. Under this rule no trading stations can be established within a five-mile radius. Now sir, this is a great complaint of the Native, because he wants to trade but cannot go about it. This motion is a prayer. The motion was passed by the Council in 1922, but I do not know what became of it afterwards because it did not take effect. Now, I implore that deep sea into which that motion went last time to let this motion take effect this time. The late respected Mr. Walter Carmichael once said that the object of the five-mile radius rule was to make it possible for the Natives to have an opportunity to trade when their eyes were opened. I followed out that truth. If that was the case has the time not arrived when the five-mile radius rule should be removed? I am of opinion that the time has come when a relaxation should be made so that the Native man may be given an opportunity. This motion expresses the views of Council. The motion has been before the Council before, but what I think the Council does not know is what became of the motion. I therefore implore the District Chairmen to see that this matter is advanced a step forward this time.

Cr. S. S. Matoti: I also desire to say a few words on this motion, not forgetting, sir, your remark in connection with this matter. At one time you remarked: "Leave the matter alone each application will be considered on its merits when it has been submitted. That is not sufficient. Your successors may hold different views. The Native is difficultly situated. Even in Parliament there is a dispute. They say there is much unemployment and therefore the Native people should go back to their own areas. Also the Railway Department are discharging people and saying they should be sent back to their own areas. The Native is now finding himself in a difficult position; he does not know where to work. I have experience on this point. At one time I wanted a licence and applied for four years. The distance of the site I applied for was quite alright when one went by the main road, but as the crow flies it is shorter by a quarter of a mile. I was helped by Colonel Stanford and succeeded. There should be a law to allow Natives to carry on trade in their country because we have nothing else to fall back upon. We have been driven away from other work.

Cr. P. Lavisa: This is a matter we regard as being very important because the country to-day is thickly inhabited. There are many people who cannot get land to plough and the problem is how are these people going to earn their living? A man may go to earn money at Johannesburg, but when he comes back the difficulty is how is he going to use his money. There is no place where he can keep sheep or cattle, and if he is going to put his money in the ground and leave it there it will bring him nothing. If this five-mile radius rule is done away with that man would find an opportunity to enter trade and trade among the Native people, that is, if this five-mile radius was done away with so far as the Natives were concerned. There are many more people to-day than there were when this arrangement of a five-mile radius was fixed. That means that the time has come therefore to shorten the distance, but let it be a Native man who is allowed to come in and that will not injure the original European trader. We take it that the Native Territories are the only land we got under the sun, and that it is the only place where we can live and die, and it is the only place where we can either make progress or go down. We see that in the towns there are many shops and there is not a single street without its own shop, but that is no oppression at all on the people but a help, because the more shops there are the cheaper are the prices paid by the people. The more competition amongst the traders, the greater the benefit to the people. Even with the small education that we have got we can see that no race has ever succeeded without trade, and we are aiming at that also, so that there should be an opening for our children to trade, so that we may become a race. We do not think this desire of ours is a bad one. The parent who has a boy is always very glad when he sees that boy making clay cattle, and our father, the Government will see that his boys are lively boys when they can form desires like this.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FRANCHISE.

THE British West African Colonies have a direct interest in events in India, for in the present political problems of that great country they see tasks that they themselves will have to handle in due course. Among these problems that of electoral representation is always prominent, and the report of the Indian Franchise Committee, just issued, is consequently of special interest. With the diversity of peoples and the low percentage of literacy, it would have been easy for the committee to go astray after "Asiatic" modes of representation, and West Africans will be relieved to see that it has decided, after all in favour of a considerable extension of adult franchise, to be achieved partly by the inclusion of a proportion of the depressed and labouring classes and of more women, and partly by a lowering of the property qualification. In a population of 338,000,000 immediate general adult franchise is obviously impracticable, but it is good to see that the committee realises that mere literacy is no final test of political wisdom, and that the mechanical difficulty of illiteracy may be overcome by the use of broadcasting, just as the illiterate Gold Coast trader overcomes his handicap by conducting his "correspondence" over the telephone.

The expansion of the proportion of female voters from a twentieth to a fifth of the whole has had a mixed reception similar to what it will have one day in West Africa unless Moslem and Christian change their views as to the rights of their womenfolk, but it is clearly as idle to speak of representative government by one sex only as by any other special section of the people.

For West Africa, the lesson of the report is that at present there is no better system of representation in sight than that of direct suffrage, and if full recognition be given to this fact it will be realised that the "Africanised" forms of local government at present being fostered will in time evolve into systems of individual representation, not through "Europeanisation" of the people, but because the African, like mankind generally, is learning that by that means alone can he become fully articulate. This is not to say, however, that he will develop the party system as we know it—or knew it, for we ourselves are less certain of its benefits than we were,—although his ancient rights already exercised, genius in the application of "secret" societies to the solution of his general problems makes it unlikely that his village, his municipality, or his Native Administration will see that the public is educated to its responsibility his representatives will be elected haphazard. Since further growth of the electoral wider franchise for Africa must come in time. let us

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The expansion of the proportion of female voters from a twentieth to a fifth of the whole has had a mixed reception similar to what it will have one day in West Africa unless Moslem and Christian change their views as to the rights of their womenfolk, but it is clearly as idle to speak of representative government by one sex only as by any other special section of the people.

For West Africa, the lesson of the report is that at present there is no better system of representation in sight than that of direct suffrage, and if full recognition be given to this fact it will be realised that the "Africanised" forms of local government at present being fostered will in time evolve into systems of individual representation, not through "Europeanisation" of the people, but because the African, like mankind generally, is learning that by that means alone can he become fully articulate. This is not to say, however, that he will develop the party system as we know it—or knew it, for we ourselves are less certain of its benefits than we were,—although his ancient genius in the application of "secret" societies to the solution of his general problems makes it unlikely that his representatives will be elected haphazard. Since the public is educated to its responsibility the further growth of the electoral exercised, and let the future African himself by a closer interest in the affairs his municipality, or his Native Adminis- wider franchise for Africa must come in time. let us

Race Problem—1932

Africa.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

THE FUTURE OF LIBERIA.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—Please extend further hospitality in your valuable columns for observations in reply to portions of your footnote to my letter in your issue of October 17.

By national independence I mean the continued existence of the Republic as a sovereign State free from harassing external influences to the extent of being reduced to the status of a Crown Colony with connotations inherent in the Mandatory system. Sovereign independence, however, does not exclude inter-dependence under the fostering care of the League since, in the universal order none, whether individual or nation, is self-sufficient. Each exists for all and all for each. Consequently, the sympathetic advice and material assistance mentioned by you would be compatible with independence.

But advice in health administration and assistance in loans would not, in my humble opinion, exhaust the list of dire needs of the country. Equally important and insistent is education of the masses. In connection with this point reference was made in my letter to the "raw and primitive environment of the Republic as one of its handicaps to progress." You, sir, lament, rightly, the spectacle of the export of human beings to foreign countries with governing men drawing money gains therefrom. I contend that this was possible owing to the absence of education among the people, which would have enabled them to defend themselves against would-be despoilers; thus automatically eliminating the charge of slave dealing.

But Liberia is not singular in respect of influential placemen misusing their position to the detriment of the illiterate masses. History furnishes ample evidences. Crass illiteracy, as in Liberia, alongside a literate governing minority has always militated against progress. On the other hand, universal education has tended to the improvement of the relationship among the classes to the benefit of the body politic. It follows that an educated proletariat is the most potent bulwark of freedom from exploitation and wanton enslavement. The progress of Liberia will, therefore, be contingent upon unstinted provision of this civilising agency, which can hardly be left to the unaided efforts of the Republic. The assistance of British and American missionary agencies, with particular reference to those already operating in West Africa, assisted financially by shipping and commerce, whose indebtedness to the Kroo nation ought to be met, would be most welcome.

You agree that "the European nations with Colonies in Africa are not morally entitled to sit in judgment over Liberia," but deny that they are so sitting. If, as I assume, the opinions of certain British men of affairs are intended to influence the attitude of the League in its endeavour to determine the future administration of the country, I think I am justified in inferring that they are so sitting. With one or two exceptions, the commentators were in favour of the Mandatory system.

I come now to your contention that "in the British Crown Colonies Natural Rulers of the aboriginal race hold office everywhere, honoured, respected and obeyed," in denial of my assumption that the highest administrative positions, taboo to educated and cultured citizens in these areas, are open to Kroo citizens of the Republic with similar qualifications. In support of this rebutter you refer to the Alafin of Oyo and the Emir of Katsina as having "more real power than President King had." I confess my inability to grasp the drift here. What real power, pray, do these African rulers wield? Are they not rulers in name only much worse than the Indian princes, who, according to Mr. Gandhi, are in the position of a British officer, "who must obey orders," a position described as "abject submission"? Can any of them "call his soul his own," or "originate" and prosecute a project in the interest of his people independently of the likes and dislikes of the Resident? Or are you referring to the postulated "gain" by which the Princes (the Emirs) are permitted to treat their subjects pretty much as they please in "place of the exactitude of politeness and political rectitude" which, in Nigeria, are known to include much more in a tangible way? Would a White man take instructions from any of these rulers which he could not help but take from the President if he were resident in Liberia? No further comment seems necessary.

Then as regards New Zealand. Here, again, I fail to see the analogy. I referred to the Crown Colonies with their bureaucratically hidebound Constitutions and you choose an example in support of your standpoint from quite a different set of circumstances—a Dominion, in fact, with similar free political institutions as England. In New Zealand, where the party system of Government is the *sine qua non* of their Constitution, and where the two races have, commendably, evolved a common working basis of action, devoid of the invidious racial distinctions characteristic of Crown Colonies, in the development of their common responsible task, it is possible, even sensible, not only for a Maori to be appointed Acting Prime Minister, but to hold the substantive post without qualms on the part of the community.

But while England has been, and is apparently still intent upon continuing to "muddle through" with her responsibilities in the Crown Colonies; while merit is forced to trail in the dust in these regions, for racial reasons, even this New Zealand achievement over which you, sir, are gloating, has, if I may say so, been outstripped by a neighbouring European Power both in West Africa and elsewhere, not to say, in Europe itself, yielding to the logic of facts. I refrain from mentioning names or giving particulars. Nevertheless my drift can hardly escape the appreciation of the average reader. Even lower posts seem practically sacrosanct for Europeans only, in the Crown Colonies. Perpend the case of Mr. Woolhouse-Bannerman which you have never ceased to champion, without success. The recent commotion in some English papers in denunciation of the mere suggestion by the Governor of Nigeria to the effect that the indigenes might qualify for some of the higher appointments in the Service is also in point. More cases might be referred to.

Does it not look like abuse of power, for this state of affairs to sway the policy of British Crown Colony statesmanship? Is the policy as regards the position of the indigenes in the government of their own country reassuring to the reflective African? What does it augur? Such questions crop up in the mind of the average African.

Your final observation, that "one of the weaknesses in Liberia is the fact that the President is of different stock, speech and outlook from many of the people in the remoter parts of the country" is, to my mind inconsistent with the facts. By "stock," I presume you mean racial stock. If so, it is evident that the innuendo would be more applicable to the Governor of a European Colony in Africa than to the ruler of a Negro Republic who is of the same racial stock as the people. No, sir, the causes lie deeper, and must be partly traceable to the absence of education as advocated above, which fact in itself constitutes a great contradiction and, consequently, an indefensible stumbling-block in a "Republic." Given this indispensable facility in an unstinted degree, the language difficulty will automatically disappear, thus equalising the outlook also.

In conclusion, it would seem to be forgotten, or ignored (which?), that the world has left far behind the age when "for one man's disobedience the many were made sinners," and is now, in its upward progression, in the dispensation when, "the soul that sinneth it (alone) shall die."

Apologising for the length of this letter,

Yours faithfully,

Elmina. AFRICANUS.

Mother Sought By Protege Of Pygmy Tribe

MIAMI, FLA., May 17.—(*AP*)—Robert Thomas Thompson, 28, who described himself as having been partially reared by an African pygmy tribe, today opened a search for his mother, from whom he said he had been separated since he was a child.

Thompson said he sought his mother in Biloxi, Miss., where they lived until his father took him as a child to Africa after maternal grandparents disapproved of his parents' marriage.

He learned that his mother left Biloxi in 1910 and came to the East coast of Florida, he related, adding that her maiden name was Evelyn Moore and that she married his father June 4, 1902, on a British sailing vessel en route from New Orleans to Liverpool.

Thompson said he knew nothing of his mother until his father's mining partner in Captown, Africa, told him her identity just before he died last September.

He explained his life with the pygmies by saying that members of the tribe raided his father's hunting camp when he was a child and took him to their camp. Later the father learned of his son's whereabouts and went to the camp of the savages. The father was not permitted to take his son back to civilization, Thompson related, and chose the alternative of remaining with the tribe. He died when Thompson was 11 years old, the latter continued.

Hunters later found the lad and took him to Capetown.

Plea for a vegetable market in Maseru.

The Comet
(Mochodonono)
4-3-32
Maseru,
Basutoland.

It is said that heaven is not reached in a single bound, a ladder by which to rise must be built. The truth of this can be proved in many ways. In order to reach the mountain top one must start from the foot of the mountain; so I think the Basuto must leave no stone unturned to embrace the virtues not the vices of the western civilisation. It is the duty of Europeans in Basutoland not only to govern and trade with Basuto, but also to help them to rise on the ladder of the western civilisation which has stood a test of two thousand years and an encouragement must be given to Basuto to rise to that civilisation by every possible means.

While I admit that Europeans have tried to civilise Basuto in respect of clothing, ploughing implements, reading and writing but I regret to state that in respect of trading Europeans have given very little or no encouragement at all.

As a right step in the direction of teaching Basuto how to trade among themselves and to instil in them a spirit of competition not with Europeans but among themselves, I would suggest the establishment of a "Weekly Vegetable Market" in Maseru to enable local people and those of the surrounding villages to dispose of their vegetables or garden produce for their benefit. This market will act as a stimulant to Basuto to devote their attention on the improvement of their garden produce and the result may be that Basuto will rise from the lowly vegetable market to the high live stock market which may lead to the solution of a vexed question of overstocking in this Territory

From December to April in each year fruit and other vegetables are brought in abundance to Maseru to be sold by individual owners to whosoever may wish to buy them, to say nothing about meat cars that run about in Maseru Town. As Maseru is no longer a Camp but a town, the establishment of a vegetable market is very necessary and it will meet a long-felt want. The practice of Basuto women and girls crowding the street with bundles of forage, baskets of peaches, grapes, melons, pumpkins etc. will cease and these articles will be disposed of at the market place. House boys will no longer take the trouble of going to the location and villages to buy eggs for their Mistresses.

I hope the local authority will not be indifferent to these aspirations of Basuto; I am sure the establishment of a vegetable market in Maseru will be a blessing to both local Europeans and Basuto.

A. Tas,
Orating.

United Transkeian Territories General Council

Scholarships for Medical Students proceeding Overseas.

The Comet
VIII
(Mochodonono)

Cr. E. J. Mayeza: I support the motion: The medical profession would be one of the great things amongst the Native people and would be of great services.

4-3-32

Cr. W. P. Mtandu: There is nothing more needful than the subject of this motion. A similar thing to this one has been declined by the Government, and we would like to express our feelings to the Government. When the matter was previously discussed certain conditions were laid down. It was decided that a proclamation should be issued about the matter, and we have looked forward to that proclamation. In that discussion it came out that Parliament agreed that there was need for the medical profession amongst Natives, and we do not understand Government's reply that they do not approve of the money of ratepayers being spent on boys to get education overseas. On what grounds do Government take up that attitude? Government is not spending money in respect of certain individuals but on people generally. We take a different view, and there may be something at the back of Government's mind that they do not tell us. We will tell the Government our feelings. Last year we were told that Government was not ready to allocate the money. Then a certain young man was send overseas for education out of Council funds. We do not want it for ourselves but for the good of the country. Let it be clear that what is required by Natives in this direction is also supported by the white people, and by our representatives in Parliament. I hope the Council will approve of the motion unanimously. There is great need for it for our race.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no need to discuss the matter further I am confident there is no one in this room European or Native, who will oppose the motion. There is a great demand for Native Medical men. The matter was dicussed in this Council last year and resolution passed was duly conveyed to the Government. Before a reply came application was made by Fort Hare Natvie Collage, on behalf of a student there who had been offered a scholarship to study medicine in New Zealand. The application was for a supplementary grant of £50 the scholarship offered by the New-Zealand Student Christian Movement not being sufficient. I asked the Government to reply to the resolution of the Council to enable us to deal with that matter. A reply came in due course approving of the grant, but saying that the principle of granting scholarships was still under consideration. In anticipation of the approval of the Council at this session the Principal of Fort Hare was informed that this Council would pay annually £50 for five years to Clarence Piliso to enable him to complete his course as a medical student. He has arrived in New.Zealand, I am informed, and is now pursuing his medical studies there, and I am sure we all wish him the best of good fortune. In view of this matter on the order paper I telegraphed a week or so ago asking for Government's decision on the motion of last year, and a reply has been received by telegraph saying that the Government is not in favour of granting scholarships out of public funds—it includes in public funds the Council for students to proceed oversea for medical or agricultural training (last year you included agricultural training) but as the matter of training medical students in South Africa is under investigation I am hopeful from this telegram that arrangements will be made for the training of medical students in this country, more particularly if no assistance is given them to go overseas. It seems to me that if they cannot do the one the other must necessarily follow. We are all, I think, in favour of training Native doctors. There are some seven in South Africa already, but I think we could do with 70 more at once. This motion suggests rendering financial assistance to students proceeding overseas. In view of Government's decision and it has been carefully considered for nearly a year—would it not be better to alter the motion to read "that the Council render financial assis ance to Native medical students"—leaving the question open as to whether they train in this country or elsewhere. If arrangements are made at Cape Town or the Witwatersrand University for the training of Natives as doctors we would not, under the resolution as it stands, be able to assist them financially. It may be better to alter the motion to make it wide so as to help a man or men studying in this country, and it would not prevent the grant of assistance to men going overseas if the Government approves. If the mover, with the consent of the mover wishes to take out all the as amended, was carried.

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Race Problem - 1932

Africa

NEWS FROM BANDAJUMA, SOWA CHIEFDOM

SORROW TURNED INTO JOY.—The 3rd of Septembe was a day of sorrow and rejoicing to the inhabitant and kind friends residing at Bandajuma, Sowa Chiefdom, in the Southern Province. At early dawn it was a great surprise to everybody to see the flowing condition of Bandajuma River. Mr. H. N Barrett, the Ferry Supervisor, was very busy tha morning seeing after the pontoon boat on which the motor lorries are to cross the river. He spent about two or more hours trying to get everything in the boat straight. At last, he succeeded in his plans and the pontoon boat was quite safe to cross over the motor lorries.

We congratulate Mr. Barrett for his efforts that day. A few minutes after he left to visit another river the Paramount Chief's boat left the shore to cross to the other side with eight persons including the Captain and a little boy of eight years old. The boat had scarcely left the shore when it was caught by the tide and drifted to the middle of the river; the men did alltheir best to pull up but no avail and the Captain seeing the sorrowful plight they were in, caught hold of the wire rope of the Pontoon Boat but unfortunately it slipped off his hands, he lost his balance and fell into the river. When he again appeared on the surface, the boat had heen drifted over a hundred yards away so he had to save himself by swimming ashore which took him some time. Within another few minutes the others in the boat had been drifted out of sight despite all their efforts to pull against the tide. The river was very high, yet some humane and courageous young men, who proved themselves loyal to their Chief and Country, voiunteered to swim the river and trace the whereabouts of their countrymen; the foremost of these was a school boy of 18 years old named Murray, whose aged father was one of the passengers in the boat; he was the first to get to the spot two miles off and bring report that the men were all quite safe up a tree. Later the others returned and reported likewise; there was great rejoicing and admiration for the courage Murray showed.

The Paramount Chief receiving this report was partly pleased but anxious how the men would be brought home. Ten men, stronggood swimmers, then volunteered to swim right through and bring their countrymen home; amongst them was Abdul Bangura who has always been willing and ready to sacrifice his life for others.

Arrangements having been completed the men jumped into the river with the good wishes and God's blessing etc., from the Paramount Chief and the people who were all out to witness the sorrowful as well as heroic event. They all waited there till 6 p.m., when the first swimmer arrived with the little boy of 8 years, and a few minutes after the rest of the rescue party arrived with the other victims and were greeted with cries of joy and exultation.

There was singing and dancing in escorting the men to their different homes to the effect that men whose lives were thought to have been lost were among them once more. We sympathise with the victims and join in the jubilation of their family and friends. We congratulate Paramount Chief Lahai Sowa for success in his efforts, also hats off to the courageous men who risked their lives to save others It was stated that when the boat struck the tree and the men held on to it, making fast with a rope, the boy of eight years was the first to climb up before the others followed. We hope proper representation will be made in the right direction so that cognizance will be taken of the humane and courageous action o he men. Truly it was a day of sorrow and rejoicing

Native Taxation.

After publishing "An Open Letter on Basutoland Problems" which dealt with several subjects among which was one of taxation we find that in its September number "The South African Outlook" in its editorial notes, publishes extracts of the report on Native Taxation in East Africa, by Lord Moyne in which among other things it says:

"In the recent retrenchment schemes Lord Moyne argues that there have been excessive cuts on the important Native betterment services of education, roads, health, and agriculture. It is held that the proposal of the Joint Select Committee that the Governor should yearly allocate to the Native administration such funds as he thinks fit would not prove a practicable method in view of the exceptional constitutional arrangements which have grown up in Kenya. It is proposed instead that a Statutory Committee be created under the chairmanship of the Governor, to finance the major services of Native betterment. *Half of the average annua yield of direct Native taxation should be paid every year into a fund under the control of the Native Betterment Committee.* This contrasts very favourably with the one-fifth allocated to a similar fund in the Union of South Africa. The report discusses the present system of direct Native taxation, which is held to be too inelastic and rigid for present-day conditions, though owing to the increase of wealth in the more-favoured districts the present amount of direct Native taxation could be collected without hardship if the incidence were transformed so as to vary according to taxable capacity. Details are given of certain tribal areas where, owing to the fall of prices and the lack of markets, it is now very difficult for the Native to find money to pay taxes, and drastic amendments of the present system are suggested so as to secure adequate differentiations between districts according to taxable capacity and between individuals according to their relative wealth. The proposals for recasting Native taxation include the separation of the present combined hut and poll tax into a uniform poll tax of 6s., and hut tax to be levied at varying rates, according to the wealth of districts, pending the eventual substitution of a cultivation tax on the lines of that now in force in Nigeria. A Native livestock tax is also recommended to be applied as a tax on wealth, but only over and above a certain free allowance."

From this extract it will be seen that conditions in East Africa, so far as Natives are concerned are very much similar to those of Basutoland though perhaps there might be a difference in the degree in which each country is affected. There also appears to be some difference in the system of administration in certain respects while in others they are practically the same. For instance while they have a Native Betterment services fund in Basutoland we haven't got it. Had the proposals of the Government been accepted by the Council two years ago Basutoland would by this time be enjoying the benefits of such a fund, but unfortunately the proposals were rejected by the chiefs and councillors on very flimsy excuses. What is said about direct Native taxation in East Africa may be said about Basutoland. The system of direct taxation among the Natives is an old one which aimed at spurring the idle Natives out of their kraals to the labour centres to work and make themselves as useful as they could be. It served its purpose then, but now-a-days it could not be said that it is fair. As Lord Moyne's report states it is "too inelastic and rigid for the present-day conditions." We have no doubt that it would be for the interests of the Basuto if the suggestions made about Native taxation in East Africa would be considered by the Basutoland Administration with a view to applying same in the territory. The present system of direct taxation is not conducive to progress and it is desirable that some form of taxation which may be conducive to progress should be adopted. The Basuto are at present confronted with the new and rapidly growing problems which it would be wise to tackle in their early stages rather than wait until they are at their worst. We are faced with the problem of the rapidly decreasing pastures due to overstocking and soil erosion. These two evils in a territory under communal system would be difficult to effectively combat as the campaign against them is everybody's business and therefore nobody's business in particular. While there will be a lot of talk about taking steps to tackle them, there will be on the contrary little effort made to fight against the evils. The only effective way of combating the threatening evils would be by introducing livestock and cultivation tax. The livestock tax would keep stock within reasonable limit and above that it would be conducive to the improvement of stock, while cultivation tax will improve agriculture in this territory by the people giving more attention to their lands and adopting modern methods of agriculture to make the ground most productive, as nobody will be so foolish as to pay tax for a land which he has not made up his mind to put to the best use so that he can get the most out of it. At the same time this would increase the value of land to the Basuto who will surely be awakened to the necessity of combating soil erosion.

PARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

FARMERS' MESSAGE NO. 5.

AGRICULTURAL CREDIT SOCIETIES

In the last Message we saw how we should decide and get to work in order to give ourselves the benefits of Agricultural Credit Societies. We will now proceed on our way to see what we do further, how help is given, and what rights and responsibilities the Members of such a Society gain and take upon themselves when they act in this way.

REGISTRATION.—The original members of the Society at its first formal meeting (see last Message) elect a Managing Committee of (say) five, including the Chairman and Treasurer of the Society and in addition a Secretary; and adopt its Constitution. They then send the list and a copy of the proposed Constitution and a list and the signatures of the members to the Registrar-General, under an application for registration. They will naturally choose the best men they can for Managing Committee and Officers; and it will be easy to adopt a Constitution, for a model of this will be prescribed in full by Government in the Rules under the Ordinance that it is necessary for Legislative Council to pass before mutual credit societies can be made legal.

GUIDANCE.—At this stage, and all those afterwards it is most important to realize that Government will provide at any rate at first, a superintending and advisory body (called the Board of Supervisors, or by some such name) which will, through the Director of Agriculture, sympathetically advise and assist Co-operative Credit Societies in *all* their business. The Director and his officer in the Colony will continue to be directly approachable as much as possible, and to regard it as their first duty *to help*.

It is expected, too, that before long an Inspector or Inspectors will be provided in the Department of Agriculture, who will be of the people themselves and chosen because they have been found to be able to understand the principles and practice of co-operation, and because they are trustworthy and desirous of helping to do good to others.

Report of the proceedings of the O F S. African Teachers Association

The 29th. Annual Conference of the O. F. S. African Teacher's Association attended by 300 teachers from the different parts of the O. F. S. was opened in the Community Hall Bloemfontein Sept. 6th. 1932. The Rev. Father Gilks presided.

After the Presidential address and the General Secretary's report, the Conference was officially opened by the Mayor of Bloemfontein Councillor R. C. Streeten, the Magistrate Colonel Thompson, and the Superintendent of the location Mr Cooper, who, in their opening address welcomed the teachers heartily to the Conference and wished the Conference every success in its deliberations. The points they emphasized were as follows:—

1. The importance of teachers' profession.
2. The need for moulding the character of children.
3. The aspects of Education.
4. Home influence on children.
5. Difficulties in Native Education and the need for compulsory Education.

In closing the Mayor gave the teachers an ox for food.

The Minister of Native Affairs, The Hon. Mr Jansen who had given an address to the public the previous night was invited to the Conference on Thursday the 8th. after his visit to the location. He expressed his pleasure in meeting the teachers again and he admired the cleanliness of the Bloemfontein location and the fine houses built by Natives. He also declared he admired the O. F. S. Education Department for the work it has done for Native Education and hoped for the extension of educational facilities in future. The other lecturers during the conference were The Right Rev. W. Carey D. D. who lectured on "The British Navy," Mr Lloyd of Grey College who lectured on Geography and Mr Kuschke who spoke about the work for the Education week.

The General Secretary of the O. F. S. T A. Mr H. W. Kammeyer also visited the conference and gave an account of the founding and progress of the O. F S. T. A. He assured the African Teachers that the O. F. S. Teachers Association was prepared to do all it can to meet them in their difficulties.

On Thursday afternoon a singing competition was held between Bloemfontein, Kroonstad and Thaba Nchu teachers' Choirs. Mr Wansbrough Poles acting as adjudicator. This was attended by many teachers as well as the location people. Kroonstad Choir was again the winner of the cup for the third year in succession.

Atrocious Outrage.

WOMEN'S ARMS BURNED.

(Contributed)

About a fortnight ago, two Zulu women reported to the Police, Butha-Buthe, that their arms were burned by a red hot iron from a burning fire. These two poor women were taken to the Doctor through the instructions of the D. A.C. or the Police Officer The Doctor kindly dressed their arms The pain which these women must have borne when they were being burned by their torturers must have been dreadful. We are informed that about eighty women were concerned in the burning of these two. The cause of the burning of these two poor women was because they had imitated and tatooed themselves like the Basuto women who have been circumcised. This horrible crime took place in the ward of Chief Lepekola J. olapo at Sekubu. It is a known fact that this heinous act is always done in Butha-Buthe District. We are also informed that after these two women were burned—four head of cattle were seized in the lands (belonging to their husbands) by these eighty savages as fine for having the audacity of imitating. As I have said above, these poor women were told either by the D.A. C. or the Police that Chief Mopeli would be interviewed about this matter. I wonder if anyone knows who and what Chief Mopeli really is. As I am penning these lines—there is a controversy between him (Mopeli) and his brother Qhobela. We do not know why the Government is not making a move in this matter which is so serious. There are many Basuto who are imitating European manners, but do the Europeans have to burn them with a hot iron? Not in the least. We therefore beg the D.A.C., Butha-Buthe to take this matter up and see that justice is done. There are many excuses which have been raised on this case by the chiefs. Firstly, the sub-chief where the crime was committed wants to know why these two poor women passed to the D.A.C. without consulting him first, and secondly if their husbands dare bring the case before the D.A.C. every one of them must move away from his ward. Thirdly, it is alleged that the order for the burning of these women came from the wife of the District Chief. Again we say the Government should take action immediately.

Race Problem - 1932

Africa

NATIONALISM AND NIGERIA.

WEST AFRICANS have suffered so often from reading the opinions of travellers and superficial observers concerning their land that many Nigerians would be inclined to skip even a report of an address like that on "The Native Question in Nigeria," delivered by Professor A. N. Cook, of Temple University, Philadelphia, before the American Historical Society. This would be a pity, for there is nothing superficial about Prof. Cook's opinions. Setting himself to examine why, in spite of the insistent and growing spirit of nationalism, Nigeria is on the whole contented, he finds three great reasons—marked improvement of local conditions since the coming of the British, practical and enlightened application of principles of self-determination, and maintenance on the whole of just economic relations between African and European.

Chief among improvements in local conditions in Nigeria he places suppression of the slave trade (not merely that which supplied the United States with cheap labour, but also the part which might otherwise have survived for many more weary years between Nigeria and North Africa), the removal of the abuses of Fulani rule in the North, and the abolition of human sacrifices in the South. What Fulani misrule meant at its worst we know from Lord Lugard's reports of what he himself saw, and it is easy to imagine what abuses crept in in regard to taxation, for they are found everywhere when the balance of military power is unequally divided between ruler and people. In regard to human sacrifice, the history of Benin naturally provides Prof. Cook with an example of the errors of the past.

It is refreshing to note that, in drawing a contrast between the new and the old conditions, he does not fall into the error, so irritating to Africans, of taking it for granted that they are so different from the rest of humanity as to prefer good government by another race to more dubious administration by their own people, and in consequence he recognises that Nigerian loyalty must be based on something more tangible than mere gratitude for possible past favours, and that the success of the indirect system of administration proves something definite. What that something is he has evidently not quite grasped, or he would not see so great a distinction between the evolutionary system of the North—which, of course, is now also being applied in the South as opportunity allows—and that which admits African representatives to the Legislative Council. True, the Native Administration *cum* Treasury system is a direct attempt to systematise African administrative ability, while the Legislative Council has a European majority, but all are part of the same general attempt to lead the African to take the responsibilities permitted by his experience of government, and to encourage him to aim higher. At the same time the Legislative Council and Native Administrative systems (which, after all, are not so different from our own general and local government units) are being developed in directions which will lead in due course to their natural and direct connection either, as in the large towns and such non-tribal areas by electoral representation, or, in other districts, by representatives of Councils of Native Rulers, a system which in its turn will almost certainly tend to change its present basis of selection by elders or other privileged minority for some form of popular election What form electoral control will take is, of course, still doubtful, but the evolution of the Nigerian National Democratic Party seems to show that with suitable leaders African gregariousness can turn itself easily into new political channels when there is incentive without there being any great "penetration of European ideas" into the continent.

But the promise of political self-determination would not go far without proof of an acceptable policy of economic independence, which entails acknowledgment of the African's ability to work for himself and to make good use of his own land. In West Africa his land has been secured to him, but not without many a struggle with plantation and other interests. In implying that these interests included the Association of West African Merchants, Prof. Cook does that body an injustice. In fact, the mercantile world has noticed, as Prof. Cook has, that the export statistics are high and that, in consequence, Nigerian purchasing power *per capita* compares favourably with that of any of her non-British neighbours. As a result, the Association bestirred itself to a vigorous protest when the Empire Resources Development Committee made its ill-advised proposals for the exploitation of the Colonies, and, as West Africans know, later efforts on similar lines did good in that they drew from Sir Hugh Clifford a particularly definite repudiation of the whole principle with which they were inspired. "Whether the victory was decisive," Prof. Cook ends up by saying, "remains for the future to disclose." For our part, we think there is little doubt, for save where common sense becomes lost in vested interests—and the White Papers on Policy in East Africa show that that has occurred with no recent Government—experience in Tropical Africa has shown that there is only one just and workable policy in economic evolution, and that is the further elaboration of the just relations between African producer, African or non-African exporter, and overseas, manufacturer and consumer. Without such co-operative relations, the African merely ceases to produce for export, and falls back on his proved power of self-support, heedless of the unfounded contempt of those who, accustomed to measure the inside of the man by his material environment, then begin to refer to him as "primitive," "backward," or "apathetic."

United Transkeian Territories General Council

Agricultural Demonstrators: Lectures to teachers and Scholars.

Cr. Rev. J.J. Xaba: seconded the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do the mover and the seconder of the motion accept this amendment?

Cr. Mayeza: Yes, Sir.

Cr. W. D. Cingo: I appreciate the difficulties pointed out by Cr. Xakekile, as well as those pointed out by the Chairman of the District of Umtata, but there is still another difficulty. The demonstrators will not be able to visit all the schools because the schools are also busy doing their work, while the demonstrators are also busy doing theirs. Cr Pinyana mentioned a point on which I want to say something, viz., that we aim at arranging with the demonstrators to attend the teachers' meetings. That will mean that the demonstrators knowledge will spread amongst the teachers of that area and the demonstrators will not lose much of his time.

I move as an amendment: "That arrangements be made with proper authorities whereby agricultural demonstrators may lecture and give demonstration lessons in agriculture at meetings of teacher associations.

Cr. R. Mabija: I second the amendment. There were good reasons for the Chairman of the District of Umtata to move his amendment and yet the reasons for the second amendment are also very good. They will save the time of the demonstrators and will make it possible that where the teachers have a meeting an opportunity will be given for agricultural lectures to be given and the demonstrator will be able to demonstrate and give lectures.

Cr. Rev. J.J. Xaba: I get up to support the amendment of the Umtata District Chairman. As regards the amendment which suggests that demonstrators should attend the teachers' meeting, I foresee two difficulties there against bringing the matter to a successful issue. Sometimes the teachers do not attend their meetings and what is more the demonstrators themselves would not be bound to attend these teachers' meetings at a certain time. If an arrangement be made a good thing would be that the lectures should be given to children. As one speaker said, it is essential children should be taught the value of the ground. It will be a more valuable lesson if taught by a demonstrator than by a teacher because the demonstrator has been trained to that kind of work, so I support the amendment of the Umtata Chairman'

Cr. Mlandu: I feel myself bound to support the amendment brought forward by the Umtata District Chairman, for these reasons. In the first instance, from my experience, I don't see any interest taken by teachers in regard to such matters as these. They do not take any pains. I do not say that applies to other districts as well, but in the district where I am it troubles me to see how the teachers carry on such matters. In many parts attempts have been made to fence in these school garden lots, but if you go on to those plots you will be sorry to see the way in which they are neglected. In the second place, if it would be said that the demonstrators should visit the teachers' meetings and give lectures here, that would not bear any good results; it would not be successful I say that from experience During the time when I attend teachers' meetings to speak to them about matters connected with the Council, I find that these meetings of teachers are very poorly attended. I remember that on some occasions I was accompanied by one of the demonstrators attached to our district with the view that he should give a lecture to the

teachers, but on account of the poor attendance of the teachers he did not succeed. Nothing then done in the way suggested would be successful, because they don't take much interest in regard to these school garden lots. I hope the demonstrators can visit the schools and talk to the children themselves It is evident that something should be done at the schools so that this matter should be successful, because there is a feeling among the people now that the time of their children is being played with One would be inclined to say that these people are speaking the truth when they say these people are playing with the time of their children. Whenever this ploughing is done at the schools the teachers send the children; they don't go themselves in order to learn so that they may teach the children. If that is doubted I can give instances and say that at a certain place things go like this, but I would not like to do so because that might have some results afterwards. For these reasons I support the amendment brought forward by the Umtata District Chairman

Mr. E. G. Munscheid: I am opposed both to the motion and the amendment because our demonstrators have not the time. I do not allow my demonstrators to count the noxious weeds at the schools, because they have no time. I have trained my dipping foremen to do that, and they do it well. During the proper season the demonstrators work in the land and keep on working in the lands Then they have the fruit trees to attend to, there is the selection of seed, there is the culling of lambs, and I have told them, "When you have absolutely nothing-else to do go round and answer questions and talk." I have three demonstrators I could find work enough for ten if I could get them. Now these demonstrators are helping the people, who are actually producing food now. I am afraid this proposal will not benefit the teachers or the children. The most important thing to teach a man or a child is how to plough. When the demonstrator may perhaps have a little time the ground is too hard to plough. The implements which the demonstrator uses and teaches people to use cannot always be at the school. That is to say, the school cannot possess all the impliments required to teach. The proposed lectures cannot be given in two hours, and on Saturdays naturally the teachers like to go home or to the village, because many live far away. I do not mean to say that this proposal would not do some good, but I am afraid that it would take up so much of the demonstrators' time that it will rob the people of the location for whom the demonstrator is really appointed by the Council.

The Crux Of Our Present Educational Drawback

BY A TEACHER.

Gold Coast Independent

Mr. Anipare, undoubtely an exprerienced teacher, has instructively laid bare in the columns of the "Spectator", three main pivots on which, he asserts, a successful system in education could be safely wheeled. These three main points are really very grand and should be well studied by our educationists

The object of this humble article, is to supplement Mr. Anipare's which deals only with the pupils' side of the question; but what about the part played by the Education Dept? What about the 1931 Standard VII Examination? Wasn't the result a deliberate attempt to underrate the mental capacity of our youth? Thanks to Nana Sir Ofori Atta for bringing up this mattar at the Legislative Council. We all know how the head of the Education Dept., whilst trying to exculpate his Dept. rather unconsciously charged it with inefficiency by replying that because the Standard VII examination was made more "searching." Is it to be inferred that the previous examinations were less searching? How is it then that months after Nana Sir Ofori-Atta's question had been "satisfactorily" answered, a second batch of Standard VII Certificates were issued without a second "searching" examination? Did this second batch of pupils pass but were deliberately failed? or were the certificates misplaced and 'recovered' after the episode at the Council or did this second batch actually fail but were passed to satisfy Nana Sir Ofori Atta and the country at large? It must be noted here that the more the Education Dept. tries to exonerate itself the more it implicates itself

Whoever was responsible for the recent mismanagement of the Std. VII Examination should be brought to book. It is hoped Nana Sir Ofori Atta will put another feather in his hat by pressing for explanation at the next Council meeting

Surely if examinations had been 'searching' in this manner, none of the officers in the Education Dept would have been able today to place with pomposity, the M. As, B. As etc either of London or Cairo after names.

No doubt the country is aware of the present low standard of attainment of its youth which was absent a decade or two ago. How is it that parents who were intelligent at school procreate less intelligent children? Anthropology and Psychology will prove that this low standard is not from birth but rather from the present system of education with its so-called "new methods".

The writer is a teacher of over fourteen years experience and has had the privilege of teaching in many urban and rural schools and therefore can authoritatively say the present youth is as intelligent as his father but he is deplorably handicapped along with his teacher by these so-called "new methods."

This article cannot serve its purpose without saying a word on the present system of inspecting schools by the School Inspectors. In my humble opinion, no person, whether white or black, should be employed as inspector who has not had a previous experience in both teaching and managing a school. This should be the main qualification

The present day inspector busies himself with bolts and screws in desks, proper position of wall maps and pictures, bullying of teachers openly before their pupils for trifles about black board easels and notes of lessons without making any attempt to actually test the pupils to find out for himself what the pupils have been taught. Such kind of inspection is mostly noticeable in the Western Province of the Colony. This has made the inspectorate very unpopular. It is with deep regret to remark that some of the African Inspectors who seem to forget their humble beginnings make themselves very objectionable, simply because they have power to create and destroy! It costs nothing to be civil but it pays a great deal.

Is it true therefore that "the black man is his own enemy"?

"The abuse of greatness is when it disjoins
"Remorse from power...But it is a common proof
"That humbleness is young ambition's ladder
"Whereto the climber upwards turns his face
"But when he once attains the upmost round
"He then unto the ladder turns his back
"Looks in the cloud, scorning the base degrees
"By which he did ascend.

SHAKESPEARE

A ZIMBABWE IN MOZAMBIQUE?

Discoveries at Niamara.

African World 10-15-32

The discovery of ruins made by the Frobenius Archæological Research Expedition, recently announced in Lourenço Marques, may throw new light on Zimbabwe, thinks Prof. Frobenius, the eminent archæologist.

The ruin is at Niamara, near Katandika. Katandika is opposite Inyanga in Southern Rhodesia, each being about the same distance away from the intervening border. The results of the find are still under scientific investigation in Germany, but in the meantime Prof. Frobenius has prepared a map and made a duplicate set of the objects which were collected in the ruin. This duplicate set has been offered to the Governor-General of the Colony, and is likely to find its way into the State Museum at Lourenço Marques.

The objects include iron axe heads, assegai heads, darts, bangles, bronze wire covered spirally with a kind of vegetable thread, iron beads, stones for washing and grinding, pieces of earthenware ornamented in various designs, including the herring-bone pattern, this ornamentation in some cases being done with graphite.

Race Problem - 1932.

Africa.

JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION IN THE WEST AFRICAN COLONIES.

weekly news

THERE is every reason to believe that the recent visit to the West African Colonies of Mr. H. C. BUSHE, Legal Adviser to the Colonial Office, will be productive of some beneficial results in the direction of changes to wipe away some of the painful anomalies which are sometimes associated with the administration of justice in West Africa. Already, in regard to this Colony we have been informed that there is likely to be some amendment in the Assessors Ordinance so as to remove away that aspect of injustice against which the people have long protested.

9-1932

Gold Coast
Sierra Leone

At the Gold Coast, there is the prospect of Ashanti being opened to legal practitioners and, in Nigeria, it is very likely that the Supreme Court System will be extended to many centres where it had not existed. The ground of complaint in this Colony has been over the administration of justice, by means of which a judge could over-ride the unanimous opinion of Assessors in Criminal cases and the composition of the Appeal Courts. Despite adequate representation as to the opportunities which such process offers for the traduction of justice, there are people of reputable integrity who are loath to bring about the changes advocated for, on account of their being so impressed by what we might allow as their genuine convictions.

A pertinent illustration of this is afforded in the Leading Article of our esteemed contemporary, *West Africa* of the 13th August last, in which it draws attention to views expressed in the *Times* by Sir WILLIAM GEARY to the effect that "the Supreme Court system of leading towns in Nigeria should, as regards capital charges, be extended throughout the country." Against this, a vigorous challenge is made by Captain W. A. Ross, former Resident of that Dependency.

We have not been able to acquaint ourselves with the facts disclosed in Captain Ross's letter, but from the observations of our contemporary it would appear that the gallant Captain had only focussed the situation from a narrow angle which was confined to the sphere under which he had had personal and intimate knowledge, without reckoning with situations elsewhere. But whatever may be the merits of the "paternal methods" which have been adopted, where men of the calibre of Captain Ross have laboured, such honourable and meritorious efforts could hardly be regarded as justification for the continuance of a system which has been discovered to inflict grave and sometimes gross injustice on people whose only misfortune was to have been domiciling where such rôle for the miscarriage of justice existed.

With regard to the function of Appeal Courts, whether local or in London wherein litigants have been put to some additional expenses to appeal against decisions from lower courts, in which they felt justice had not been accorded them, it is enlightening to note, in view of an opinion recently expressed relating to certain reflections made by our correspondent SIMPLEX on the reversion of Judgments by Appeal Courts what our contemporary's sane view is on the subject.

Says he :—

> "The very fact, however, that the late Senior Resident had done his life work with such thoroughness in Oyo has perhaps prevented him a little from noting what has been going on elsewhere in West Africa. Has he thought over one formidable fact that the percentage of leading cases in which the Privy Council has set aside West Coast verdict and judgments is as high—some would say as scandalously high—as it is?"

And yet some self-constituted jurists think such lapse nothing, such scandalous laxity need not disqualify any judge, and that men who are appointed to "such responsible legal position, well-paid at work and liberally pensioned after work," should by their imperfect administration of justice cause unfortunate litigants so much expense when, in the first instance, they could have had their rights properly adjusted and apportioned.

But there is another important aspect of the situation, and for this, perhaps, human nature may be responsible. Some of those cases reversed in the Appeal Court have not been free from "political complexion" and that "unhealthy closeness of connection between Executive and Judiciary."

The rights and liberties of a people are sufficiently sacred to require all the forces of their soul to concentrate in an effort to be free from such vagaries and anomalies of the administration of justice in the West African Colonies. There ought to be justifiable consolation to all in this Colony who have persisted in the struggle against the operation of the Assessors Ordinance. It has been a long and painful experience on the part of those who were determined that justice should be done to the people. How many of those who began the fight but took leave of this scene of injustice amidst the sombre clouds, with their faith brightened in the fact that truth the day will win! How many, also, grew sickened and worried in the contest, retired and went back to find comfort in abject despair—none but those who, in spite of a reduced rank, in spite of bitter misrepresentations, in spite of desertion by comrades, persisted in the fight and, at last, have seen the accomplishment of their aim, and the enjoyment of the thought of service unselfishly rendered.

If this instance of the triumph of patience and perseverance would teach our people the way towards the attainment of noble purpose if it could stimulate to greater co-operation towards the accomplishment of a public duty if by such results the eyes of the people could receive fresh light, to discern and discriminate those who are spending their time and life-blood for the good of race and country—and those who are the bluffers, opportunists and time servers; the way to further developments would have been immensely straightened and the successes of the past would afford ample stimulus for greater endeavours to secure the full privileges of the people as members of the greatest of Modern Empires whose Throne is built on the Foundation of Truth, Justice and Righteousness.

United Transkeian Territories General Council
The Comet

Noxious weeds competitions: Prizes

9-14-32

Cr. A. Nomvete: I beg to withdraw the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: Before it is withdrawn. I should like to make a few remarks. Bulawayo

Basutoland

Mashonaland

I agree with what the District Chairman of Umtata has said. "You want to strangle this thing almost before it is born. Consolation prizes I do not think will do very much good. As a matter of fact, the scheme is working extraordinarily well in most districts. Many millions of weeds have been destroyed. I think we are now on the road to the complete eradication of noxious weeds in these Territories. Of course the destruction of weeds by school children does not absolve anybody from their responsibility. I am rather surprised that three districts have taken no part in this competition. All the others have done well, and some very well. Mount Ayliff, St Mark's and Xalanga I hope will remedy their default next season, especially those two enlightened districts on the Colonial border. The districts of Flagstaff, from which this motion has originated, has done quite well, so I would ask those three districts to pay attention to the necessity for taking part in these competitions. I know there are noxious weeds in all districts. It is the fault of everybody, I think. Not only the people in the locations, but other persons who are responsible do not make a strong effort to eradicate the weeds: there are the Provincial Road Department, the Railway Administration, the Forest Department, people on farms and people in towns, as well as location residents. I do not think we can throw stones at each other, but it is up to everybody to do his best to get rid of this pest. I hope you will do it without any consolation prizes.

The motion was withdrawn.

The League of Coloured Peoples.

At the meeting of the League of Coloured Peoples at Student Movement House on Monday night, the speaker was Dr. the Hon. C. C. Adeniyi-Jones, M.L.C., and the subject, "British Administration in Nigeria." Since Dr. Adeniyi-Jones was speaking to an audience composed chiefly of non-Nigerians, he spoke in more general terms than he would otherwise have done, and confined himself to three points, exclusive of his opening exposition of the administrative system and its defects, the official majority and lack of public control over finance. West Africa

Two of his points, Sir Donald Cameron's courageous handling of the Eleko case and his promptness in tackling the extravagance against which Dr. Adeniyi-Jones had for years been inveighing in the Legislative Council, are already familiar to all interested in Nigeria, but in the third, the deportation of the Sultan of Sokoto, he touched on a more debatable and less-known question. 10-8-32

With regard to the actual friction between the Sultan and the British representative, he said he could say nothing definite, but he noted the coincidence of the Resident's retirement shortly after. Since intriguers in Sir Hugh Clifford's day had hoodwinked the Resident, was it not possible now, he asked, that they were hoodwinking the Governor, for he knew that otherwise Sir Donald would not unjustly allow a deportation, which was sometimes a necessary method of securing public peace?

Another Aspect of British Protection.

Dr. Adeniyi-Jones made a point that is of considerable interest at the moment, however, when he referred to the Ordinance by which the Sultan was deported—after, it must be remembered, he had fled to French territory and returned. The preamble to the Ordinance, containing the usual statement that the Sultan was a danger to peace and good order seemed to contain a definite, triable charge, while the clause making a writ of *habeas corpus* of non-effect in the Northern Provinces seemed directly opposed to the Privy Council judgment in the Eleko case, where a Ruler had been deported and refused his rights through the local Judiciary being (the doctor contended) afraid of the Executive.

In the Sultan's case, however, even were the deportation as irregular as that of the Eleko, there is the difference that the Northern Ruler is a "Protected Person," and might prove, in the last resort, as happened with certain litigants from Rhodesia some years ago, to be outside the jurisdiction of the courts to which appeal may be made from a Colony.

The point is one for the consideration of lawyers, to whom I think I can safely leave it for the moment, merely adding that in this instance the absence of adverse criticism from the ex-Sultan's own subjects seems to show that there is no opportunity for the co-operation, promised by Mr. Barbour-James in moving a vote of thanks to Dr. Adeniyi-Jones, of the League of Coloured Peoples in getting the matter equitably settled.

THE NATIVE AFRICAN UNION OF AMERICA AND THE BRITISH IMPERIAL CONFERENCE OTTAWA, CANADA.

To the Editor of the WEEKLY NEWS.

Sir,—I will be thankful if you will cause to be published in your valuable journal the Resolution sent to the Right Honourable Stanley Baldwin Chairman of the British Delegation of the Imperia Economic Conference at Ottawa, Canada.—Yours etc.,

A. DAFORA HORTON.

87, West 128th Street,
New York,
July 24, 1932.

The Right Honourable Stanley Baldwin
Chairman of the British Delegation, Imperial Economic Conference, Ottawa, Canada.

Sir,—Whereas by virtue of her Colonial Status British Africa is precluded from participating in this conference, and must rely upon the quality and quantify of representation which exigencies will permit your Excellency to accord her, we, the Native African Union of America Inc., in mass meeting recommend for the acceptance of the Governments of the British Commonwealth assembled in Economic Conference at Ottawa:

1. (a) That steps should be taken to provide and insure the security of free participation of Native Africans in Empire and Commonwealth trade.

(b) That in the future they should be given representation in the economic councils of the Empire where their interests are concerned.

2. That irrespective of political conditions imposed upon Africa for the expedition of imperialism from time to time, she is nevertheless reponsive to all the ills or benefits resultant from the Empire's economic policy.

3. (a) That even as mandates, or colonies of the Empire, British Africa is abundantly receptive to industrialization for which she ardently strives.

(b) That any tariff imposed at this time will work hardships upon future endeavours and impede her developments.

4. That even though the millions of Africans and peoples of African blood who form a large and integral part of the peoples of the British Empire and of certain members of the British Commonwealth of nations have no direct voice in this conference, the results of which cannot but seriously affect their economic welfare for better or for worse, the Native African Union of America Inc. in their behalf most earnestly hope for the success of the conference trusting at the same time that their Excellencies in arriving at their various conclusions, agreements, and treaties, will not fail to take under special advisement the economic interests of these millions of peoples of African blood whose labour and support as well as sufferings have contributed in large measure to the expansion and the political and economic prestige of the Empire from which has evolved this British Commonwealth of nations.

ASADATA DAFORA HORTON,
President.

Imperial Economic Conference, United Kingdom Delegation.

Ottawa, Canada,

We, the Native African Union of America received a reply from the Hon. Stanley Baldwin notifying us of the acknowledgement of our Resolution sent.

We presume that our aims and desires put before the Imperial Economic Conference are being put before the Inner Chamber for the fulfilment of the African peoples' wants.

In the future our anticipation is to participate in the Conference as all peoples of African blood form part of the Commonwealth.

A. DAFORA HORTON, President.
Native African Union of America Inc
87 W. 128th. Street,
New York, N.Y.

WEST AFRICA'S MINERAL RESOURCES.

At the present time, when increasing interest is being shown in the development of West Africa's latent mineral wealth, an authoritative survey of the present position and prospects such as was given this week by Major N. R. Junner, Director of the Gold Coast Geological Survey, will be welcomed by investors and the general public, who are beginning to realise the important part which the West African colonies are destined to play in Empire mineral production. The gold mining industry of the Gold Coast has undergone many vicissitudes, and has been productive of many disappointments in the past, but it may be confidently stated that prospects have never been brighter than at the present time. The systematic prospecting and mapping of the country has thrown new light on the geological mode of gold occurrences, of which little or nothing was known twenty years ago, while the immense improvement in transport facilities and health conditions, coupled with the introduction of modern mining methods, has brought about a great reduction in costs and an all-round increase in efficiency. The effect of these favourable factors is seen in the steady rise of the gold output in recent years—from £710,000 in 1928-29 to £1,123,000 in 1931-32, while the gold premium has conferred additional benefit on the industry. Major Junner emphasised that the task of thoroughly testing and developing the many promising gold prospects which await investigation can only be undertaken by large companies with adequate financial resources, who can effectively overcome difficulties which are too great for the individual miner or small company, and it is therefore encouraging to know that this task has been taken up by the Consolidated Goldfields of South Africa, working in co-operation with the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation, the most consistently successful of West African gold producers, which has recovered more than £11,000,000 of gold and has distributed £4,000,000 in dividends to its shareholders. Apart from the precious metal, the Gold Coast has vast resources in manganese, diamonds, and bauxite, while the sister colony of Sierra Leone has now entered the field as a gold and platinum producer, in addition to the enormous iron ore deposits at Marampa which are now undergoing development. When it is remembered that as recently as 1926 it was believed that no minerals of economic value existed in Sierra Leone the work accomplished by geological surveys will be appraised at its true worth, and the future may be productive of still greater surprises which will place the West African colonies in the forefront as mineral producers.

Race Problem-1932

Africa

I

MOZAMBIQUE FARMERS' PLIGHT.

An Appeal to Lisbon.

African World

The Mozambique Agricultural Development Association has sent the following cablegram to the Minister of Colonies:—

"The agricultural position continues to get worse. The decisions taken at Ottawa are aggravating the gold premium, making it difficult to place our products, especially citrus, in British markets.

11-26-32

"We venture to ask you to take immediately the measures outlined in our petitions, notably the reduction of quit rents and of the predial and rural tax, the concession of a premium on deposits of exportation or the reduction of these by 50 per cent., facilities for agricultural credit, and the creation of an industrial credit.

London, England

"It is essential that the increasing inactivity which is invading the agricultural class should be destroyed in order to save the work of colonisation already achieved.

"We thank you for any decisions which you may take to attain this objective."

GUINEA CHIEFS IN LISBON.

(From Our Lisbon Correspondent.)

The Colonial Section at the Industrial Show of Lisbon, now open, is no doubt one of the most interesting sections of the exhibition. Among other exhibits the Agency-General for the Colonies organised a very interesting native town, for which purpose were brought from Portuguese Guinea a group of natives, including celebrated dressmakers, embroiderers, leather work experts, goldsmiths, and dancers.

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At the same time, four of the most powerful "Régulos" (Chiefs) of that colony were invited to visit Lisbon. Their acceptance of the invitation was prompt and willing, in accordance with what I had the opportunity of hearing from them at a special interview arranged for THE AFRICAN WORLD, by kind suggestion of the Agent-General for the Colonies, Col. Julio Garcez de Lencastre, who assured me that through THE AFRICAN WORLD he wished that Europe and Africa should hear the words of appreciation these "Régulos" had to say for their "Mother Country," Portugal.

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Their names are Brame-D'Jame, Bonco-Sanhá, Iussufo, and Dembo. They have all strongly co-operated with Portuguese military forces in quelling other native rebellions in that colony, and in such a valuable way which deserved them the honour of being promoted to the rank of lieutenants in the Army, and further the decoration of the Colonial Good Service Campaign Medal.

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All the four "Régulos," one by one, promptly declared to me their gratefulness to the Government for having allowed them the opportunity of coming to see their "Mother Land," Portugal, and that they all consider themselves quite Portuguese descendants of Portuguese, as their fathers and grandfathers were already Portuguese citizens. Referring to their military services, they assured me that they were only too pleased to have the opportunity of showing their love to the country, and will ever be ready to risk their blood and that of their people in the service of Portugal.

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The "Régulos" were received by H.E. the President of the Republic and the Minister for the Colonies, who had kindly words for them all—"words they will never forget," they said.

The Guinea Chiefs being interviewed for "The African World."

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Rising from the veld on a prominent site in the vicinity of Klipspruit, about twelve miles from Johannesburg, is a municipal native township which will be the largest of its kind in South Africa, states the "Cape Times" correspondent.

11-25-32

As a mark of appreciation of the valuable work done by Mr. Orlando Leake, a former Mayor of Johannesburg township, it has been named "Orlando." The township will ultimately have a population of about 80,000 natives.

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The Johannesburg City Council is having houses built at the rate of eighty a month. Three hundred have been practically completed; 160 have been handed over to the Council, and of these 70 are already occupied.

For the purpose of popularising the neighbourhood, the City Council entertained 1,200 natives at Orlando in mail week. Two special trains conveyed the natives, who came from all parts of the city to the site of their future homes.

The Mayor of Johannesburg (Mr. D. F. Corlett) said that up to 1923 the Council had only one native township, Klipspruit, but since them the Municipality had spent £600,000 in providing homes for natives. The Council was providing accommodation only for natives resident in Johannesburg, for it was determined that natives living in the slum areas in the city should be housed in municipal townships.

NATIVE AFRICANS PLAN ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION OF AFRICA.

Weekly News

By THOMAS DOSUMU JOHNSON.

Notwithstanding the fact that she has been in existence for the last four years, her activities are as yet unknown to the American world. All attempts to acquaint the public with her tenets have been side tracked by our Negro Press whose only interest in Africa is the why and wherefores of the lips of the Unbargi Tribes as prostituted in the circus of America. The Negro is more detrimental to his own progress than the white man will ever be. However, we trust that the preachments of Dr. Woodson and his coterie of "Cæsars" will make such impression upon the race editors as to induce them to relax the ban, and help the Native African Union of America Inc. in her endeavor to interest business men and women of the Race as to the possibilities of Trade and Industry in Africa.

11-12-32

The Native African Union of America was founded on August 1927, incorporated in 1928, with the expressed purpose of bringing the Negroes of Africa and America to a sympathetic co-operation for their mutual benefit.

The most significant characteristics of that broad study around which centres the aim of the Native African Union are its wide diversity and spacious amplitude.

Taking psychology as its starting point, in its analysis of the human desires which explains our condition or wealth, it traverses the entire realm of social activities and institutions, which are the results of man's efforts to supply his material needs. If the social and political problems that now confront the Race are to be solved, strict attention to the economic element is essentially necessary. Economics touches on one hand the physical sciences from which most of its fundamental principles are borrowed; it occupies joint territories at places with politics, ethics, and law, though they are in their respective spheres quite distinct, and forms at once the most fertile and most thoroughly developed province of the broad science of Sociology.

Co-operation with the African is germane to the establishment of successful commercial intercourse with Africa. The European has always done so. The Negro must employ the same tactics to save himself from the thraldom of prejudice and arrogance. Animating the entire field of Economics, blended with the love of truth, for truth's sake, is the persistent hope that the Native African Union with the co-operation of other organisations in the Black World, by systematic study may become the dictator of Africa's economic policy and eventually abolish the mundane poverty which deadens and dwarfs the lives of the Negro peoples of the world.

We have very little or no political outlook. Our activities centre around those social phenomena that are concerned with the wealth-getting and wealth-using activities of men.

In this period of economic uncertainty when all races are finding means of maintaining their unemployed, the Negro still sits complacently like a Micawber waiting for some good turn to come to him. Have our "leaders" no sense of responsibility? How long would we continue to wait for some one to think and do for us? Of what value is our education when we neglect the elementary cardinal of nationhood.

It is useless to talk of equality with the white man when we are entirely dependent on him for bread for our homes, shoes and dresses for our wives, and education of our young. The experiences of the time demand a change in our traditional policy of seeing only the areas of these United States, and a trial of our commercial fortunes in other realms just as the white man has done. Just think what will happen to the Negro race if part of the fortune of the 25,701 Negro business houses in America is invested in some enterprise in Africa. The American Negro would rather stay in New York, Chicago, Detroit or some other big city where the fierce competition for existence is apt to compel him to ignore the canons befitting his profession.

There is Africa with its eleven million square miles, sparsely populated and really in need of trained men in all walks of life. When you ask: why don't some of you go to Africa?—you are fired with a question which becomes only an Epicurean: "Are there beautiful women in Africa?"

The African would rather see his country exploited by members of his own race as the benefits will be enjoyed by him directly or indirectly.

The Native African Union has embarked on a huge commercial program, and is asking all members of the race with an eye for business to avail themselves of this golden opportunity.

For further particulars address the Secretary General, 87 West 128th Street, New York City.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH RETL 12

Race Problem - 1932

Africa I

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Culture and Agriculture.

TO the student of African affairs the word "culture" is in danger of becoming so vaguely comprehensive as to form a suitable peg on which to hang any subject that can be connected with the Last Continent. Thus, a recent writer who confessed to knowing nothing of African religious concepts felt none the less competent to write on African cultural development based largely on such ideas, and in the current number of "Africa" (Oxford University Press, 6s.), a plain account of the prevalence of leprosy in Africa is made suitable for inclusion in a journal devoted to African cultures merely by adding to it the title "Leprosy and the Cultural Development of Africa."

The study of culture changes is, of course, at the bottom of the "Five Year Research Plan" of the Institute of African Languages and Cultures, but ethnologists and others in the Institute still find it hard to forsake the dry bones of their past investigations for the living, though not always equally attractive, cultural growth of the Africa of to-day.

There is undoubtedly much that is of interest in Father Spagnolo's account of "Initiation in Bari Tribes," in Uganda, and in Capt. L. N. Reed's "Notes on some Fulani Tribes and Customs" in Bornu, but how much more there might have been in these papers could their authors have seen their subjects in the light in which Mr. J. H. Driberg surveys the status of women among certain Nilotic peoples!

To him his subject has been more than a matter of deducing inferiority from a study of decaying customs of birth or marriage, or of differences in work and leisure. It does not take him long to show that there are differences, but no inequality, between male and female, and that these differences are not the result, as it is still fashionable to pretend, of some specially African or "primitive" cultural bent, but of the ordinary, environmental needs that everywhere have, at some time, made man the protector and woman the domestic worker.

Already the introduction of different conditions is eliciting from the African the response that might be expected from members of any race in like conditions. The coming of law and order took away the value of the men's duty of defence, while commerce gave economic importance to the agricultural work of women, and for a time there was real danger that there would be inferiority, but of the male sex. The introduction of the plough, however, has brought a form of agriculture which men could adopt without feeling that they were invading the women's sphere of usefulness, and the threatened danger to manhood is passing.

The plough has been the instrument by which influence has been brought to bear on special, illiterate communities, but for the generation which can be reached through the schools Dr. F. R. Irvine gives valuable hints on training in his paper "The Teaching of Agriculture in West Africa."

After a clear warning of the obstacle to agricultural education offered by the generally favourable European attitude towards it, an attitude too often connected with the idea of "keeping the African in his place," he also exposes the error of those who recommend the employment of students in a species of domestic slavery about the schoolmaster's house and garden. A third error he [illegible] to remove is the excessive keenness of the European, to whom African crops and agriculture have a charm of novelty that has never existed for their pupils.

The rest of his advice to Europeans may be condensed into the one command, "Practise before you preach," by which means not only will Africans realise that the pursuit of scientific agriculture is more than a return to work formerly allotted to women, but that Europeans see no indignity in the labour it entails at times. Moreover, by this means the instructor will learn the practical difficulties of his subject and—a particularly important point in these days of schedule-worship—also that agriculture cannot be taught thoroughly without reference to local weather conditions, as well as to scholastic time-tables.

Had the contributors of the notes on agricultural textbooks that follow his article profited by Dr. Irvine's practical advice, they would have been less disposed to pass over as unimportant those books that deal with extremely local conditions, and still less would they have left unnoticed the commercial and official papers on special crops for special areas that would enable the African to prove his pudding of agricultural education.

Basutoland Council

The Comet
10-26-32
11/10/1932

Mr. Wacher: the Agricultural Officer was asked by the Acting Resident Commissioner to address the Council on agricultural matters. He encouraged the Basuto not to give up hope as the difficulties confronting them about their produce were the difficulties that were experienced by all the farmers in other parts of the world. They must always try to increase the yield of their lands and it was his duty to help and give them advice as to the best methods they could adopt to bring that about. He had, however, not been able to meet them all. He pointed out to them that their methods of cultivation were getting worse and worse. The Basuto were falling behind other Natives of South Africa because those Natives were learning better methods and making an effort to improve their agriculture. He told them briefly the story of his travel into the mountain area recently when he came across two adult Natives ploughing a land and went out of his way to speak to them and advise them. To his surprise these two Natives were rude to him and would not listen to him because, they said, they wanted to finish their work as quick as possible, and go home to dinner. They had heard all about his methods, they said, but preferred their old methods. When he travelled about the country it was not for his own pleasure but to see what they were doing and to give them advice, and it was very discouraging to find the Basuto behaving in this way.

Chiefs and headmen ought to be leaders of their people in these matters but unfortunately they were not. In one village he found that the headman, did not even know the time to begin sowing as he did not know the names of the months. Some of the people complained that when he came to them it was only to preach more work. A funny thing was that the Basuto expected God to give them everything and they did not do anything to help God.

He urged them to till the ground well in order to expect good crops. They should not look upon the demostrators as helping some people and not all the people. When the demonstrators worked somebody's land it was to demonstrate to the owner of the land and his neighbours the difference between the new and old methods. The object in doing this was that the people may adopt the modern methods

The Government had decided upon increasing the number of demonstrators and a number of Native young men are at present carrying on demonstration work in certain parts in the mountains. He hoped that the people would listen to them and ask for their advice and not to consider them as mere young men who knew nothing about ploughing.

He strongly advised the people to get rid of rye in their lands, this advice was given especially to those Natives living in the mountains. He pointed out to them that unless they get rid of rye their wheat will not be purchased by the stores.

He had been to the mountains with the Paramount Chief's representative to advice the people against ploughing slopes and hillsides They must remember that it was wheat that came from the mountains that gave Basutoland a good name and in order to keep up this reputation they must always dip their seed before putting it in the ground.

The chiefs and councillors thanked Mr Wacher for his advice Some related stories of how they followed his advice and had a good harvest. Chief Soko stated that on the advice of Mr Wachor he had built a big dam at his place and was to meet the expenses for the work by what he had reaped from his lands, but even then he had still enough for consumption.

The Acting Paramount Chief in his remarks asked the chiefs and members of the Council to inform the people about Mr Wacher's advice in the pitsos to be held after the Council. With regard to the ploughing of the hill-side he informed the Council that the Paramount Chief had arranged to appoint two men to see that further ploughing of hill-side is brought to an end.

The Council adjourned to allow the Acting P. C. to go into the natter of dividing the estate of the ate Chief Jonathan On resuming he Council was addressed by Mr. Verney on the matter of the wool improvement scheme which the Government had arranged to experiment in an area between Makhaleng and Maseru. He opened his address by remarking that wool in Basutoland was like gold mines in the Union. Within the last few years the price of this product went down until there was practically no market for it. The Government was very much concerned about the position. He explained to the Council the reasons that were against Basutoland wool fetching the same prices as the farmers' wool namely, gross carelessness in shearing and packing the clip. The manufacturers complained that Basuto wool was kempy and full of dirt and foreign material such as dung, horse hair, bits of threats and the other sheep but this did not

Continued III

Race Problem-1932

Africa II

Government had consultations with the traders who were likely to handle this wool and they were willing to co-operate in the matter.

Trained Natives would be placed in the eleven dipping tanks within the area mentioned under the supervision of the senior sheep inspector. These Natives would supervise the shearing. They would first separate the good sheep from the bad when flocks were brought to them and then give instructions how the sheep were to be shorn, separate the dirty wool from the good wool and packing and weighing them separately and then issuing certificates to be presented to the traders by owners in selling. The traders also have been instructed to pack separately such wool in forwarding it to the coast for sale. The wool brokers at the coasts also had been communicated with about the matter so that they may be able to deal with this class of wool separately. In this way it was hoped that everything would work well. If the experiment succeeds it would be extended to the other parts of the Territory. He could no promise them a better price as the Government had nothing to do with prices but he had no doubt that when the Basuto wool had attained a certain standard of cleanliness and the manufacturers were aware of its dependable quality there would be a market for it.

Basutoland Council

The matter of the ill-treatment of their principal wives by the chiefs came before the Council for discussion. Instances were given by the speakers of cases where owing to such disgraceful treatment some wives had to return to their parents and depend upon them for support and maintenance. In certain instances the suffers were obliged to run away from their husbands and go to the towns or cross over to the Union to seek employment or mix with low class women. Some protective law was asked for by some members by which chiefs would be bound to maintain and support such wives at their homes. In this discussion the Acting Paramount Chief disagreed with those who suggested protection by law on the ground that the courts were open for such cases of ill-treatment to be heard. It was not brought up in discussion that these women desert their homes after they had failed to get a hearing from the courts. He assured the Council that if these women took their cases to the courts they would be carefully gone into and settled.

A complaint was brought up by Cr. Goliath that public roads were worked by prison labour in Basutoland and thus increasing unemployment among the people. The A. R. C. explained that owing to financial difficulties the vote for public roads had to be reduced and the shortage met by prison labour.

The propasal by same councillor that the Paramount Chief should also prepare an opening address on each occasion of the opening of the Council, was made. It was however explained by other councillors that the Paramount Chief had the right to do so but had not chosen to prepare addresses for every session of the Council. He had delivered addresses on certain occasions in the past, and was at liberty to do so when he wished to.

An important motion was moved by Cr. Chokobane asking the Council to accept the Government proposals for the reform of the Native Courts as the Lerotholi laws were neglected and not enforced by the chiefs. He reminded the Council of the words used by His Excellency the High Commissioner in 1929 when he stated that if the proposals were rejected by the chiefs without making any suggestions that they thought would bring about an improvement a heavy responsibility would be on their shoulders. He pointed out that the laws of Lerotholi were not enforced because the chiefs were above them and the people wanted laws that will be above the chiefs and be observed by them. Unless these proposals were adopted there would be no check to the increased cases of bloodshed that were taking place at present. The people were anxious to see these proposals adopted. He had received letters from different parts of the Territory urging him to bring forward this motion. Some of these letters were strange. They state that the chiefs were responsible for cases of bloodshed that took place in Basutoland because the people took the law into their hands after waiting for a long time for the chief's courts to settle their cases.

The mover was subjected to a severe heckling by the members of the Council. He was reminded that the proposals to which he referred were discussed and rejected by the Council in 1929 and that it was a waste of their time to bring the matter up for discussion within so short a time.

Chief Setsomi requested the President not to allow motions that were likely to excite their feelings to be brought up for discussion. Some thought that in order to maintain good relations existing between the Government and the chiefs the mover should cease to be a member of the Council.

Cr. Talimo was instrumental in changing the tone of the debate or this matter by reminding the Council that members were at liberty to introduce matters for discussion in the Council, and members could express their views without being personal. It was true in certain parts of the country people were in favour of the Government proposals in an amended form. At a meeting held at Butha Buthe the same matter was brought up though in a slightly different manner from one under discussion. The discussion on the motion was continued and a greater number of speakers was against the motion. The smaller number of speakers who favoured it was very reasonable and gave strong instances of cases that call for a change of policy. Some members were outspoken and stated that the chiefs were opposed to the Government proposals only because they would be enforced by a Proclamation and in that case the chiefs would be subject to punishment if they failed to carry out the provisions of the Proclamation. The representative of the Paramount Chief sided with the opposition in this matter and asked Cr. Chokobane to report to those who asked him to bring the motion forward that the Council has not changed from its former attitude towards the Government proposals.

The Court

11-9-32

and bloodies." A further number question to know what the law was caused the Officer to forget himself and his position and ordered the police to an assault, in the usual way of some police Officers courtesy towards Basuto, of showing their dignity and how much power they wield over the Basuto police, the Official words were: Push him out Push him out"

Inspite of all this, a soft reply with a cool mind and the face showing a high respect, came out from the lips of the poor amazed loyalist "I was asked into this office by you sir there is no cause for pushing me out, when I enquire of the law from you." There was no time for this, pushing out was the sharp retort. A police was sent to pull down the King's flag though the jolly party protested, saying as subjects of the King they had as much right to the Union Jack as anybody else. It was pulled down and put in the car and fortunately the space available in the car was sufficient for those who drove in it alone, the police did not do the thing he should have done, of taking the flag to the Officer so what the jolly good party did with the flag was to show their avowed loyalty to their beloved King by hoisting up the flag again and driving away, passing in front of the office.

I hope Mr Editor you will take this matter, before we fast ourselves to death, for the trodden down flag of our King and Protector. Time is just ripe for us to have a say against or in favour of every appointed Officer. This is no longer time for Officers who are seizing an opportunity to make money though they hate the very people who contribute it and build them the best of Offices, in which they exercise their tyrannical rule and oppression. Mr Editor in conclusion, sir, I wish you and your readers to understand though my people are sometimes so ridiculed and threatened by some Officers in Basutoland I take no offence against them For the more they do so the more pride I feel about my people, whom I know as they know, that they are affording them the comfort and omces of honour which their countries have failed to give. Let them do what they like and go where they like. It is the Basuto black hands that tender them.

Eye Witness

THE BELGIAN CONGO.

OUR BRUSSELS LETTER.

("African World" Correspondent)

BRUSSELS, November 22.

British India Steam Navigation Co.

For the year ended September 30 the British India Steam Navigation Co. is to pay on the ordinary shares a 2½ per cent. dividend (free of income-tax).

As known by the Eastern Congo passengers, the B.I. maintains a mail service between Marseilles, Port Sudan, Mombasa, and Dar-es-Salaam, the sailing from Marseilles taking place every fourth Saturday at noon (notwithstanding date the issue of this paper on Christmas Eve). This service is being maintained by the twin-screw turbine liners "Madura," "Matiana," "Malda," and "Mandola," of which the gross tonnage exceeds 9,000 tons.

As we chronicled on July 23, it was the British India which initiated the lowering of the passage fares to East Africa—a move which is presently being followed by the other companies.

Across the Great Equatorial Forest.

I was informed a fortnight ago by the Belgian Colonial Office of the completion of the Stanleyville-Irumu motor-car route, which crosses the great Equatorial forest from west to east.

I am now informed by the Brussels Viciaux du Congo that this company has started a regular motor-car service between Stanleyville and Irumu by the new route, connecting at Avakubi with the services to the North-Eastern Congo and Nile.

Liquid Fuel.

Apropos the motor-car services, it may interest you to hear that (according to the fortnightly, and always interesting, Bulletin of the Brussels Compagnie du Congo pour le Commerce et l'Industrie) we have a petroleum port at Ango-Ango, below Matadi, equipped notably with fourteen tanks and connected with Léopoldville by means of a 400-kilometre pipe-line.

At Léopoldville there are nine tanks and a cracking plant producing ten to eleven tons of spirit per twenty-four hours. From Léopoldville the fuel is shipped to Coquilhatville, Aketi, and Stanleyville, where there are further tanks.

The building of tanks at Port Francqui is being completed.

Armistice Day.

"Prescobel" radios from Léopoldville and Elisabethville report that Armistice Day was duly solemnised at both these Congo cities.

A Requiem Mass was sung in the Cathedrals, and a ceremony took place in front of the monuments to Our Glorious Dead, the silence being religiously observed. All the Allied ex-Service men, whites and natives alike, took part to the commemoration, which was attended by all the authorities.

Increase in Kilo-Moto Gold Output.

In October last, Kilo-Moto produced 525 kilograms 449 grams gold. This brings the output of the first ten months to 5,057 kilograms 765. The outputs for the ten first months of the last five years were as follows:—

1928	2,818 kilos	085
1929	3,223 ,,	475
1930	3,693 ,,	620
1931	4,369 ,,	087
1932	5,057 ,,	765

Cie. Maritime Liners Turned Into Oil-Burners.

Three months ago I told you that the Compagnie Maritime Belge was turning its flagship, the "Leopoldville" into an oil-burning liner.

On the 3rd inst. the Antwerp "Neptune" reported that the "Albertville" is presently undergoing a similar transformation and that the "Elisabethville," which arrived at Antwerp yesterday, is now also to be transformed into an oil-burner.

Lower Passage Fares.

I have been informed by the Holland-Afrika Lyn, the Holland-Zuid Afrika Lyn and the Holland-Oost Afrika Lyn that, since the 1st inst., they no longer levy the depreciation supplement of 12½ per cent. on their passage fares. These lines maintain two joint services round Africa, one via Suez and one via Cape Town, both calling at Antwerp outwards as well as homewards.

The Antwerp "Neptune" reported (on the 6th inst.) that on and from December 1 the passage rates of these lines are to be further reduced. The rebates are up to £10 sterling.

Messrs. van Ommeren, the Antwerp agents of these Dutch lines and of the Holland-West Afrika Lyn (18, Plaine Falcon), send me the following particulars of the rout Duala (Cameroons)-Banguinatives from Portuguese Guinea, whose Chiefs welcomed (Ubanghi-Chari), the shortest route to the Ubanghi-Chari, the Northern Moyen Congo (French Equatorial Africa), and the North-Western Congo.

From Duala to Yaoundé, 306 kilometers by train: one day.

From Yaoundé to Bangui, 1,172 kilometers by motor-car: 4 to 5 days.

Inclusive fare from Duala to Bangui, with an allowance of free luggage of 250 kilograms: 4,200 French francs.

The Dutch Lines agency at Duala make the necessary reservations.

Imperial Airways' Xmas Arrangements

The Imperial Airways, 19, Rue Sain Michel, Brussels, inform me that on Sunday, the 13th inst., the "Hannibal" made her début on the African route, leaving Cairo for Kisumu.

The "Hannibal" is a 24-passenger biplane, fitted with four engines of 490 h.p. Her cruising speed is 100 miles per hour, but, necessity arising, a speed of 130 miles per hour can be maintained.

The Imperial Airways also communicate me the following:—

"The northbound African service ex Cape Town, on December 14, will leave on December 13, and will run one day ahead of normal schedule throughout in order to arrive in London on December 24. This alteration is to enable incoming mail to be delivered in most parts of England on Xmas Eve or Xmas Day.

Thus, passengers and mail from the Congo, via Imperial Airways, will arrive at Brussels on Saturday, December 24, at 7.32 a.m., if they proceed straight from Brindisi to Brussels by train. There are first and second-class sleeping-cars from Brindisi to Milan and from Milan to Brussels.

Luena Coalfields Closed.

The Brussels "Nation Belge" reports that the Luéna coalfields in the Katanga, have temporarily closed, their three chief customers having stopped their purchases of fuel temporarily.

Serious Reduction in Copper Stocks.

Yesterday the Paris Agence Economique et Financière issued a cable from its New York offices reporting a serious drop in the world's copper stock. From 793,000 tons in September they have fallen to 698,300 tons in October.

J. ROUSSEAUX.

PORTUGUESE COLONIAL POLICY.

We have previously drawn attention to the excellent work which is being done in making the resources and potentialities of the Portuguese African Colonies more widely known through the medium of the Agency-General for the Colonies, which serves as an information bureau and clearing house of knowledge on Colonial matters. The scope of the Agency's activities has been greatly extended since its reorganisation in the early part of the present year; and with the invaluable co-operation of Dr. Armindo Monteiro—one of the best Colonial Ministers Portugal has ever had—a close study has been made of methods of stimulating production and finding new markets for the Colonies' products as the best means of counteracting the effects of the world economic crisis. The Agency-General took advantage of the opportunity afforded by the first Lisbon Industrial Exhibition to organise an up-to-date display illustrating the various aspects of Portuguese Colonial activity, not the least attractive feature of which has been the human element, as exemplified by a party of the Government's invitation to visit what they proudly call their "mother country." Portugal's conception of her Colonies as an essential element in the national economy, involving not only the development of their economic resources but the moral and material advancement of the native races, is well expressed by Colonel Garcez de Lencastre, the able Agent-General for the Colonies, in the special article which he contributes to this issue of THE AFRICAN WORLD. Portugal is fortunate in having entrusted her Colonial destinies to those who, by placing the humanitarian principle in the foreground of their activities, are worthily upholding their country's proud tradition as pioneers of civilisation and colonisation in Africa.

ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS IN THE UNION.

CAPE TOWN, December 5.

Dr. Malan, Minister of the Interior, in a statement to "Die Burger" this morning, suggests with a view to ending the dispute in South Africa over the equal treatment of English and Afrikaans-speaking people, the appointment of a commission under the chairmanship of a Judge to inquire whether both sections are served in their own language by the Civil Service, whether there are equal language facilities in education, and whether both sections are justly treated in proportion to their numbers in appointments and promotions in the Civil Service. The English Press comments that the Minister's suggestion is vague and impracticable, and, moreover, might cause disorganisation and unrest in the service.

BECHUANALAND IMMIGRATION LAW.

The new immigration law which has just been promulgated in the Bechuanaland Protectorate is modelled on the same lines as that of Southern Rhodesia, but contains one or two new features.

The object is to regulate immigration into Bechuanaland and to prohibit the entry of undesirable immigrants; but all African natives domiciled south of the Equator are exempted from the provisions of the law. Persons of mixed race are not exempt.

The police are given authority to administer the law, and any person arriving in the territory may be required to appear before a police officer and satisfy him that he is not a prohibited immigrant.

Immigrants may be declared to be undesirable on the usual grounds of health or character, or on economic grounds; and any person found within the territory after having been refused admission is liable to imprisonment, if convicted.

One of the conditions under which an immigrant may be prohibited is an education test. This requires the immigrant to be able to write out and sign in a European language an application to the satisfaction of the immigration officer. Asiatics are therefore included in this test, which is not the case in Nyasaland; but for the purposes of the section it is laid down that Yiddish is to be regarded as a European language.

EAST AFRICAN LAND INQUIRY

Native Claims.

NAIROBI, December 5.

At the conclusion of the hearing of European and native evidence before the Land Commission at Nairobi, Sir Morris Carter, the chairman, stated that the natives had already been told that they would not have returned to them the land now in the occupation of Europeans.

But if (he said) we come to the conclusion that they have any claims we should try to satisfy them with land in other places. In so far as that is possible we might recommend some other form of compensation.

Koinange, a Kikuyu chief, suggested that even if compensation took the form of money it might be retained by the Government towards the reduction of native taxation. The evidence revealed the wide nature of the Kikuyu claims, which include land on which Government House is built and practically the whole of Nairobi. The most interesting European claim was that made by John Boyes, former "king" of the Kikuyu, who solemnly stated that Mount Kenya had been given to him at a gathering of 10,000 tribesmen thirty years ago. The natives now objected that the gift was invalid because it was not attended with the essential rite by which the boundaries were smeared with the entrails of sheep.—"The Times."

Race Problem -1932

Africa

THE SIERRA LEONE
WEEKLY NEWS
Saturday, August 20, 1932.

BRITISH TRUSTEESHIP IN WEST AFRICA.

II.

It is important to recognize what place MACGREGOR LAIRD gave to Religion in the great enterprise he set himself to accomplish. No less conspicuously than he felt that legitimate traffic in the natural productions of the country would be a potent means to the destruction of the slave trade, was he also persuaded that Religion would be the only lever to raise the human mind to aspirations of nobler and spiritual achievements. His association and co-operation with the Negro Bishop was towards this end; and so very worthily was his conception carried out, that the result in this direction has proved a most significant aspect, in the developments which have so far enhanced the supreme importance of British Trusteeship. MACGREGOR LAIRD recognized that the Missionary, along with the Trader and the Government, was an indispensable factor in that trinity of co-operative endeavours which have made, so far, for the redemption of Africa.

It was his faith in what effective contribution the Christian Missionary could make towards the consummation of his grand ideal, that made him to move the Church Missionary Society to allow CROWTHER, the catechist, to accompany the expedition. And here was opened the sphere, in which Liberated Africans from Sierra Leone have been able to take such a tremendously important part in laying that foundation on which has been built the great superstructure of Christian influence, as may be witnessed throughout British control in Nigeria to-day.

And yet, in the early fifties of the last century, when MACGREGOR LAIRD renewed his appeal to the British Government for that assistance which should be expected from a Christian Government, though he found much sympathy Government was not prepared to take responsibility.

It is this *non possumus* attitude which has created such marked difference between such parts of Nigeria in which Missionaries have been allowed to function and parts of the North where, on a pretext of maintaining a balance of conciliation, the Christian Banner has been forbidden to be unfurled unless under severe limitations in those spheres under Mohammedan influence.

Up to the present the Government adheres to its alleged *promise* to the chiefs that there should be no interference with their religion. But the question turns on what may constitute an *interference*. At any rate, as reported by Archdeacon MACKAY, in the *West African Review* of July last there is at present a growing feeling on the part of the more progressive of the youth in the North, that "they are being deprived of many opportunities which the younger generation of the South enjoy." There has been tremendous change affecting adversely the work of Christian Missionaries in West Africa so far as the attitude of European Government Officers and Merchants, speaking generally, are concerned.

A great move has for some time been going on in England for the preservation of what has been known as the *British Sunday* as contradistinct from what is also known as *Continental Sunday*. In the face of such prodigious efforts by a by no meaus negligible section of the British people, to maintain such high regard of a Christian duty, it is very unfortunate to observe how in these days, throughout the West African Colonies, representatives of an exalted nation flout the worship of the sanctuary and treat with mean contempt the efforts of their brethren, the Missionaries, to build up a spiritual manhood of the African people. In years gone by, it was a common practice for Europeans to teach by example the noble lesson of a Christian Brotherhood—that God hath made of one all nations upon the face of the earth, and there can be no claim to a Fatherhood, unless it is based on a common Brotherhood. We say such an attitude is unfortunate: it leaves a sudden and destructive effect on the minds of the youth of West Africa, and thus a wholesale campaign of neutralizing the work of Missionaries has been going on.

In our Protectorate, very often attention has been drawn to thoughtless acts of Political officers who have used their powers to prevent or interrupt the worship of the people. Once it was reported that a District Commissioner arrived in a town on a Sunday to hold Court; when the bell was being rung for Divine Service, he sent to stop it; because, perhaps, it was a nuisance to him. Is it a wonder that progress in Christian Missions in the Colony has been so backward, and the project has become such an unnecessarily expensive thing? It is impossible that the British people can regard the fulfilment of their duty as Trustees to be completely discharged without their recognition of their duty to fulfil their share in this direction. The people in the Protectorate have come to regard the work of the Missionaries from an unwholesome perspective; they take their bearings towards it from the attitude of the European Government Officer or the Merchant in their midst: whereever it has their patronage, the work appears to go on well; but when the approach is hostile, or even indifferent, there is a deadlock, and the task of the Missionary becomes an uphill one. If the same interest, which is being shown towards the African's development in Education and the Science of Health is given to his spiritual advancement; if everyone in high authority could but recognize his personal obligation to the Author of his being and would not allow position or an inflated sense of prestige to become an obsession, this aspect of the duty of the British Nation as Trustee of the African People would take such continuous march onward, that in the next one hundred years the consummation would have justified all the sacrifice which, undoubtedly, is being made, and which, in other respects, has won the high esteem and the just recognition of the British Nation in its rôle of Trustee of the people of West Africa and other parts of the world.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

HELP FOR TOMATO GROWERS.—The following very practical notes on tomato growing, based on his own experience by Mr. M. Vardy, late Manager of the Newton Fruit Farm, have been sent for our readers by the Director of Agriculture.

SEEDS AND SOWING.—The seed should be fresh, and if imported should be purchased in small quantities. It is not economical to import large quantities of seed for storing until required, as once the tin or packet is opened it is useless after three months.

From one packet of new seed a succession of good fruit can be obtained throughout six months in which tomatoes can be grown with success in Sierra Leone—the months between September and May. This succession is obtained by making two sowings of the imported seed and three, four, or more sowings may be made from the seed raised from these. It is best sown thinly in shallow boxes of good garden soil, i.e., soil from garden beds that have had in the past dressings of manure and wood-ashes, about one inch apart and covered with sifted soil to a depth of a quarter of an inch.

Shade is necessary until the seedlings have made their first pair of leaves: that on the shady side of a building is most suitable.

PRICKING OUT.—After the first pair of ordinary leaves has developed the seedlings are large enough to prick out into boxes. Good wide boxes, 6 to 8 inches deep are best, and these should be filled with good soil made rich with well-decayed compost and weathered wood-ashes. The soil should be made fairly firm and pressed down at least an inch below the edge of the box so as to allow for watering.

The seedlings should be pricked out six or seven inches apart, putting them into the soil almost up to the seed leaves: and well watered. As the plants grow they do not require heavy shade, for leggy, weak plants result. They should not be allowed to become dry or they lose their first bloom-truss; but it is necessary to avoid too liberal watering. The boxes should be well drained and water should only be given when the plants require it—not because it is the practice to soak the garden, tubs and seed-boxes every morning and evening."

PLANTING OUT.—As soon as the young plants have developed their first bloom-buds they should be planted where they are going to fruit: at a distance of 15 to 18 inches apart for good results. They should be lifted with a ball of soil if possible, and planted firmly. Each should have a stake; strong thin bamboo or split bamboo stakes about 4 feet long are best as they are more resistant to white ants than most other kinds of wooden stakes.

Very good results were obtained both at Newton and Masanki by the writer, from plants grown in trenches about 1 foot deep, 3 feet wide and 10 to 12 feet long, filled with a mixture of sandy loam, two or three wheelbarrow-loads of well-rooted, compost-pit material and a similar quantity of well weathered wood-ash. This trench system is good in the dry season as the plants actually get the water that is applied. Excellent results were obtained from plants in narrow borders under the eaves of a bungalow, the soil treatment being the same as for the trenches.

Those who have gardens on stony or laterite soil need not despair of growing tomatoes because of the shallowness of the soil. Provided that a trench 12 to 15 inches deep can be made and then filled with a sandy compost with which old wood-ashes have been well mixed, there is no reason why a successful crop should not be raised.

The black soil near marsh and swamp lands is not good for tomatoes until it has been limed to reduce its acidity.

AFTER-TREATMENT.—Staking and tying are important. Strong, wide raffia is the best material for tying, and while each tie must be secure it must not constrict as the plant develops.

All side-shoots should be nipped out from the place where they start, namely the places on the stem where the leaves arise. The flower trusses must thus be allowed to 'break' (grow) from the main stem. I find five trusses of fruit to a plant a useful limit in this country.

After the fruit of the fifth truss has set it is advisable to "stop" (pinch out the head of the plant) two leaves above the truss; (these leaves assist in the development of the last truss of fruit).

It sometimes happens that small stems and leaves develop from a truss of fruit and retard the development; these growths must be removed with a sharp knife.

As stated, care should be taken in watering seedlings and newly pricked-out plants; but when they have become established and are fruiting heavily a good watering twice a day (morning and evening) is necessary.

MANURES.—Top dressings with a sifted soil to which weathered wood-ash has been added are extremely beneficial and may be applied fortnightly. When obtainable a teaspoonful of Sulphate of Potash or Kainit once a week to each plant when fruiting is good. It is not advisable to supply artificial manure before the plants begin to fruit.

Over-manuring with nitrogenous manures tends to the production of leafy growth but very little fruit, and makes the plant liable to be attacked by fungi.

VARIETIES.—Of the many named varieties of tomatoes that are now grown the four satisfactory croppers of good quality in the order of merit that I have found in Sierra Leone are :—

Sutton's Best of all
Sutton's Earliest of all
C.W.S. Prolific
Kondine Red.

PESTS AND DISEASES.—I find eelworms are sometimes troublesome, and when small plants that have not fruited have become infested I recommend digging them up and burning. Older fruiting plants can often be made to throw out new roots by top dressing with sifted soil, and the plant thus kept going. I have had plants recover from termite attacks by the application of top dressings.

Other control methods are described in pamphlet No. 14 issued by the Agricultural Department: "Garden Pests and Diseases"

HARVESTING.—Whether the fruit is for the market or for home use it pays to use care and judgment when harvesting. The aim should be to make the fruit attractive; one so often sees good tomatoes spoiled through careless picking—the green stalk and calyx torn off, ugly fruit which will not keep being the result.

Not only does the green calyx give the tomatoes a better appearance but it is an indication of their freshness.

Tomatoes which are being sent by rail and not marketed for a day or two after harvesting should be picked as soon as they are beginning to colour, for they travel better and are quite firm and usually well coloured after two or three days. When it is but a short distance to the market the fruit should be allowed to finish colouring on the plants.

Unless it is intended for seed purposes coloured fruit should be picked promptly, for ripe and ripening fruit retard the development of the younger trusses.

Care should be taken to see that the fruit is dry at the time of harvesting.

PRODUCTION OF GRAPEFRUIT.

The following interesting information regarding this subject, which appears in "Tropical Agriculture" for June, has been brought to our attention by the Director of Agriculture.

It is always difficult to forecast the future prospects of an agricuitural industry because there are so many conditions which can arise which may upset the most careful estimates. A statement of the broader facts may, however, help to throw some light on the situation with regard to the grapefruit industry as it exists to-day.

According to recent information in Miscellaneous Publication 137 of the United States Department of Agriculture it appears that world production of grapefruit is maintaining its upward trend. Larger crops are expected in all producing countries amongst which are included the United States, Pôrto Rice, Isle of Pines, South Africa, Palestine, the West Indies, Brazil and the Argentine. The bearing acreages in the chief areas where the fruit is grown are, in particular, likely to increase, as will be seen from the figures below :—

	Total acreage	Bearing acreage (1931)
Florida	93,000	31,000
Texas	70,000	14,000
Arizona	15,000	4,160
California	12,000	9,000
Porto Rice	8,310	6,120

In Florida, which is the most important grapefruit producing area in the world, the 1930—31 crop was the largest on record amounting to just over 11 million boxes. The 1931—32 crop is, however, estimated only at 8½ million boxes. There has been a phenomenal expansion in Texes where production has increased from 4,000 boxes in 1921—22 to 906,000 boxes in 1930—31. In the United States increase in production during the last ten years has been estimated at an average of nearly 6 per cent. per year.

The United States and Porto Rico have so far been the chief exporters of grapefruit, but more recently they have had to compete with South Africa, the West Indies, Palestine, Brazil and Argentine. The United Kingdom has increased its imports of grapefruit from countries other than the United States and Porto Rico, from 93,000 boxes in 1926 to over 200,000 boxes in 1930. Exports from the United States for 1930—31 amounted to 1,370,000 boxes, the United Kingdom taking almost twice the quantity imported in 1929—30. Direct exports from Porto Rico to Europe amounted to 92,000 boxes. Palestine which produces a high-quality grapefruit exported 57,000 boxes in 1930-31, and South Africa about 100,000.

It is expected generally that there will be a further increase in the demand for grapefruit although it does no appear that demand will increase as fast as production. This, together with the prospect that the general price level will continue below the 1921-29 average points towards materially lower grapefruit prices than the average of recent years. Further, prices of summer grapefruit are likely to be better than those of the winter fruit.

PALM OIL FROM OTHER LANDS.—The Director of Agriculture draws our attention to information concerning the production of palm oil in countries outside of Africa that is repeated in *Der Tropenpflanzer* for last April, especially in the Netherlands East Indies.

It appears that the area of oilpalms is steadily increasing in this area, especially in the north of Sumatra. In 1930, 48 plantations were in existence, of which 37 were in Sumatra and 4 in Java; and 22 of these undertakings concern themselves with oilpalm cultivation and nothing else. The total area planted with oilpalms is 150,000 acres, of which one-half is actually bearing; actually the cultivated area has almost doubled since 1926, and in 1930 the production reached 9,280 tons of kernels and 49,750 tons of oil, almost all exported. The average yield in pounds per acre of the bearing areas in 1926 to 1930 was 1,303; 2,677; 3,124; 3,370 and 3,654.

Oilpalm planting is also steadily increasing in the Malay Peninsula; in 1929 there were 32,000 acres planted, as against 25,000 acres in the previous year. It is expected that a further strong extension of the English plantations will afford a substitute for rubber, with its very poor outlook.

Purchase of Motor Ambulance for Holy Cross Hospital

THE CHAIRMAN: That Government be respectfully requested to authorise the expenditure of £[illegible] for the purchase of a motor ambulance for the use of the Holy Cross Hospital for the convenience of sick Natives in that Institution."

The Mover: There is another resolution like this one, No. 153, which has been discussed, and the point left to be explained was what did the hospital authorities say?

THE CHAIRMAN: They have not been asked.

The Mover: This motion comes from the people who came to me from the poor districts of Pondoland. They have got their hospital at Holy Cross. They had requested the late Chief to have a hospital established for them, and that hospital had succeeded, when the late Chief died, in securing the services of Dr. Drew; but at this time there is a great deal of death and the districts of Bizana, Flagstaff, Lusikisiki and Tabankulu have no other hospital. All these people have got only this hospital at Holy Cross, where they send their sick people. This causes a difficulty. They got the hospital in order to use it and they come to me and say, "What are we going to do? We have got the hospital but we can't get there. What are we going to do? They requested that I should bring a request before the General Council so that they may have means of conveyance for their sick people." That is the reason that this motion has been brought forward. It is not on the doctor's advice; it is not on my advice either. It might be thought that I had influenced this motion, but I have my own motor car by which I can move about and this is a request that comes from the depressed people and which should be considered by the General Council as to the rights of the people.

Cr. A. Nomyete: I second the motion. As the mover has pointed out, Eastern Pondoland is a wide area. It has four districts and those districts have one hospital to serve them, and beef in water spirits and the lightening bird is increasing. The only way to combat that belief is the hospital. In order that all these districts may have access to the hospital, an ambulance must be provided. This motion has been brought forward by the Chief and he knows what he is speaking about because he knows what the people feel, and he says it is the people who want this motion, so that they can use the ambulance when anybody is ill. They want the ambulance when a person is really very badly injured, and when the bones of his head are broken. The price for the ambulance should be fixed so low that the people can afford to pay for it, that is, when it has gone to fetch a sick person. A sick person like that could pay something like 6d. a mile, to pay for the petrol. There is a number of people who don't own sledges or wagons, and these people die at their kraals, being unable to go to hospital, while if an ambulance were provided, a lot of sick people could be rescued

Race Problem – 1932

Africa

The B. P. A.

The Comet

A special meeting of the Basutoland Progressive Association was held at Teyateyaneng on the 30th. July last for the purpose of receiving a report of a deputation sent to the Paramount Chief on the 16th. May last to interview him on the subject of the laws of Lerotholi which were held up by the chiefs and members of the Basutoland Council as a remedy for the grievances of the people against the chiefs' courts, and to consider what steps should be taken after hearing the reply of the Paramount Chief.

The Mafeteng district branches were represented by Messrs L. Chokobane, A. P. Khutlang and Mohapi. Messrs N. M. Sehole C. Ranku and N. M. Tlale represented Maseru. The meeting was well attended by the members of the Ty branch among whom were more than ten ladies, who are also members. Owing to a break-down of their car the representatives of Maseru branch were late but not too late to take part in the proceedings.

Some members expressed the opinion that as the deputation had not submitted concrete evidence of cases where appeals were refused the B. P. A. should collect such cases and lay them before the P. C. to convince him that the grievance was based on facts but others held a different view. They stated that that would not help, the chiefs and members of the Councils had on many occasions admitted these grievances in the Council and further evidence is at the present juncture, uncalled for. The point to be considered was whether the remedy had been applied or not? If applied has it relieved the peoples grievances or not?

Law 19 which is guarding the other laws and is a protection to the people by compelling the chiefs to perform their duties by imposing fines on those who fail to attend to these duties has not been applied. The P. C. himself confessed that it was impracticable so far as his court and those of the principal chiefs were concerned owing to the various other duties which he had to attend to personally besides the court cases. Thus it was clear that if law 19 was impracticable and could not be applied the whole remedy fails as the other laws were more or less dependent on this one. Of course there were some who expressed other views. Ultimately the B. P. A. decided upon sending a deputation to His Honour the Resident Commissioner to pray him to take steps to see that the people are relieved from their long standing grievances as the P. C. had confessed his inability to do so.

GOLD COAST.

Population Statistics.

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Disregarding the maritime population which, owing to its numerical insignificance, can hardly influence calculation referred to in this report, the population of the Gold Coast and its Dependencies, including the mandated area of Togoland at midyear, 1931, is estimated as being 3,185,124. The remarkable increase in the population during the last intercensal period, amounting to over thirty-seven per cent., is indicative of the rapid development that has taken place and the confidence shared in the ultimate prosperity of this portion of British West Africa.

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The wealthiest of the Southern administrations is Ibadan with an accumulated surplus of £48,516, Ahoada £30,077, Okigwi with £25,286, Benin £24,101, Oyo £16,593, Egba £13,265, Ikot-Ekpene £12,517, Ahoada £11,853, Ekiti £11,408, Abak £11,042, Ileshа £10,985, and others with lesser amounts. These are the figures as at April 1931.

The biggest revenue enjoyed by the Ibadan Administration which for 1932 was estimated to amount to £65,050 with an expenditure of £77,160. The Egba Administration comes next with a figure of £45,572 and expenditure £43,272. Ijebu

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The expenditure of the various administrations is set out in great detail under twenty headings, and a careful study reveals many interesting features. The proportion in which the total of £516,959 is expended is of considerable interest, though it must be remembered that these are totals and averages, and the expenditure of any particular district may, and does, vary widely from the proportions arrived at from the totals of all districts.

The biggest proportion of the total expenditure is under the heading works recurrent, which absorbs 20.0 per cent.; judicial accounts for 19.3 per cent. of the total expenditure in the South; village heads account for 10.8 per cent.; Central (ten treasuries only and principally in Oyo Province) 6.3 per cent.; district heads 6.2 per cent.; medical and sanitary 5.3 per cent.; special expenditure 5.2 per cent.; police 5.1 per cent.; capital works 5.0 per cent.; miscellaneous 4.2 per cent. various 2.9 per cent.; works staff 2.4 per cent.; Treasury 2.5 per cent.; prisons 1.7 per cent.; education 1.6 per cent.; agriculture and forestry .9 per cent.; survey (nine treasuries only, principally Ibadan and Egba) .3 per cent.

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Neglect of Agriculture.

An activity which is almost completely untouched by the missions, and which makes an even worse showing in the proportions quoted, is the almost negligible attention paid by most native administrations to agriculture and forestry. Less than one hundredth of their large expenditure is devoted to these departments, although their populations live almost exclusively by means of tilling the land or trading in the products of the land.

In agriculture and forestry Cameroons leads with 3 per cent., followed by Oyo Province with 2.3 per cent.—both of them well above the .9 per cent. expended by the southern territory in general. Even an advanced state such as Abeokuta only devotes .7 per cent. of its revenue to this important department. The greater progress of agricultural enterprise in the Cameroons, as shown by the expenditure in this service, is due to the sound foundation laid by the Germans in this department of activity. The Administrations are at present very young, but after a few years when they have been more firmly established it should be possible to consider whether some of the large sums of money that lie idle in the banks as reserves might not be more usefully employed in the furtherance of advanced agricultural knowledge and practice, and in the establishment of simple machinery for the treatment on modern lines of such products as the palm, and operative on a commercial basis.

In medical and sanitary services, however, Abeokuta is above the average with 6.2 per cent., and Ibadan makes a very good showing with nearly 8 per cent. or non-establishment of central government institutions is, no doubt, the most important factor influencing these differences, and it is only really possible to depart from Native Administration funds. This seems to indicate that the funds available would naturally to flow in this direction if not carefully directed to more practical ends.

The Native Courts and Judicial Expenditure.

These brief extracts serve to show the very great local differences in the proportions in which Native Administration funds are spent on the different departments of government. The establishment of police, education, or health—it absorbs an even greater proportion of revenue than in places where justice is but one of the departments which have to be financed system. It is just this department that absorbs the second greatest proportion of expenditure, and in administrations which have few other responsibilities—such as police, education, or health—it absorbs an even greater proportion of revenue than in places where justice is but one of the departments which have to be financed from Native Administration funds. This seems to indicate that the funds available would naturally to flow in this direction if not carefully directed to more practical ends.

Race Problem—1932

Africa

The B. P. A. The Comet

A special meeting of the Basutoland Progressive Association was held at Teyateyaneng on the 30th. July last for the purpose of receiving a report of a deputation sent to the Paramount Chief on the 16th. May last to interview him on the subject of the laws of Lerotholi which were held up by the chiefs and members of the Basutoland Council as a remedy for the grievances of the people against the chiefs' courts, and to consider what steps should be taken after hearing the reply of the Paramount Chief.

The Mafeteng district branches were represented by Messrs L. Chokobane, A. P. Khutlang and Mohapi. Messrs N. M. Sehole C. Ranku and N. M. Tlale represented Maseru. The meeting was well attended by the members of the Ty branch among whom were more than ten ladies, who are also members. Owing to a break-down of their car the representatives of Maseru branch were late but not too late to take part in the proceedings.

Some members expressed the opinion that as the deputation had not submitted concrete evidence of cases where appeals were refused the B. P. A. should collect such cases and lay them before the P. C. to convince him that the grievance was based on facts but others held a different view. They stated that that would not help, the chiefs and members of the Councils had on many occasions admitted these grievances in the Council and further evidence is at the present juncture, uncalled for. The point to be considered was whether the remedy had been applied or not? If applied has it relieved the peoples grievances or not?

Law 19 which is guarding the other laws and is a protection to the people by compelling the chiefs to perform their duties by imposing fines on those who fail to attend to these duties has not been applied. The P. C. himself confessed that it was impracticable so far as his court and those of the principal chiefs were concerned owing to the various other duties which he had to attend to personally besides the court cases. Thus it was clear that if law 19 was impracticable and could not be applied the whole remedy fails as the other laws were more or less dependent on this one. Of course there were some who expressed other views. Ultimately the B. P. A. decided upon sending a deputation to His Honour the Resident Commissioner to pray him to take steps to see that the people are relieved from their long standing grievances as the P. C. had confessed his inability to do so.

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Owerri Province has the rather high proportion of 25 per cent. spent on the judicial vote—about 7 per cent. above the average for Southern Nigeria, and this is equalled by Onitsha Province, while it is greatly surpassed by Calabar with 31 per cent.

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ments of government. The establishment

WHAT WE THINK.

AN IMPERIAL WORK.

The Gordon Memorial College at Khartoum and it sister institution, the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories, are undertakings which must make a strong appeal to the sympathies of the imperially minded. Not only do they constitute the most fitting form of memorial to Gordon—visionary and Empire-builder—and to those who carried on the work he began, but they are performing a practical service to the people of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and to humanity in general, the true value of which has yet to be appreciated. It is the more gratifying, therefore, to learn on the authority of His Excellency the Governor-General that though the omnipresent economic depression has necessitated drastic reductions of expenditure both in the College and in the lower branches of education in the Sudan during the past year, the standard of teaching has not been allowed to suffer, and the authorities are alive to the need for maintaining an organisation sufficiently elastic to meet the requirements of the country. Since their inception the Gordon College and the Wellcome Laboratories have been served by a splendid body of devoted workers—Sir James Currie, Sir Henry Wellcome, Mr. J. G. Matthew, Major Archibald and Dr. Atkey, to name but a few—while successive Governors-General, notably Lord Kitchener, Sir Reginald Wingate, and Sir John Maffey, have shown the keenest personal interest in furthering the cause of education and the conquest of disease, to which those institutions have made and are still making so notable a contribution.

FLATTENING ON CROWN MINES.

The depth to which mining can be profitably conducted on the Rand has been a favourite technical topic for a great number of years. The depth has been advanced gradually as equipment and ventilation have improved, and it is now generally accepted that there are no insurmountable difficulties in mining to a depth of 10,000 ft. from the surface. Three at least of the important companies operating in the central section of the goldfield contemplate carrying developments to depths approaching 8,500 ft., limits which probably will be exceeded if values persist. Last year considerable interest was evoked by the news that the ore bodies on Randfontein below the 4,000 ft. level showed an inclination to flatten, which became accentuated as greater depth was attained, finally resulting in a syncline which existed up to the Witpoortje break. On the neighbouring West Rand property, it is understood indications on the Battery reef are favourable to a similar flattening. That the flattening is not confined to the extreme west of the goldfield is now indicated by the latest news from Crown Mines, where the No. 17a shaft has intersected the Main Reef Leader at a depth of 5,360 ft. from the surface or approximately 300 ft. less than the depth at which it would have been cut had the formation continued at the angle of 30 deg. as expected from the knowledge derived from the company's deeper shafts to the east. Whether there is any connection between the flattening on the Randfontein and that now found in this section of the Crown Mines can for the present be only conjectural. The fact that the flattening has not been disclosed in the various deep shafts which have been sunk to still greater depths to the east does not disprove the possibility of an extension of the flattening in that direction, as it may exist at greater depth than has yet been reached in that section. Whether local or general, the news is of importance not only to the company immediately concerned, but because it may substantially enhance the general speculative value of the whole of the central section of the Rand.

AIRWAYS IN RHODESIA.

The Beit Trust is fulfilling, worthily, the ideals of its illustrious founder, and Rhodesia continues to benefit substantially from munificent bequests towards the development of the country. The latest bequest by Sir Alfred Beit on behalf of the Trustees is the allocation of £50,000 to the cause of aviation in the Rhodesias. No time is being lost in taking advantage of this very generous grant, and Southern Rhodesia is enthusiastic over the prospect of becoming one of the most up-to-date countries in the world for facilities in flying. When the contemplated improvements have been carried out, pilots, flying through Northern or Southern Rhodesia, will be able to rely on a chain of landing places at shorter intervals than are to be found anywhere in Europe. The average distance between them will not be more than fifty miles, and in the case of Southern Rhodesia from twenty-five to thirty. Apart from the enormous benefit to the Colonies concerned, the combined result of the improvements made possible by the generosity of the Beit Trustees will appreciably increase the comfort, safety and regularity of the Imperial Airways' services over a very difficult section of the route between England and the Cape. Safer flying in the Rhodesias will also give a great spurt to private enterprise, and the opening up of numerous new landing grounds will also open up a route for owner-flown small machines, whose pilots need no longer have any fears of the risk of forced landings. Altogether, thanks to the Beit Trustees, flying in Rhodesia has a big future in store for it, either in the way of pleasure, adventure, or business.

NIGERIA'S TRADE OUTLOOK.

When commenting recently in these columns on the Nigerian trade report for the year 1931, we pointed out that though the continued fall in commodity prices had had a disastrous effect on the trade of that great Dependency there was no cause for despair, since there was ample evidence of basic economic soundness, founded on the diversity of Nigeria's products and her almost unlimited potentialities for future expansion when the necessary stimulus is forthcoming. A study of the annual report of the Nigerian Railways, just to hand, confirms this view. While the total tonnage of goods handled decreased from 673,942 in 1930 to 581,094 last year, it is noticeable that a slight rise in local prices and improvement in demand for any product immediately resulted in a jump in output: hides, groundnuts, and certain other agricultural products, are cases in point, and the increases registered could probably be trebled or quadrupled with little effort if the demand justified such expansion. With regard to mineral production, the outlook is less encouraging; the restriction of tin outputs, which reduced the tonnage of concentrates railed from 11,080 to 9,390, has resulted in an almost total cessation of demand for coal on the tinfields, reacting unfavourably on the operations of the Udi Collieries, which showed a heavy decrease in production and a corresponding drop in profits. The Nigerian Government, however, has taken the long view, and the completion of the Benue River Bridge, which affords direct and speedy rail connection between Port Harcourt, the outlet for the Eastern Provinces, and the Udi coalfield and Bauchi Plateau, is a gesture of faith in the future of the country which we believe will be more than justified when the corner of the long lane of depression has been turned.

THE GROWING SERIOUSNESS of the race problem in South Africa is again attested in the recently published report of the Native Economic Commission. Appointed by Prime Minister Hertzog, this body inevitably represented a conservative point of view. Nevertheless, its report frankly points out that in view of overstocking and overpopulation "the very existence of large numbers of natives in the reserves will, in the near future, be impossible." The policy of paying cheap wages to native workers is, moreover, injurious to the whites. The gap between the European and the native wage is so large that "there is a steady pressure on employers to reduce to a minimum the number of such European employees and to get as much of their work as possible done by natives." In other words, the cheap-wage policy in reality reduces the scope of European employment. "The broad fact is that the population of the country can become better off only if more wealth is produced, and the most promising source for this at present is the Native Reserves." The report urges the economic development of the Native Reserves, according to the principles of scientific agriculture; it declares that it is necessary to increase the area of native-owned land. As the basis of native policy the adaptationist principle should be adopted, which means "taking out of the Bantu past what is good, and even what is merely neutral, and, together with what is good of European culture for the Bantu, building up a Bantu future." The new report merely emphasizes what previous investigations have brought out. It is doubtful, however, whether the Hertzog regime, dominated by the Afrikanders, will be able to carry out a really forward-looking program.

Race Problem-1932

Africa.

MOTOR TRANSPORT IN WEST AND EAST AFRICA.

"STEAM RAILWAYS BECOMING OBSOLETE?"

WEST AFRICA recently reported questions asked and answered in the House of Commons, from which it appears that a tax of £300 per annum is being levied on each heavy motor vehicle running on certain routes in Tanganyika Territory. Mr. Macquisten, M.P. (the questioner), suggested that these heavily taxed vehicles travel across the veld, but the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister) replied that the recent legislation was passed to prevent uneconomic competition between road and rail because the routes were impracticable *except by using Government roads and bridges*. The Colonial Secretary further stated that the essential interest of the Colonies is that railways should be maintained and that we should avoid developing in the Colonies the hopeless state between road and rail transport now obtaining in Britain.

Let it be frankly admitted that existing railways must be maintained, for at the present time they are vitally necessary to any virgin country with produce to evacuate, but pointed questions need to be considered regarding the working of the Government which the Colonial Secretary supports. Can there be any comparison between a country that has used roads as a transport medium for two thousand years and one that built a railway before it knew a road? If the Colonies are so impressed with the need of railways that public funds are used to build and maintain them, why do these same Governments use public funds to build roads and bridges in a direction which enables competition with the railways, and having built the roads how can they be labelled "Government roads and bridges" as though they were the private preserve of some privileged party, to the exclusion of the man in the street who provided the funds for their construction?

Virgin countries should remember that steam railways are becoming obsolete, and all expenditure in this direction must be guided by that fact, but while they still serve a useful purpose the practical method of initial development should be nothing more than an arterial line to the ports. Good roads built transversely to the railway track to feed it are a necessity but the height of folly is to make a road *alongside the railway line*. Other Colonies, including those in West Africa, have also been guilty in this connection, and having thus erred, it is small-minded and petty and contrary to economy to attempt to tie up the public money expended in excluding these roads from motor transport. And if there arises a hopeless state between road and rail transport, it will not be the factors that obtain in Britain that can apply, for Colonial Governments are free of many of the overhead expenses of British railways, which have bought at high prices every inch of the land for their tracks, and pay tax on it and on their income. In the Colonies the land is acquired without payment, and the quantity is not limited, enabling *détours* around gradients and avoiding cuttings and tunnels, and no tax is paid on the land neither is the income from working subject to taxation. Labour is cheap. There is no question of the convenience of door-to-door loading and delivery, as in Britain, for the business of transport is not distribution, but evacuation. Then, compared with motor transport, each train runs on tax-free fuel and carries hundreds of tons, against the few tons carried in a motor vehicle, and if the negligible cost per ton mile of the railway cannot compare more than favourably with the high cost per ton mile of motor transport, there is something wrong with the railway to bolster such a system is against the general interest of a country, for the whole trend of modern civilisation shows motor transport also to be a necessity, and no action of Government or authority can permanently stultify progress, although it is possible to hinder growth and produce a monstrosity when age claims perfection. It may be that the future will demand that railways take second place to motor transport, indeed events are pointing that way; to fight against the situation will be detrimental, for none can proscribe the course of true advancement, and success will only come to those who are alive to its opportunities.

There is no objection to the reasonable taxation of motor vehicles, and in places where roads are difficult to maintain this must necessarily be high, but let the rate be commensurate with all the circumstances. Tanganyika Territory now seeks to extort about 4d. per mile for the privilege of using roads and bridges, to the building of which the motor owners—as ordinary taxpayers—have already subscribed.

The situation now supported by the Colonial Secretary unfortunately savours of a conservatism which existed largely in the past, and negatives progress. A few years ago it was necessary to approach an eminent official in the Nigerian Government regarding the working of a certain regulation. He was most considerate and immediately gave instruction for a reasonable interpretation of the regulation, stating that "we must do nothing to hinder trade!" "Do nothing to *hinder*!" Surely the correct attitude should have been to "do everything to *help*!"

GEORGE K. WEEKS.

[After the above article had been put into type news as received to the effect that the Kenya Government has decided to prohibit motor competition with the railway.]

The New Lagos Market.

To build a market is easy compared with the task of getting the market-women to use it, as Lagos is beginning to find. The Acting Administrator, Mr. Falk, has done his best to enlist the sympathies of the traders, but an interview with the chief women of the 11 markets of the town on July 12 has shown him that they are not easily to be persuaded to move from their accustomed places, and still less to pay relatively high rents merely because the local authorities chose to spend a good deal of capital without consulting them. Indeed, instead of persuading them to spend money, he fell to their attempts to raise a small sum from him, a sum which they then managed to get increased slightly by pointing out that odd money was unlucky! The view of the women seems to be that there is certainly a future for the market, but that it is the Administrator's work to advertise it and to attract fresh traders from surrounding villages.

Lagos possesses a "National" secondary school in the opening on April 18, by Dr. O. Sapara, of the African Church Grammar School. Established in 1891, the U.N.A. Church first gave serious consideration to the creation of a secondary school in 1926, but was unable to formulate a scheme meeting Government requirements until early this year, the official sanction to open being received early in March.

Swarms of locusts visited Ikeja and Ebute Metta during the third week in April. It is reported that the damage to the young crops was relatively slight.

United Transkeian Territories

General Council

Purchase of Farms in the Pitsing Area, Maclear Dist

Cr. W. P. Mlandu moved: "That the Government be respectfully urged to take steps to purchase the block of farms in the Pitsing area, Maclear District, with a view to settling surplus Natives there."

The Chairman: This motion, with a different position, is a large piece of ground belonging to Europeans, yet in former days it belonged to the Natives in Griqualand East. There is also a piece of ground inhabited by Natives which also belongs to the Maclear district. One cannot but would mean nearly could describe these farms as an island surrounded by Native locations on all sides. It adjoints a European area. This place would meet the requirements of the Government to-day because it could buy it and make a division, whites on one side, blacks on the other. White people could be moved from the Native side to the white side where they could live in comfort. This area is under the Fencing Act. Acquisition of farms could enable the Government to carry out its policy in land matters.

Cr. S. Majeke seconded. It would be good for everybody if the farms could be obtained by the Government.

Mr. E. F. Godfrey: I wish to put a few facts before the Council before they vote on this motion. As already stated, this area belongs to the Mt. Fletcher district. The geographical position of Pitsing is well known. It is bounded on three sides by the Mt. Fletcher district. At present it means the maintenance of a road [illegible] 120 miles long. I have made inclusive enquiries from farmers in this area and I have ascertained that the majority of these farms are undeveloped and unimproved. The position of these farms does not warrant the farmers going in to any great extent, as already explained, they are surrounded by Native locations, and have the expense of maintaining the fences. I have before me a list of the farms of the lower Pitsing area. Taken altogether, they comprise 10,000 morgen. These I know for certain, are available for sale to the Government for the purpose of settling any surplus Natives. The prices range from £31 12s. 6d. per morgen. These are the prices suggested by the Pitsing area, which can be developed. It consists of about eleven farms, with, I estimate, an area of about 10,000 morgen, so that with the lower area there are 25,000 morgen of land. If these farms are purchased the boundary would be 35 or 40 miles long, and those 25,000 morgen would be available for the settlement of Natives on necessarily of Mt. Fletcher, but of other parts of the Territories, and I would ask the Council to give this matter very serious consideration.

Cr. S. Lehana: All I wish to say is to urge that we support the motion. What has been said by the Mt. Fletcher District Chairman is true. The difficulty I see is to pay for the existing fence, for which they have to pay every year. These farms are surrounded by Native locations, and lower Pitsing is a

very long distance from the other. All that difficulty would be done away with if Government agreed to purchase this area. The fence being out of repair, most of the people agreed to be taxed for three years, the money to go towards the cost of maintaining the fence. It is not known what will happen after the lapse of three years, but the wire fence is continually going out of repair and that will necessitate the people having to pay money as their share.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question is the purchase of land, not the fence to which you refer. That is a separate matter altogether. You are raising a question that has been settled between your office and my office by correspondence Confine yourself to the question of the purchase of the farms

Cr. Lehana: I have nothing more to add but to ask the Council to vote for the motion They will be not on y helping the Natives of Mt Fletcher, but other Natives aswel who have no place. I hope the Government will agree to the motion.

The motion was carried

'The Comet.'

Maseru, Basutoland.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 22, 193-

Basutoland Council.

This council was established more than twenty-five years ago as a means by which the administration could ascertain the views and opinions of the chiefs and people on certain important matters concerning the general welfare and progress of the Basuto. As had been stated on several occasions in the columns of this paper the intention was that all sections of the people should be represented. According to the constitution the Paramount Chief nominates and the Resident Commissioner appoint members.

Subsection (4) of section 2 of the Proclamation no. 7 of 1910, constituting the Council reads:

"Such appointments shall include the principal "persons exercising authority as chiefs of the "Basuto tribe, provided that such persons are "not in the opinion of the Resident Commissioner "for any reason unfitted for membership of the "Council, and shall further so faras practicable, "be representative of the different interests and opinions "of the members of the tribe.

Unfortunately the practice has always been for the Resident Commissioner to appoint the nominees of the Paramount Chief without, let us say, paying due regard to the different interests and opinions of the members of the tribe. Possibly this was due to the fact that the policy of the administration up to a few years back aimed more at the subjugation of the tribe than anything else and in order to achieve this the then administrators made it a point to avoid a possible hitch by patting the chiefs and allowing them to have things their own way. This has now resulted into a habit which the present administrators are finding it difficult to depart from. That the Council is not representative of the interests of the majority of the people has been realised by the Government though it is not bold enough to effect a change of policy.

The Transkeian General Council was established the same year as the Basutoland Council though they had a few district councils functioning about seven years earlier. "At that time there was a strong element of opposition to it. Progress was slow and its activities were restricted and hampered by unbelievers. Gradually suspicion and distrust were dispelled and advantages of the Council system became more widely appreciated." These are the words spoken by its Chairman last year.

The Basutoland Council which did not meet with any opposition from the people cannot boast of any progress such as that made by the Transkeian Council neither is it as useful to the tribe as the latter. There is a distinct difference between the two. While the Transkeian Council serves the interests of the people the Basutoland Council serves the interests of the chiefs as against the people. The Transkeian Council has its own revenue and expenditure while in the Basutoland Council the revenue and expenditure of the previous year is read to the members.

The Study Of African Languages

As a result of an annual grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, the London School of Oriental Languages is to form a new African Department which will co operate with the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. Investigations are to be carried out in various parts of Africa and the results co-ordinated in London. Among those appointed to carry out the work are Dr. A. N. Tucker, late of the Sudan Government, Dr. H. J. Melzian and Miss Honikman, who are all specialists in the phonetics of Bantu languages.

United Transkeian Territories General Council

The Comet 8-31-32

(Mochochonono)

Purchase of Motor Ambulance for Holy Cross Hospital

Maseru, Basutoland

Cr. E. J. Mayezi: There is a small point that has been overlooked. There is a difficulty that we met with in Eastern Pondoland If we don't provide for this ambulance then these sick people will die at their kraals on account of the restrictions on the movement of cattle, due to East Coast fever. There is no way by which the people can be carried on sledges because the cattle are not allowed to move. We would be glad if our request could be acceded to.

Cr. R. Vimbindlela: We will all speak on this motion. The Chief has pointed out that this motion is not his own. Our area is large. Some members have spoken of using sledges. Even if there were no restrictions on the movement of cattle, sledges could not avail us much. It is clear in these days that our Native witchdoctors are useless and we want European doctors. Our Chairman will remember that we have made many requests for hospitals in the districts, and when those requests were not granted we thought to pay a visit to the Chief of Eastern Pondoland and request him to apply for an ambulance to serve Eastern Pondoland, and that will serve the purpose of the hospitals in all the districts. We therefore ask the councillors here to support this motion.

Cr. S. Mdondola: This is a painful matter that has been moved by the Chief, because all his people lay their complaints before him on account of the increase of disease amongst the people. We therefore requested him to make this application to the Council as we had no means by which we could convey our sick. We ask the Chairman and the members of the Council to pay attention to this request, because it represents the views of the people.

Race Problem - 1932

Africa.

SIERRA LEONE LETTER.

JUDICIAL REFORM.

Reports have been issued of several of the interviews granted by Mr. H.G. Bushe, the Colonial Office Legal Adviser, in his recent visit to Freetown. All naturally cover much the same ground, and may therefore be grouped. On the subject of the Attorney-General's Criminal Procedure Bill, which has not hitherto been welcomed, Mr. Bushe pointed out that Sierra Leone was nearly half a century behind the times, and the Bill would merely bring procedure into line with that of England, while in regard to the use of English judges in the West African Court of Appeal, and to the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive, the principal difficulty was the same,—that of expense. However, the results of appeals seem to show the present system of using judges from other West African Colonies to be successful, and the only adverse criticism remaining concerned a matter which certainly calls for reform, the use of an Acting Judge, whose substantive rank may be that of a fairly junior magistrate, in a Court of Appeal. The old question of the Assessors' Ordinance came up, but in the case of the Bar Association their argument was somewhat weakened by the agreement of one of their number with the Attorney-General's view that instances occasionally arose in the larger centres when it would be impossible to rely on a jury giving a verdict in accordance with the evidence. For his part, the Attorney-General said, he had never yet called for assessors, nor should he do so except under great stress. Other points mentioned, and promised favourable consideration, were the engagement of skilled shorthand writers in the Supreme Court, and the grant of right of audience to lawyers in provincial courts whenever and wherever properly qualified magistrates could be obtained.

A Persevering Scout.

Last year a plucky Sierra Leone Scout earned distinction by the recovery of a drowning fellow-bather off Lumley Beach, and now a second lad has set an example of courageous perseverance in the search for a child carried by a current along one of the deep open drains for which Freetown is notorious. Unfortunately, he was unsuccessful in saving life, for owing to the night being dark and the weather heavy, the child passed unseen by the police who had rushed to the stream by King Tom Bridge in the hope of intercepting her. Long after most of the searchers had retired to their houses he found the body at Kroo Bay, but although a doctor was summoned immediately, there was nothing that he could do. Besides showing that the true Scout spirit of helpfulness and initiative is being successfully developed in Freetown the incident leads one to ask again whether something cannot be done to reduce the number of accidents of this type, which are all too common, save that the age of the sufferer generally prevents a fatal ending.

Tribal Rulers in Freetown.

No report has yet been published on the Commission that enquired into the powers and duties of the Tribal Rulers in Freetown, but its general tenor is fairly evident from the order just issued cancelling the powers of all but the tribal ruler of the Kroos, a community which could hardly be interfered with since the original members settled in Sierra Leone at the invitation of the Government. The original recognition of tribal rulers was obviously an adaptation of the system of working through headmen that has been used by all experienced Coasters, from the days of the first European sailors to those of Lord Lugard and his elaboration of the principle for wholesale government, and in Freetown, an African Babel, it was particularly necessary. Presumably the present change means that the peoples of the Protectorate who take up their residence in the Colony have now advanced in their knowledge of language and in their experience of modern conditions to a point at which they may safely be trusted to fend for themselves, and at which they no longer need a countryman of their own to administer special forms of customary law.

Mr. Ladipo Solanke in Freetown.

During his mission to collect funds for a West African Students' Union hostel in London, Mr. Ladipo Solanke has visited many places in British West Africa, and has taken upon himself many interesting tasks, among them that of defending the Alake of Abeokuta against his traducers. His latest task is in Freetown, where, while collecting a number of donations, he found himself interested in the quarrel, not far off half-a-century old, between the chief Moslem factions. Whether it is possible for a stranger permanently to heal a breach of such long standing remains to be seen, but at least a temporary reconciliation has been effected, and that may lead the way to a generally better understanding.

Birthday Honours.

Besides the Certificates of Honour issued by Sierra Leone this year on the King's Birthday, the only local awards are a King's Medal for African Chiefs to Matturi, Paramount Chief of Nimi, Kono District, Southern Province, and Imperial Service Medals to Mr. Henry Simeon Grant, retired African Foreman of Public Works, and Santigi, formerly Senior Messenger of the Audit Department.

White Man Graves.

Now that Freetown has lost its ancient notoriety as the White Man's Grave, it is seeking to create new fame as the scene of action of two White men who serve as graves for aborigines who happen to stay out after nine at night. Most convivial males, one would have supposed, would merely have thought of their childhood days when their wives warned them that White men would "go chop am," but not so the more credulous part of Freetown. Despite the fact that those who have had dealings with the fabulous Whites have not returned, or at least not in a form to give evidence, it is well known that these visitors have tails, and that in the day-time they earn superflouous daily bread by working as miners. Why, in a land where there is 12 hours of darkness, they should choose 9.0 p.m. as the time for their activities is not clear, but whether they are an invention of crafty wives or not, they deserve the thanks of the community for acting as a kind of curfew in getting the more ignorant part of the population off to bed.

CHIEF IPUMBU TO BE DEPOSED.

WINDHOEK (South-West Africa), August 9.

An unpleasant surprise is being prepared for the rebellious chieftain of the Ovambi Tribe Ipumbu, who has been giving trouble to the administrative authorities of South-West Africa for a number of years.

Not long ago Ipumbu was a wealthy chief ruling over a tribe of ten thousand people in the desert sands of Ovamboland, attacked a mission station in which his own daughter had taken refuge to escape from his tyranny. He was fined ten head of cattle, which was later increased to fifty head, and as he still refused to pay a punitive expedition consisting of three Union Air Force aeroplanes was sent to enforce the penalty.

These aeroplanes have been flying daily over Ipumbu's kraal, but, owing to the danger of killing or injuring innocent women and children, no bombs have been dropped.

Now the patience of the Administration has been exhausted, and they have decided to despatch two armoured cars from Pretoria to force an entrance into Ipumbu's kraal and arrest the obstinate chieftain, who will then be deposed.

The Administration, in making this decision, emphasise that it is only the chieftain who is rebellious and not his tribe, and that it is not possible to use aeroplanes to deal with one man.

Ipumbu Obstinate.

WINDHOEK (S.W. AFRICA), August 10.

Ipumbu is taking steps to meet the strong measures which the Administration, after consultation with General Hertzog, the Union Prime Minister, is preparing to employ against him.

Ipumbu has cleverly removed all his particularly conspicuous articles of clothing, even to the bandage which usually covers his injured left hand, thus making identification from the air impossible. His headkraal has now been evacuated, and the women and children have been removed to a secret spot, leaving the kraal empty and a target for bombs. At the same time large forces of armed natives have been posted at strategic points, to close in behind any ground force which may attempt to enter the rugged region.

It has always been maintained that aeroplanes and armoured cars would revolutionise action against rebellious native tribes, and the campaign which has been inaugurated against Ipumbu with these arms is regarded as a crucial test of their efficiency.

The broken nature of the Ovamboland country, which is in many parts densely wooded, and in other parts arid and waterless, makes infantry and cavalry operations almost impossible.—Reuter.

That poor man.

Basutoland's best brains are busy. Basutoland's best brains shall win their Course because Basuto best brains will now not tolerate slavery, neglect and persecution. Their people being oppressed by their rulers for many years they have realized they must organize themselves. The [illegible] blood being ravished by starvation [illegible] —their blood relatives being buried unlamented in foreign lands their homes not being respected, therefore should the best brains of Basutoland remain quiet and contented? Who cares when men and women perish through exposure and want away from their relatives, when they are out in search of employment? Who cares what miseries and hardship they undergo? Who cares to protect them there? A man found stone dead in a ditch with scanty clothing on his poor body is taken very little account of, he is buried and forgotten and no account of his death might reach his own people unless by some chance he has his papers to identify him properly, and there matter ends. Yet, when a citizen of Basutoland returns to his country with a "SIXPENCE" earned with inconvenience and self-sacrifice, a TAX is collected from him without further ceremony or regard to his poor circumstances, by people who know very little or nothing of what the poor man has undergone to earn that "SIXPENCE". Is that fair? Basutoland is the only home of a Mosuto where when he is baffled in his attempts to secure work elsewhere he must return to, he is compelled to retreat to his country for safety in order to think before he again sallies forth. When shall work be insured for the ordinary man who does not go to the mines. What about the farm labourer and domestic servant from Basutoland now infesting the South African countries? What about the general labourer who is in Basutoland who wishes to leave his home to get work outside his country but who is unable to pay his tax to enable him to leave? He cannot be issued a pass before his tax is paid; how shall he get over the barrier? He is gaoled there alright, I believe. What assistance is afforded him to leave home? His case is viewed with disgust and naturally the longer he remains there he degenerates both mentally and morally, that is a fact. Where is our Government playing its part towards such poor unfortunate being? Where are we to gain protection for such of our people? We are not a people if we behave like a mob of cowards to face such matters. How long has this been going on and no one seems to care a jot about the fate of Basutoland to citiz ns? Sons of Basutoland be firm! Be resolute in your purpose to deliver your country from a sure doom! The man whose "Sixpence" is taken has his children who may be starving. He must get the tax but how and where? He must get food and clothing but how? There is no work offered or obtainable. Why not find a Commission to investigate into the circumstances

of these poor fellows properly before prosecuting them! Is it equity to deprive a "azarus" of the only sixpence he's got and giving him no compensative means of support? Fair play, Gentlemen! We can have our orgies but we must not forget our responsibility to our country. Basuto best brains need your support. Be a man and God will appreciate your existence and mission in this world. The best statesman protects the poor. Talk is cheap.

Yours sincerely,

J. M.

The Need for Native Higher Education.

Continued

There is still the further point that even if we consider the Native community by itself the same classes of training men and women as are found to be necessary in the European community, we are found to be equally necessary in it. Does the White community need ministers, teachers, doctors? So does the Native. If lawyers are necessary to the European, they are to the Native. Is scientific farming a boon to the European? Native land will respond not less willingly to equal applications of knowledge and skill. In this [illegible] machinery and electricity is a knowledge of mechanical principles and scientific law essential for certain classes of the White man? It will become progressively so for the Native. The same may be held to be true for the sciences of ethics, politics and economics. Economic depression affects the Native before it touches the White man, as things are, and he is equally interested with the White man in endeavouring to seek out the laws which determine and control such depressions. I say nothing about the gain which might result not only to European South Africa but to the whole world were Native intelligence properly directed to the solution of some of the problems that beset modern life.

But, it may be asked, is Native intelligence capable of such development? Can the Native profit from courses in higher education? When I came out to Sout Africa sixteen years ago I was disturbed by certain theories which were then current which stated that though Native children were bright and intelligent, there came an arrestment of intelligence at or about the age of puberty, and progress came to an end. I remember asking the late Mr. W. P. Schreiner about this, for to tell the truth, I was not very hopeful about attempting to educate people whose mental development was strictly limited. I remember the feeling of relief I had when he said that he did not believe a word of it. The experience which I have had over these sixteen years leads me to say that such a general theory has no basis in fact. I should leave such a view quietly in oblivion were it not that I fear that it still persists in some quarters. Only last month I was asked by one of a very highly cultivated group of men in Johannesburg whether it was not a fact that any intelligent educated Native was a "Sport," a freak of nature. All I can say is that we are going to see such "Sports" become increasingly prevalent in the future. My experience leads me to assert that any defects which have been apparent in Native ability in the past, have been due to lack of congenial environment and not to any inherent mental disability. Such a conclusion is based upon the performance of Native students in secondary school and college work which may be discounted by those who think disparagingly of academic tests. But no other tests are commonly applied to Europeans, or to any other race at the present day—no other tests, that is, in anticipation of the experience of life itself, which is the supreme and final test.

APTITUDE OF MIND.

If any group, therefore, is inclined to base policy on supposed Native mental inferiority I should say quite emphatically not only that they are resting on an unproven theory but that their theory is being disproved daily and that it is going to be increasingly falsified within a comparatively short term of years. We are now teaching at Fort Hare in twenty-six different branches of study and I have yet to discover for which of these the Native mind displays no aptitude. Not only are Natives capable of mastering studies under instruction but they are also persistent enough to continue studies by themselves when they have left college—a much harder task, as all of us who have tried to do so know. I have not time to quote examples, nor would I this be altogether wise, but you may take it that whatever European students attempt to do and succeed in doing, that also Native students will prove to be capable of. In making a statement of this kind, of course, one disregards cases of exceptional brilliance about which no law, either for Europeans or Natives, can be laid down.

When one thinks that a Native boy, who runs about naked on the veld, herding cattle and hunting birds, and whose mother comes on Monday for the family washing, may, if opportunity allow, come one day to sit the same examinations in academic or professional subjects as our own more favoured children do, surely one cannot withhold a tribute of respect from a whole group of qualities which are necessary to such a consummation. We are bound to welcome talent wherever it may make its appearence, for talent is one of the things which cannot be segregated. It overflows all boundaries and refreshes the whole of humanity. I hold then that the Native population of this country is a reservior of unexplored and untapped talent; that it is the duty of the State to develop its possibilities; that education is the one main instrument at our command for doing this; that no upward limit can be set to such education; and the result of such a policy can only make for the increased well-being of the State as a whole. If we believe in democracy, as our practice would seem to imply, we must believe in the education of all, for all, and by all. Any other policy, I am convinced, will result in the impoverishment of the whole people.

A message to Basutoland Native Teachers for Co-operation.

The Comet
9-7-32
Maseru
Basutoland
(Mochochonono)

My dear and beloved brethren, I have the honour to put before you the following petition which I humbly request you to read with no other spirit than that of brotherhood and true christianity.

First of all what's a teacher?

A teacher is a torch that illuminates the whole world; a light giving life and colour to the flowers.

Teachers are, therefore, not only a chosen and privileged Body of men but the light of the nation. They are, as it were, called to this noble profession, in order to sow broadcast, both by precept and example, Seed—education—that will in future sprout inevitably to a good and notable purpose, thereby yielding a glorious harvest

To-day Basutoland is looking up with confidence to its teachers' combined and co-operative effort for the betterment of its children's education.

Yes! education that is fundamental, sufficiently accurate and practical.

How can we attain and facilitate the achievement of such aims but only by joining hands and working harmoniously together?

To keep the whole machinary of education in a sound going order and all the parts thereof well polished the Native Teachers, irrespective of creed, should forget their petty differrences and of necessity devote themselves whole heartedly to the splendid work of formulating Teachers' Organizations, wherein to improve all school activities

Gentlemen let us unite irrespective of creed! Why make lame excuses and blame the churches and their ministers!

Birds of the same feather always flock together, in like manner, let us, as men of one and the same profession, pull together.

We can easily effect this end by sitting side by side to discuss all matters affecting the education of the coming generation.

In order not to interfere with the Summer vacation courses held and promulgated annually by the missionaries I beg to make the following proposition:—

1. That all the Basutoland Native Teachers meet at least once a year.
2. That these meetings be during the July Winter Vacations.
3. That teachers make fresh suggestions as to places suitable for such meetings.

With best regards, I remain dear teachers.

Your most humble and obedient servant,

J. B. C. KHOADI.

Matsieng, P.O. Morija.

of these poor fellows properly before prosecuting them! Is it equity to deprive a "Lazarus" of the only sixpence he's got and giving him no compensative means of support? Fair play, Gentlemen! We can have our orgies but we must not forget our responsibility to our country. Basuto best brains need your support. Be a man and God will appreciate your existence and mission in this world. The best statesman protects the poor. Talk is cheap.

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J. B. C. KHOADI.

[illegible] P.O. Morija

Race Problem - 1932

Africa.

WEST AFRICAN JUDICIAL SYSTEMS.

"CERTAIN CHANGES" LIKELY AT AN EARLY DATE.

In the House of Commons on Wednesday,

Mr. Morgan Jones asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that, under the legal system prevailing in Ashanti, persons accused of criminal offences, whatever the nature of the charge, are still without any right to legal representation in court; what, if any, investigations or inquiries have been made in the last two years into the working of this system; what, if any, recommendations have been made to him on this subject; and whether he will take steps immediately to secure that legal representation be allowed? West Africa

Sir P. Cunliffe-Lister: Yes, sir, I am aware that the position is as stated in the first part of the hon. member's question. The legal adviser to the Colonial Office has recently visited the Gold Coast and discussed with the local authorities this and similar questions in connection with the judicial system in Ashanti. I am in communication with the Officer Administering the Government of the Gold Coast on the subject, and I hope shortly to be in a position to announce my decision. London Papers 7/2/32

Mr. Jones asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that in a large part of the protectorate of Nigeria original criminal jurisdiction is exclusively exercised by administrative officers without the accused having any right to legal representation or right of appeal against conviction; what is the maximum sentence which can be imposed; what, if any, investigations or inquiries have been made in the last two years into the working of this system; what, if any, recommendations have been made to him on this subject; and whether he will take steps to remedy it by the extension of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of Nigeria or by the introduction of a system similar to that of the Supreme Court and the grant of legal representation to accused persons?

Sir P. Cunliffe-Lister: Yes, sir, I am aware that broadly speaking, the position is as stated in the first part of the hon. member's question. The maximum sentence which can be imposed by a provincial court in Nigeria is death. The Chief Justice may, however, on the application of any party to a case, or of a lieutenant-governor or resident, transfer the case at any stage from any provincial court to the Supreme Court. The legal adviser to the Colonial Office has recently visited Nigeria and has discussed with the Governor, Sir Donald Cameron, this and kindred questions in connection with the administration of justice in Nigeria. As a result of that discussion, proposals have been submitted with a view to certain changes being made in the existing judicial system. I hope to discuss those proposals with Sir Donald Cameron during his forthcoming leave of absence, and the decision reached will be announced in due course.

Mr. Jones: Is the right hon. gentleman of the opinion that the Natives in being prosecuted, are fully seized of their rights of appeal?

Sir P. Cunliffe-Lister: Certainly.

THE NIGERIAN NATIONAL DEMOCRATS.

The annual meeting of the Nigerian National Democratic Party, held at Lagos on May 11, was well attended, and some 2,500 members, one-third of them women, were present. Cherrs were given for Sir Donald Cameron and his intention to abolish the office of Administrator of the Colony, and a number of market-women were then called upon to explain the grievances which were to be investigated shortly by an official committee. These included acts of officiousness by underlings, and the proposed removal from the Ereko market site, where the women claim that rights have been established by occupation of 160 years. All the alternative sites offered by the Town Council are said to be swampy or otherwise unsuitable, and Mr. H. Macaulay's suggestion that the late King Kosoko's compound might be purchased and enclosed is officially declared too expensive. The meeting decided to support its present three representatives in the forthcoming Municipal Council Election, and the effect of this decision has been since seen in the absence, on nomination day, of any other candidates. The need to restore silver currency was also supported, owing to the prevalence of counterfeit coins at the present time. And the demand for coins of smaller value was supported by the presence of Archdeacon Phillips, whose experience of the rural areas has several times impelled him to ask for the restoration of the cowry. At the close of the meeting, the erroneous report that the Government was building a house for Mr. Sanusi Elusi was corrected, and the party warned against making public demonstrations against him or any other old political opponent.

Native Labour in Kenya

A debate on colonial questions brought up the conditions of the natives in Kenya, with some references to Lord Moyne's report. Colonel Wedgwood declared that the natives had had their best land taken away and had to work two months in order to earn the money to pay their tax. Mr. Morgan Jones asked for an explanation of the fact that Kenya was the only place in the Empire, except the Channel Islands, where military conscription was in force. Sir P. Cunliffe-Lister replied that there existed only a liability to call up labour for work on roads and bridges within the reserves, the tribe furnishing the labour for the tribe and not paying monetary wages. The Moyne Commission report showed that the position of Kenya required the imposition of non-native and direct taxation, and, having decided that direct taxation was necessary, he thought the arguments in favour of income tax being the fairest and most equitable system of direct taxation were very strong indeed.

"WEST AFRICA."

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AFRICAN AFFAIRS IN THE COMMONS.

West Africa 7-5-32

LAND, labour, and African commercial treaties formed the principal subjects of West African interest in the further debate on the Colonial Office Vote last Friday, in the Commons. Since, as Mr. Lunn reminded the House in opening the debate, three-quarters of the area and four-fifths of the population of the Colonial Empire are in Tropical Africa, the affairs of that great belt naturally received prominence, while the recent publication of Lord Moyne's report also naturally focussed attention on the Eastern side. One thing was evident—genuine desire to ensure the putting into force of principles of trusteeship, and this was perhaps best shown in the readiness to remedy the unequal tax burden in Kenya by the institution of an income-tax. Yet more might have been said, however, regarding the burden of African taxation, made more weighty by falling values of produce and by the existence of forced labour. True, the latter is officially limited to tasks for local communal benefit, but such limitations are not always recognised in practice, and when such labour is regarded as an addition to the two months' work which is usually necessary to earn the amount of the poll-tax, a serious proportion of the year has gone in work which the individual regards as of no direct personal benefit. Where forced labour is necessary in the public interest, it should be paid for by voucher representing tax remission calculated on a fixed scale. Mr. Lunn's suggestion that a Labour Department should be instituted in each Colony is hardly practicable at the moment, and if, as he would like, there should be an inquiry into general conditions of recruiting, labour, and pay, it might be more serviceable to Africa if it were made international, and on the lines of the inquiry which Liberia proposed. In any case, those who go into the matter need to adopt the simple language of Col. Wedgwood, reducing such idealistic phrases as "the agricultural education of the Native," for instance, to the language of practical results: "We want work from them, and get it." The problem will then be seen as it appears to the African, even though the ideals of certain "trustees" receive a serious blow.

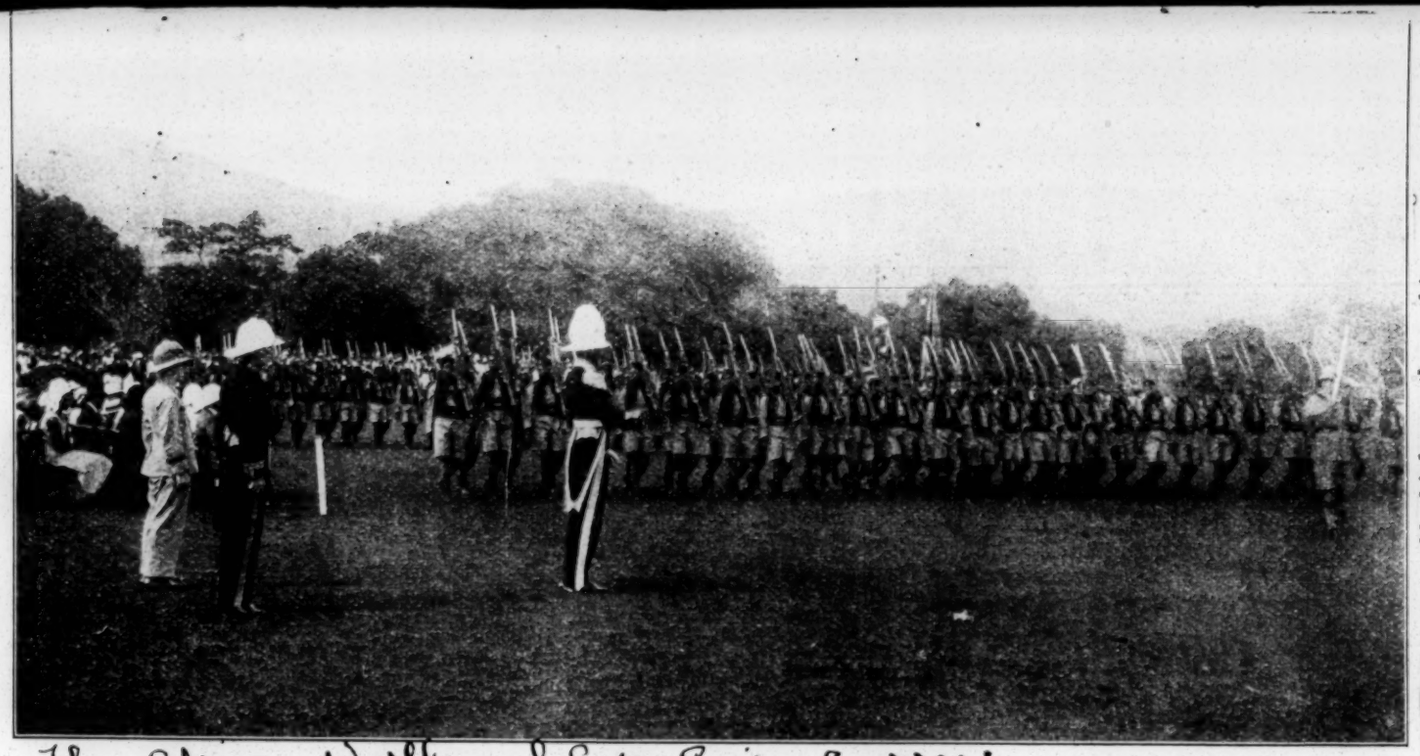
In regard to land, the main subject raised was the personnel of the Morris Carter Committee, which is to inquire into difficulties in Kenya. An attack on one member as being an interested party was answered, and, as usual, the non-inclusion of an African was explained by the objection that at present East Africa had no one who would fully represent the public, but this is hardly an answer to the original argument for

the addition of such a member,—that it would show Africans that an attempt was being made to obtain direct opinions. In the meantime the fact that Africans cannot even lease land in what was their own country speaks more loudly to them than any official statement that most trustworthy and sympathetic officials are in charge of their interests, and they are not likely to be reassured by Capt. Cazalet's curious reason for supporting a light income tax,—that the existence of a budget deficit in Kenya is no encouragement to immigration.

On the subject of the international commercial treaties that regulate trade in the Congo and Niger Basins, it was hardly likely that any definite official opinion would be given until the matter has been discussed at Ottawa, for even if general Colonial matters are not discussed there, the effect of the Anglo-French Convention on, for instance, the possibility of tariff bargaining between Canada and West Africa, is of importance to the Dominions. As Sir J. Sandeman Allen said, certain commercial interests in West Africa are against interference with this Convention, but on the other hand Sir P. Cunliffe-Lister is clearly disposed to favour the restoration to Nigeria and the Gold Coast of power to reciprocate the preference which they have received from the United Kingdom. If, as one member seemed to imply, there were a sure market in the United Kingdom for all the produce of British West Africa, the problem would be simplified, but this would call for an organisation of Home industry that has so far only been approximated to in the special conditions of wartime.

Mr. Amery pointed out that whereas at present we send some £2,130,000 worth of goods to French territories affected by the Convention, and the Gold Coast and Nigeria receive only some £730,000 worth of French goods, the balance is less favourable to us than would appear, for under the "most favoured nation" clause, we have to admit to West Africa some £7,600,000 worth of other foreign goods. The position in regard to the Congo Basin treaties is somewhat different, for most of the local interests in East Africa already favour their abolition, possibly owing to their curious geographical scope.

Education received comparatively little attention, but Col. Wedgwood summed up what should be our attitude in a few words. The main point, he said, was what we intended the people to become, and our position as trustees forced us to see that they advanced in status. They wanted education, and it was our place to see that they had it, as far as possible. We must teach them English, for this was a protection, in that it enabled them to read the laws, to understand their rulers, to enter new storehouses of learning and experience, and to form unions for defence or progress as required. Few with close experience of illiterate West Africa will disagree with him in this, save those admirers of the "typical African," who seem to suppose that the race has long since reached the height of its evolution.



The African World and Cape Cairo Express 7-9-32

[*Photo: Lisk-Carew, Freetown.*

KING'S BIRTHDAY CELEBRATIONS AT SIERRA LEONE.

His Excellency the Governor (Sir Arnold Hodson, K.C.M.G.) taking the salute at the march past of the Royal West Frontier Force.

BLOW TO FARMING IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The news that Sir Lionel Phillips has decided to close down the majority of his farming enterprises in the Union will cause a severe set-back to cattle-breeding in the Union. Vergelegen has become historical as the most famous centre for Jersey cattle in South Africa. It was at his beautiful Cape Town estate that Sir Lionel Phillips concentrated on creating a model farm, equipped with the best of everything, for the sole purpose of putting this particular breed on the map in South Africa, and the proof that he succeeded lies in the fact that his herd of Jerseys are recognised as the finest in the Southern Hemisphere. The great byre and the creamery at Vergelegen combined every necessary adjunct of modern dairy farming, and the results of good breeding and good feeding have been reflected in the sequence of successes that have fallen to the Jerseys of Vergelegen whenever and wherever they have been exhibited. Sir Lionel has occupied a leading position in South African agriculture for more than twenty-one years. The great Rand Agricultural Show is due largely to his personal efforts and his long vision in the early days of the present century. Sir Lionel Phillips has done wonders in developing the agricultural possibilities of the country, as one of the foremost lovers of the soil of the land of his adoption. His decision to cut down his activities will be received with widespread regret and no little concern by all connected with and interested in the farming industry in South Africa.

THE BLACKMAN'S BURDEN.

Weekly News 7-10-32

BY BELAFJA.

We publish in another column an article from the Lagos paper called *The African Sunday Digest*. It is an article from the pen of the Rev. Samuel Horton, an Englishman, pointing out that "the Negro has never had a fair chance." The treatment given to Negroes by some Americans (South) and some Englishmen shows clearly that true Christianity has not fully taken possession of Europe or America. The racial prejudice in many of these white people is a sure sign that their religion is only a form of godliness whilst they are still ignorant of the power thereof. The large sums of money raised in England and America ostensibly for Missionary work are mainly used to give work to their sons and daughters. The greater part of the money is spent in the home bases to keep elaborate offices.

If you attend the churches in Sierra Leone few white men faces seldom darken the doors unless he is a Missionary or employed indirectly in connection with Missionary work, except the present Governor of this Colony. No wonder his government is so popular and he is so beloved and honoured everywhere. The disguised attempt to enlighten and civilise the Negroes of West Africa is only a kind of exploitation. Originally the white men who first visited the West Coast of Africa were pirates. They came to kidnap slaves and extort gold from West Africans, but they soon found out that taking charge of the principal ports, and putting duties on exports and imports, paid them better than the adventurous schemes of pirate life. Hence colonies were established and a greater part of the Revenue is used of themselves, than for the Negroes. The Colonies are truly the undeveloped estates of the Empire. The Indians have

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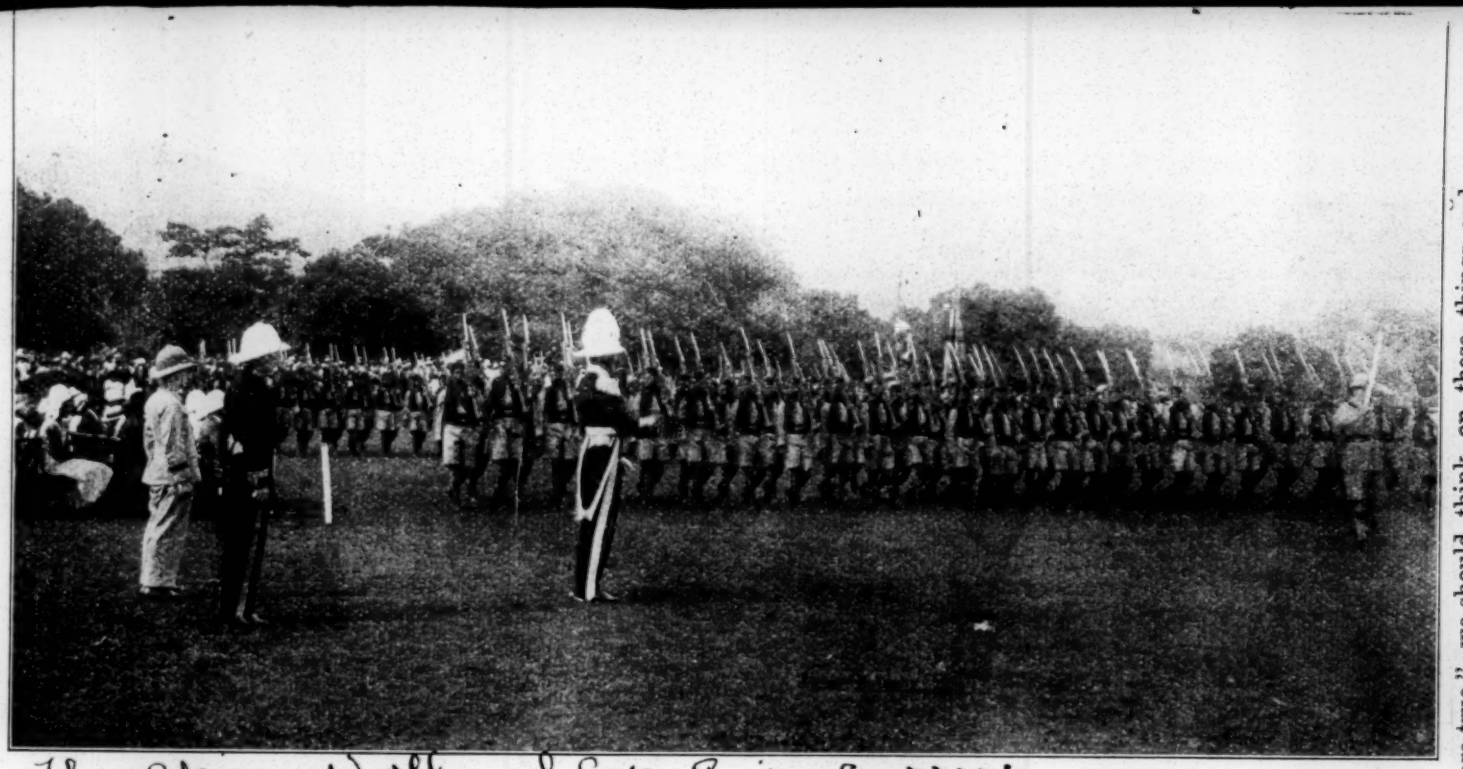

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[*Photo: Lisk-Carew, Freetown.*

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Freetown, Sierra Leone

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The Venerable Archdeacon Cole in his sermon in connection with the 70th Anniversary of the Sierra Leone Church pointed out that the Church has been going on for full 70 years on self-supporting basis and yet has not been given autonomous government. No child walks at once. It begins by creeping, then rising and falling till at last it is able to walk. The Englishman does not keep supporting his child at home after 16 years so that keeping the churches on the Coast so long

out by Europe and America. It is time these foreign teachers give us a chance to assimilate the Gospel.

Men, like the Rev. Samuel Horton, are anxious to under parental control is entirely un-English and a defect on the part of the evangelization carried on not only in the Church but in all branches of industry. Europe and America are bringing their hardship into Africa and up-setting the African life. We ought to be freed from the white exhortation of St. Paul, that "whatever things are true" we should think on these things and consider and act.

Race Problem - 1932

Africa

United Translkeian Territories General Council

XI

Purchase of Farms for Natives

Cr. W. Poswayo: The need for land is very great amongst Natives. It may be said that they are not using the ground, but after all we will find the way in which they use the ground is in proportion to the size of the ground. That most of the people do not use their ground in a proper way is because their eyes are not opened yet. We will generally find that those who are alive now to modern methods of agriculture are those who have got no ground. These people should be encouraged and given ground so that they can use it. We are all in agreement with the motion. I would like the mover to explain what would become of the native owned farms.

Cr. W. P. Mlandu: I just want to say a few words. Perhaps the people did not fully understand this motion. It is about a matter which the Government has in veiw. As far as I am concerned, the mover explained the motion fully, because he even went so far as to say what kind of ground he had in view and the way in which the farms should be allotted. For example, he mentioned a farm in the Peddie district where the Government bought ground and sub-divided it into small farms, I think that was the point which the member from Mt. Fletcher wanted explained when he said that some people came to him in Mt. Fletcher looking for a place to reside and when the applications were submitted to the Government the Government told them to go to Peddie, where there was ground which the Government had bought. The point I want to make is that nowadays some of the people, more especially the civilised section of the community want ground that will be their personal property, because they have had experience of Crown lands on which they are residents and find that it does not pay them. Therefore if a person knows that ground may eventually become his property he will readily spend money on that ground. Another speaker raised the point as to what kind of people would be settled on those farms. I say myself the those who are residents of the Territories would be the people who would go to those farms. I hope the matter is clear now to the councillors and that they will pay attention to the fact that more ground is required for the Native people. On the other hand, it would be a check to this stream of people now going to the large towns, about which there is much complaint. Settlement on Crown land is not a mode of settlement the people are very keen on.

Cr Qamata: In the first place, in order that I should be able to reply clearly, because I have had a storm of questions put to me, I would reply now in accordance with the terms of the motion. One speaker asked me what I meant by the term suitable Native farmers." What I mean by a suitable Native farmer is this. It is a wellknown fact to all that a Native also goes under the name of a farmer, but not to the extent a white man is, so I use the term to mean a suitable Native Agriculturist. Another question was the mode of settlement on these lands. As I tried to explain in introducing this motion what I meant was that after the people had bought the ground, it would not be turned into a Native location in the same way as is done in other instances, but that the ground should be divided into allotments and then be given to those people whom I describe as suitable Native farmers." In introducing the motion, I made reference to ground of this sort that had been bought in the Peddie district, and that is the reason why here is this motion now on this genda paper. I think I should explain more fully to the Council, if I won't be delaying the Council. The aim that the Government has in sub-dividing this land, is this: It is hoped to try to meet the complaints made by the Native people to the effect that they are residents on ground which has never been, and never will be, owned. The Government has decided in regard to these farms that an allotment shall become a man's property after he has paid for the allotment in full. The first attempt at the scheme is the one that has taken place at Peddie. Then I asked the Government why this attempt was not made in these Territories, and was told we had local government, and it was this Council that should make application. I have already explained that the object of my motion is to meet that cry by the Natives. When I made this motion it is not to say that I object to the usual policy of the Government. My motion asks that something should be added to what we already have. One speaker referred to ground bought by a tribe collectively. I am not opposed to that. That is still open, and every chief can do it even to-day if he likes. I must explain that it is not every farm that the Government would buy. It is only those farms where the ground is considered to be good, as this is the first attempt made in this direction: Another speaker also asked if the Native farms would fall within the list of the farms mentioned. I think he was afraid the Native farmer would be compelled to sell his farm. No. There is no law in this country yet compelling farmers to sell their farms, but a way has been opened for both white and black farmers to sell. Other points were raised by the Chairman of the District Council of Xalanga. Would suitable farmers include registered holders of arable allotments? My reply is "No." (2) Residents on locations not in possession of arable allotments? I say yes, if they are found suitable. (3) Residents on farms in these Territories? Well my reply is, if he refers to people who are in the locations like the Mbenge location at Cala, I say yes. (4) Would I include outsiders, that is, Natives from outside these Territories who wish to come in? My reply is "No." I think I have replied to all the points raised, and I hope that the Council will strongly support the proposition, but before I sit down I want to say I am surprised that a man should suggest that this matter should be referred to the people, the matter of asking for more ground from the Government. I think if the Council should agree with that suggestion, then it would cause the Government some doubt as to our seriousness over the matter.

THE CHAIRMAN: The mover has dealt very comprehensively in his reply with the points raised, and I have no doubt that the Council will carry the motion. The suggestion to supply more land for Native occupation, is one with which, I think, all wise South Africa agrees.

THE FIGHT AGAINST SLAVERY.

Centenary of British Abolition.

July of next year will witness the centenary of the great British decision to effect the abolition of slavery in all its forms within British possessions. The League of Nations, led by the British Government and the British people, is attempting the greater and more complicated task of bringing about abolition of slavery in all its forms throughout the world.

The House of Lords passed unanimously the following resolution on July 22, 1931: "In the opinion of this House the abolition of slave-owning, slave-trading, and slave-raiding is an urgent international duty. That while this House fully appreciates the action hitherto taken by the League of Nations, it is of opinion that further steps of a definite nature appear to be required in order to bring about the extinction of slavery in all its forms."

Arrangements are being made in many cities and towns to celebrate the centenary of British abolition by calling public attention to the League decision to secure world abolition.

The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society will be prepared to supply speakers, literature, lantern slides and lectures. The Society has also in preparation a pageant, comprising the principal events of slavery and its abolition. Full information may be obtained from the Society at Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London. S.W.1

WEST AFRICAN FRONTIER FORCE.

Nigeria Regiment's New Commandant

The War Office announces that Colonel W. R. Meredith, D.S.O., has been appointed Commandant, Nigeria Regiment, Royal West African Frontier Force, with effect from July 27, 1932.

Colonel Meredith, formerly of the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, has had five years'

GOLD COAST.

MEDICAL WORK IN 1930-1931.

Improvement in General Health Conditions.

The most satisfactory feature of the Gold Coast Medical Department's report for 1930-31 is that the general health of the community has remained good, and that the vital statistics show little change when compared with those for the preceding year. Of the European population of the colony, which averaged 3,405 during the year, 83, or approximately 2 per cent., were invalided and 18 deaths, representing about ½ per cent. of the resident population, took place. When it is appreciated, from an examination of the various causes of death among the European community, that only a very small proportion of these can be classified as tropical, some estimate can be formed of the great advance that has been made in medical and sanitary

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Centenary of British Abolition.

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The House of Lords passed unanimously the following resolution on July 22, 1931:—"In the opinion of this House the abolition of slave-owning, slave-trading, and slave-raiding is an urgent international duty. That while this House fully appreciates the action hitherto taken by the League of Nations, it is of opinion that further steps of a definite nature appear to be required in order to bring about the extinction of slavery in all its forms."

Arrangements are being made in many cities and towns to celebrate the centenary of British abolition by calling public attention to the League decision to secure world abolition.

The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society will be prepared to supply speakers, literature, lantern slides and lectures. The Society has also in preparation service with the Negro Africa and Somaliland in the wounded in a pageant, comprising the principal events of the of slavery and its abolition. Full information may be obtained from the Society at the Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.1.

WEST AFRICAN FRONTIER FORCE.

Nigeria Regiment's New Commandant

The War Office announces that Colonel W. R. Meredith, D.S.O., has been appointed Commandant, Nigeria Regiment, Royal West African Frontier Force, with effect from July 27, 1932.

Colonel Meredith, formerly of the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, has had five years

GOLD COAST.

MEDICAL WORK IN 1930-1931.

Improvement in General Health Conditions.

The most satisfactory feature of the Gold Coast Medical Department's report for the year 1930-31 is that the general health of the community has remained steady, and of the that the vital statistics show little change as compared with those for the preceding year.

Of the European population of the colony, which averaged 3,408 during the year, 83, or approximately 2.4 per cent., were invalided and 18 deaths, representing about ½ per cent. of the resident population, took place. When it is appreciated, from an examination of the various causes of death among the European community, that only a very small proportion of these can be classified as tropical, some estimate can be formed of the great advance that has been made in medical and sanitary

work in the "White Man's Grave" of earlier days.

The health of the African community also remained fairly good. The number of cases treated in the hospitals and dispensaries increased by almost 16 per cent., from 184,424 in 1929-30 to 213,708 in 1930-31, but this increase in cases is not due to any increase in disease, but to an increasing appreciation of European medicines, as well as to increased facilities offered to the natives for obtaining treatment.

With the addition of the 52,476 new cases seen by the women medical officers at the welfare centres, the total number of new cases for the year amounted to 266,184, which means that each one of the average number of medical officers, including women and African medical officers, treated 5,915 new cases, or an average of 16 each day for 365 days. The staff of medical officers is being reduced from 46 to 35 owing to the present financial position of the colony, and the problem of how to cope with the number of cases coming forward for treatment is likely to become acute in the near future.

As usual, malaria accounted for most of the sickness and loss of time and efficiency among Europeans and Africans alike. No drainage or anti-malarial works of any great magnitude were undertaken during the year under review, but the Korle Lagoon reclamation scheme was continued and is now completed as far as funds permit. The section completed has already had a marked effect in reducing the mosquito-breeding areas in Accra.

Appendix B of the Report contains a very interesting report on the working of the travelling dispensary in the Lawra-Tumu district. This mobile dispensary consists of one fully-equipped dispensary lorry, the body of which is constructed of Odum wood, and is fitted to a Morris 14-h.p. commercial chassis. The staff consisted of one medical officer, one dispenser, one hospital boy, one interpreter, and one or two drivers. Using Lawra as a base, this travelling dispensary made regular trips along the North Road to Nandom, Lambussie, and Gegenpwe, along the Wa Road to Birifu and Tugu, along the Jiripa Road to Jiripa and Sabuli, and along the Navrongo Road as far as Han. Yaws is by far the commonest disease seen in these districts, and some idea of the extent of the work done by this dispensary can be gathered from the fact that of this disease alone 3,765 cases were treated during the year, and a further 2,660 cases treated at Lawra.

The work done and the progress made in the matter of hygiene and sanitation are fully dealt with in Section III. of the report, and other sections deal with port health work, child welfare, and medical research. The many appendices and the excellent maps and diagrams included in this publication also contain matter of considerable interest concerning the various branches of medical and sanitary work in the Gold Coast.

The anniversary funeral custom for the late Nana Prempeh at Kumasi concluded with a great durbar on May 27, when the present Kumasihene was confirmed in his appointment to the Stool, and was congratulated by the Chief Commissioner of Ashanti, Mr. H. S. Newlands. The famous Golden Stool of Ashanti was publicly displayed later on the same day. The gifts presented to the Kumasihene on this occasion exceeded £2,000 in value.

Messrs. Bata, the well-known Czechoslovakian shoe manufacturers of world-wide ramifications, have recently opened branches in Accra and Kumasi.

The revenue of the Kumasi Public Health Board for the year ended March 31, 1932, was £53,655, and the expenditure amounted to £50,866. In comparison with the previous year these figures show a decrease of £3,422 and an increase of £3,743 respectively. Including special expenditure amounting to £104, the total expenditure for the year was £50,970.

According to new regimental orders issued by Major H. H. Beattie, Officer Commanding the Gold Coast Regiment, R.W.A.F.F., His Majesty the King has been pleased to approve of blue as the colour of Regimental Colours of units of the Force, and of blue facings for the full dress uniform of African ranks of the Force. A blue collar with yellow braid will therefore take the place of the present scarlet collar of the Zouave jacket worn by the African rank and file.

An interesting experiment in the marketing of West African fruit is marked by the shipment of seventy cases of selected Pawpaw (*Carica Papaya*) to England by Mr. G. N. Alema, of the West African Fresh Food Supplies Co. Mr. T. Whitfield, O.B.E., Accra agent of Messrs. Elder Dempster and Co., who has shown great interest in this experiment, arranged for the fruit to be shipped by the M.V. "Accra" on June 26 without freight charges.

The Need for Native Higher Education.

Mr. Alexander Kerr, Principal of the South African Native College, Fort Hare, recently, delivered an address to the Alice branch of the Toc H. on the above subject. Mr Kerr came to South Africa some sixteen years ago to take up the principalship of the South African Native College which was due to be opened as the first institution for Native Higher Education, and he came without any experience of the conditions existing in South Africa except certain theories which were rather discouraging as to the success of his undertaking He settled down and applied himself to his work exploring the situation and making experiments. The College made steady and sure progress until it was recognized as one of the University Colleges of South Africa. Mr, Kerr therefore speaks with authority on this subject which he has thoroughly explored He has treated his subject in a scientic manner and his views which are clearly expressed are based on practical experience and we hope that they will not be treated lightly by other Native educationist. The address which appeared in the July number of the "South African Outlook" reads:—

I am grateful for this opportunity of speaking to your branch on a subject which necessarily engages my whole heart and mind and occupies all my time. My gratitude is kindled, not only by the interest which has prompted you to ask me to lead this discussion, an interest which indicates that the members of your group are seeking information regarding one of the activities of the State about which all keen-minded and right-thinking citizens should be informed, but also because one who is so much immersed as I am, from day to day, in the technicalities of an activity, should have opportunity, and indeed be required, from time to time, to envisage calmly and unhurriedly the ends of the whole process in which he is engaged, and to relate them to the total effort of the State so far as that can be definitely apprehended. From some end, the State, or in a wider reference, the civilized world, must have; whether it be groping blindly towards it, or consciously making its way thither. Probably it is doing both at the same time, or at one time doing one, at another, the other. But it will be conceded that the more the citizens of the world give their minds to the consideration of the end, the clearer that end is likely to be, and the greater the probability of its being reached. Towards one aspect of a total sociological problem we are directing our attention this evening, and I should wish the task to be undertaken in no spirit of mean contention or time-serving opportunism, but in the large spirit of philosophic enquiry which is the logical and practical antecedent of philanthropic action.

If I ask some elementary questions, therefore, and seek to find answers to them, I am to be regarded as asking them of myself as well as of you, and I hope that you may be able either to adopt the answers as your own, or, starting from them, to arrive at others which will better accommodate themselves to that view of the good life which it is our common aim to reach.

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Race Problem - 1932

Africa

Education in Nigeria.

Dr. C. C. Adeniyi-Jones's Address to West African Students.

Before addressing the W.A.S.U. last week on "Education in Nigeria," Dr. the Hon. C. C. Adeniyi-Jones, M.L.C., of Nigeria, paid a warm tribute to the administration of Sir Donald Cameron, whose early declaration on his assumption of office that he would continue to advance Africans to European posts drew adverse criticism from the *Daily Mail*. The policy, Dr. Jones pointed out, forms the basis of trusteeship, the only ethical justification for "Imperialism" in Africa, and in trying to make the ideas of exploitation and trusteeship interchangeable the *Daily Mail* writer attempted the impossible. Could he visit Africa and see how millions were being governed by a handful of British, he might realise that the miracle was accomplished largely by African loyalty, and faith in the King-Emperor, British justice, and the principles of trusteeship, and that his attack was Empire-wrecking rather than Empire-building. In defending Sir Donald, Dr. Adeniyi-Jones said he became in no sense his henchman, but felt that he was repeating the resentment of his countrymen at an attack on a policy which was in keeping with the cardinal principles of British rule in Africa.

Confining his remarks on Nigerian education to the Southern Provinces and Colony, Dr. Adeniyi-Jones said: The trade reports show that foodstuffs are prominent among imports. This should not be in a country like Nigeria, and it implies defective education. In early days, education filled the needs of missions, Governments and commerce by supplying literates, with the result that the professions needing such qualifications are now overcrowded, with retrenchment adding to the general difficulty.

Would Nigerians but turn to labour, the country could easily hold its own. Agriculture should be taught in every school, not burdened with scientific terms, but on simple, practical lines, and African crafts could likewise be introduced, utilising African materials. More attention should be given to the artistic sense of the people, for it is pitiable to see some of the work that passes for that of skilled African workmen. Further, local craftsmanship suffers because manual work is used as punishment, and is thus regarded as suitable only for the dull or the disorderly. It can actually be said that the easiest way to learn a trade is to "qualify" for a course of prison life!

Provision is also needed for higher technical instruction, and in this respect the projected college at Yaba promises well, for Nigeria has yet to develop the new manhood founded on pride of handiwork, and the "spirit that does common things uncommonly well," clothing them with dignity and showing that no honest work is low if the mental attitude towards it be right. We can no more all be industrialists than all professional men, so there is need for a leaven of cultural education, gradually making the African competent to manage his own affairs. In Nigeria, the opportunity is being provided by the policy of indirect rule, and decreasing employment of European officials.

The secret of a people's genius is well explained by the late Dr. Blyden as "the result of a sedulous concentration and experimenting in isolation by Nature to evolve a fit instrument for its purpose." What bearing has this upon the educational future of Nigeria? The conflict of two cultures has naturally upset some minds, hence the suggestion that the African loses culturally by coming to the universities and hospitals of this country; but this ignores actual experience, which is that, save when the worst of both associate, each race gains something by mutual contact.

The laws of evolution demand connection with the parent stock; therefore, let us study African songs—the repository of our history, beliefs, and traditions—and get back to our own national standpoint, but at the same time let us enquire what modern civilisation has to give us. In many matters Africa has much to learn, both in principle and method. It may be that we shall make no practical use of our study, but the methods by which facts have been sifted will at least be educative in our efforts to trace the laws of African life. I regret that Government uses foreign anthropologists to study our customs when our own young men, able to give correct interpretations of what they see, might be used. In school, African history should be taught, from the culture of Egypt to the achievements of the Afro-American. As for literature, every child should learn some African language, but it is equally essential that they should learn English, simply because it is the *lingua franca* of the Empire. Geography should be taught both from books and by travel, especially to teachers, that their minds might be enriched by observation, comparison, and experiment. Hygiene is an obviously necessary subject, and it should not be necessary to become a Scout to learn either first-aid or physical development.

The present Nigerian Education Code divides local institutions into three grades—primary, middle schools, and higher colleges. The first goes up to Std. IV, as against Std. VI in the other Colonies, while the middle schools follow a syllabus of their own, and the higher colleges are to be technical institutions. The primary pupil is qualified to reproduce a simple English story, has vernacular education of a sort, can draw up a simple tradesman's account, and has some rudimentary general knowledge. But for what is he fitted? Clearly, nothing, unless the syllabus were to make provision for technical education. The middle schools seem to specialise in foreign examinations, and although many lads pass, and later take degrees, they often have no knowledge of Nigerian culture. Of the higher colleges at Yaba and Katsena, it is difficult to say anything at present, except that they are to be quasi-universities, but it is to be hoped that a sense of race will be inculcated.

The training of girls is an important problem. Literary education is a desirable accomplishment, but it needs to be supplemented by domestic training and instruction in the best use of local supplies. For example, lunches now bought outside might be prepared in school, and African dishes might receive more prominence in cookery exhibitions. Then, also, teachers in mixed schools need more than intellectual qualifications, and it is unfair to bring to Lagos youths who, through no fault of their own, have missed the family training that helps them in their difficult task.

A suggestion in regard to teachers is that theses on educational problems should be accepted as alternatives to examinations, thus encouraging the codification of experience and affording a record that would benefit other teachers. Another suggestion is that a few promising Africans should be sent to America to study Afro-American intellectual progress for adaptation where suitable to Nigerian conditions. Closer relations are needed, too, between school and home, especially in regard to discipline, while the reduction of salaries does not help education, for, unlike the clerk's, the teacher's work continues after the closing of his place of business. The grant of pensions is another way by which the status of the profession might be raised, and teachers induced to remain in it.

The Unified Nigerian Police.

A single annual Police Report suffices for Northern and Southern Nigeria now that the amalgamation of departments has been effected, and in his survey for 1931 Mr. C. W. Duncan, the Inspector-General of Police, reports a considerable reduction in staff. The total rank and file numbers 3,794, of whom 1,072 have more than ten years' service. The tribes included are 15, in addition to those vaguely classified as Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and miscellaneous, but more than half the Force belongs to one of three races, and Ibos numbered 1,274, Yorubas 482, and Hausas 408. There are still many differences between North and South to be modified, chief among them being the employment of African inspectors, of whom there are 39 in the South as against none in the North, and the standards of musketry which, in the North, allowed 30 per cent. of the Force to be regarded as marksmen, as against less than 5 per cent. in the South.

There was no lack of applications for employment, and the type of applicant was more satisfactory, a point which probably reflects the increased competition for employment generally rather than any special improvement in status in the eyes of the public. There is still no central training depot, nor is there likely to be until finances improve.

During the year the Police were called upon to furnish but few important escorts, and only two patrols, both in the Northern Provinces, for beyond

occasional taxation and land difficulties the country was quiet. The Prevention Service had to deal with a considerable amount of smuggling, especially on the Eastern Frontier, and there were special police, with canoes, to preserve order on the water, and others for the railways. In addition, the Police Commissioners were responsible for the inspection of weights and measures, the duties of deputy sheriffs, the enforcing of the immigration laws (in the course of which 258 vessels and one aircraft were boarded at Lagos), the licensing of vehicles, and the regulation of motor traffic. The last two tasks included the issue of licences for 97 steam and oil tractors, 2,829 motor lorries, 2,837 cars, 165 cycles with sidecars, and 1,488 motor cycles; and the issue of 3,081 summonses against erring drivers. Of the last, no less than 894 summonses were unserved, since the drivers often absconded—a point which calls for more care in the methods of identification of applicants for licences. The increased vigilance of the Motor Traffic Police, however, seems to be directly reflected in the reduction of motor accidents in their areas from 111 to 64. Another sideline of Police activity is the Fire Brigade at Lagos, which employs Krooboys only. Last year the number of fires in Lagos showed a considerable reduction, while the value of property destroyed from that cause fell from £8,527 to £432.

The figures for crimes dealt with in the police courts rose, in the North by 164 to 2,898, and in the South by 1,070 to 10,836—not serious increases considering that growing motor traffic and improvements in public health, etc., cause a constant rise in the number of potential offences. The Criminal Investigation Department reports "progress" of an unwarranted kind, for among the cases handled was the first one of arsenical poisoning. On the other hand, the first burglar to be identified by his finger-prints was captured, and proved to be the leader of a notorious gang, and altogether 858 persons were identified by this means. During the year 2,248 prints were added to the collection, and 1,014 photographs of convicted persons. There are still cases of slave-dealing, and 12 were handled in the Northern, and 37 in the Southern, Provinces—a fact which should make non-Coasters realise a little of the difficulty, even in British territory, of stamping out this ancient institution. Among the lesser offences, pocket-picking has fallen off in Lagos, partly because the public are now more awake to their danger, but still more because the crowd administers summary punishment whenever possible. Offences in regard to currency still continue, and the spurious coin and notes vary from the products of almost perfect moulds to carbon copies of notes coloured with crayons.

The Police Reward Fund shows a balance of £2,611, after paying £340 in grants for meritorious service, the year showing surplus income of £57, although no interest is credited in respect of surplus balances. Besides the monetary awards, an inspector, a sergeant-major and a sergeant received the African Police Medal for unspecified services.

Here and There Among the Missions.

[From Special Correspondents.]

The formal proceedings in connection with the union of the three Methodist Churches, which took place at the Albert Hall on September 20, showed more than any event of recent years the strength of Methodism in the world. While the Duke of York estimated the number of Methodists at nearly 50,000,000, Dr. J. Scott Lidgett, the President of the united body, is content to know that he belongs to what is probably the most numerous Protestant denomination in the world. It would be hard to imagine a more appropriate "staff of office" than the actual Bible used by John Wesley with which Dr. Scott Lidgett was presented, or rather, was invested. The proceedings, which earlier Methodists would undoubtedly have been surprised to see regarded as historic, were broadcast to an interested world.

West Africa

With the union of Methodism, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society this month becomes part of the new Methodist Missionary Society. In West Africa this will mean a new bond between the Primitive Methodist fields in Southern Nigeria and Fernando Po, the United Methodist church in Sierra Leone, and the Wesleyan work in that Colony, in the Gold Coast, Gambia, Nigeria, and French West Africa.

The Rev. H. Webster, General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Mission in the Gold Coast, has been visiting the scene of his former labours in Nigeria in anticipation of his retirement. His visit was the occasion for many happy reunions with old colleagues and friends.

London, England

A very distinct movement towards Christianity is reported among the Eggon (Mada) people of Northern [illegible].

"Santa Claus," the St. Nicholas (Cape Coast) Grammar School magazine, says that the school managers are trying to help outgoing scholars by the creation of an Appointments Board, when lads will be helped to find posts suited to their abilities. At the same time, it points out that many could solve their own problems by heading a "Back to the Land" campaign.

Bishop Lasbrey has published in the "Western Equatorial Africa Church Magazine" a short explanation of the West African Bishopric's Fund, which was raised largely by the efforts of Archdeacon Crowther and the late Bishop Johnson to provide an endowment from which African Diocesan Bishops might be paid. Conditions of the trust were that the fund should not be touched until £10,000 had accumulated, and that the Niger Delta should be part of the first area to benefit. The fund is now over £10,000, and it was decided, in consultation with Archdeacon Crowther, to try and secure a modification of the trust permitting payment of the stipend of an African Assistant Bishop. This, of course, would be but a temporary arrangement, and would in no way affect the future appointment and payment of an African Diocesan. In no circumstances can the fund be used for Bishops of other than African birth.

In dividing its missionary areas according to the countries supplying the workers, the Sisters of Our Lady of the Apostles in Nigeria have placed Lagos in Irish hands, and the Rev. Sister Aloysius, formerly of Abeokuta, and head of St. Mary's Convent School, has become first Provincial.

In Madeira, which forms part of the Diocese of Sierra Leone, the services of the Church of England have been continuous over about two centuries, and the present building is 117 years old.

The current "Golden Shore" (Editor, Hilden Grange, Tonbridge; 3d. quarterly) contains a full account of the fifth annual festival of the Accra Diocesan Association, held in London on May 31, when Bishop Aglionby was the chief speaker. Its illustrations include pictures of the ruins of the burned St. Andrew's Church, Sekondi, and it is stated that the proposed new building will cost £2,000, exclusive of labour, which will be provided by the congregation. Subscriptions of £120 have already been obtained locally, and the members of the church have bound themselves to contribute £6 per male and £3 per female during the year. The English Church Mission has just started its first definite medical work with the arrival at Mampong of Miss Mozley, a qualified doctor.

The annual Report of the Missionary Work of the Salvation Army for last year (International Headquarters, 101, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.4) gives briefly, as economy demands, a survey of the wide field covered by the Army. In West Africa the principal work is carried on in Nigeria and the Gold Coast, where there were 222 centres, and would be more if finances permitted. During the year a start was made in British Togoland at the repeated invitation of a local Chief, and the new post has already a temporary hall and many members, to say nothing of a promising brass band. The report, which is entitled "Light in Dark Places," contains numerous illustrations showing incidents from Iceland to South Africa, and from South America to Japan.

"Mfantsipim," the journal of the well-known Wesleyan school at Cape Coast, commenting on the successes in the last Cambridge Senior Local examinations, says that the entire sixth form, 22 lads, entered for the test and 21 passed.

Race Problem - 1932

Africa.

SUDAN PROSPERS UNDER BRITISH RULE

Times

What Has Been Achieved Since Arabi's Defeat Fifty Years Ago Told for First Time.

11-9-32

DESERT NOW YIELDS RICHES

New York

Ordered Population of 6,000,000 Lives In Former Desolate, Disease-Stricken Land.

The recent celebration in England of the fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Tel el-Kebir, where Sir Garnet Wolseley, with a small mixed force of British infantry, cavalry, sailors and marines and an Indian contingent, defeated the Egyptian rebel, Arabi Pasha, has offered the opportunity for telling a comprehensive story, for the first time, of what the British Empire has since then accomplished in a region of the upper Nile Valley which is nearly as large as that part of the United States east of the Mississippi River and is still claimed by Egypt.

This part of the valley, extending from the parallel of Wady Halfa south to the Belgian Congo and Uganda, bounded on the east by the Red Sea, the Italian colony of Erythraea and Abyssinia, on the west by the French Sahara, and containing an area of about 960,000 square miles with a varied population estimated at 6,000,000, is indicated on the maps of Africa as "Anglo-Egyptian Sudan." However, it is much more than a geographical expression.

Probably no other region in the world has so tested military, political and social organization and administration, feats of engineering and of geodetic and irrigation surveys and accomplishments. For after Arabi there were the Mahdists to conquer, and after the reservoirs had been built there remained the people to teach how to use the land thus made available. The story, told in various ways, almost reaches the qualities of an epic as related by an anonymous writer in The Daily Telegraph of London. He not only tells of the past but opens a vista for the future of vast possibilities. He begins:

"The story of the rise of Mahdism, the tragic death of Gordon and the final overthrow of the Mahdi's successor at Omdurman, in 1898, still forms one of the most thrilling chapters in British history.

"The country had been reduced to a desolate, disease-stricken waste, by an administration which had lost, rapidly and completely, the ascetic ideals of its founder. When the present government assumed control the population had shrunk to less than 1,000,000 souls, scattered over an area of 1,000,000 square miles.

"The reforms introduced by Gordon had been overturned and the commerce of his time practically swept away by thirteen years of savage rule, in which famine and massacre had so decimated and discouraged the native peoples as to present to the new administration a task of considerable difficulty and magnitude.

Order Brought Out of Chaos.

"The Governor-General, with a handful of British officers, set himself the task of pacifying the country and opening up the remote districts so difficult to reach in those days owing to the lack of any means of communication, and it took many years before the country could attain to a position of any economic significance in the sphere of commerce.

"During this time the Sudan remained a poor country, struggling with a scanty revenue to evolve order out of the chaos into which African despotism had plunged it. External trade had ceased, and the country had for many years been closed to every civilizing influence.

"The convention signed between England and Egypt in January, 1899, laid down a form of government for the country, and the formidable task of reconstruction was begun with the establishment of legal codes appropriate to the mentalities, customs and religions of the different tribes and peoples which populate the Sudan.

"Today the Sudan has a population of some 6,000,000, consisting principally of pastoral tribes grazing their herds of cattle, sheep and goats across districts of acquired hereditary rights. Others of more sedentary habit cultivate essential crops along the river banks or on the rain-watered areas of the central and southern provinces.

"Some small native industries there are which cater for domestic needs, but cheap imported hardware and clothing are rapidly displacing the products of local manufacture, and the main interests of the country are, and will probably continue to be, agriculture."

Irrigation of the Gezira.

After the war a scheme initiated by Lord Kitchener for the growing of cotton between the Blue and White Niles took shape, culminating in the completion of the Sennar Dam in 1926.

By the completion of this dam, one of the largest in the world, the fertile plains of the Gezira were converted into agricultural land of great promise, under the able management of the Sudan Plantation Syndicate, Ltd. In the first season an area of 80,000 acres was placed under cotton, a figure which has now been increased to approximately 200,000.

"For many years the Sudan has supplied 75 per cent of the world's demands for gum arabic, and production has increased from approximately 3,000 tons in 1910 to about 20,000 in recent years.

Unexploited Riches of the Sudan.

"Although cotton and gum arabic are such important features of the Sudan's industrial life, she has, too, great riches of other descriptions, some the potentialities of which have yet to be fully exploited.

"Ivory and ostrich feathers were once the principal articles on which it was attempted to build up an export trade. But in recent years other products have found lucrative markets abroad—sesame, groundnuts, hides and skins, senna mecca and, in years of plenteous rainfall, the surplus of the millet crop.

KENYA AND ITS NATIVES

Growing Grievances

[Following are extracts from articles by Mr. Charles Roden Buxton published in the "Manchester Guardian." The articles give the impressions and conclusions formed during a recent visit to East Africa.]

Manchester Guardian Weekly 11-4-32

Those who are employers of labour are apt to misconceive the criticisms levelled at them against the native policy of the country. They believe they are charged with behaving badly to their native labourers, and when they have shown the visitor the happy relations which undoubtedly prevail on most of the farms they are apt to think that the whole case is answered and that the astonished critic will thenceforth cease from troubling. But at home the criticism has never been levelled at individuals. The real criticism is founded on the view that, owing to the excessive influence of employers on the Government, the legislation of the country together with its finance and administrative policy has been given a bias in favour of the employer of labour, and to that extent a bias against the native. The visitor readily acknowledges, what he never doubted, that the white man in Kenya is just what he himself would be if placed in a similar position—certainly no worse, and possibly better.

But while I was anxious to hear all that the whites had to say, I could not but reflect that the natives form, after all, 98 per cent of the population. I should not have thought it at all unreasonable to devote 98 per cent of my attention to them. As a matter of fact, I did devote about 75 per cent. I realised the difficulty of understanding their conditions and their feelings, but I did the best I could.

My general conclusion was that in Kenya three things stand out in native opinion as the most deeply felt injustices in about this order of importance:

1. The land system.
2. The taxes; and
3. The Registration system, whereby natives, and natives only, must always (on pain of prosecution) carry a "kipandi" bearing their finger-print, and a record made by the employer, with whom alone it rests to "sign them off."

These things are thought about and talked about on every hand; the evidence was too strong to be resisted. The contrast with Uganda was striking. There, when complaints were ventilated by natives, they were complaints of a far less burning character. There was not enough spent, they said, on education, commercial facilities were denied to natives, the bicycle tax was too onerous. But these grievances are not the stuff of which rebellions are made. In Kenya the shoe really pinches.

The grievances, or alleged grievances, must inevitably become more articulate, whether we like it or not. One sees that similar causes have in time produced in other countries what we call "trouble." And white people in Kenya speak freely of what they call "the trouble" which must some day come. Yet why should trouble come? The grievances are not so difficult, after all, to remove.

In this matter of removing grievances the Kikuyu, it seems to me, are the key to the situation. If their case is sympathetically handled we may take it that the less burning, or at any rate less articulate, grievances of other tribes will be the more easily dealt with. The Kikuyu are not only the most outspoken and the most politically minded," as the phrase is. They are very numerous, and they are the nearest to the capital. They are, perhaps, potentially the cleverest of the tribes; and they have the most specific grievances.

The danger is that all criticism of the Government or the settlers tends to be regarded as "sedition." That leads to inaction. And inaction means sitting on the safety-valve. It will be much more difficult to act later. It is relatively simple now.

Do we want, in a colony such as Kenya, to leave the native "in his natural surroundings"? Or is he to have his part, when sufficiently advanced, in the same sort of social structure as we have ourselves? This is the question on which opinion is most sharply divided, even among those for whom native welfare is the chief consideration in view. Men of the highest authority, including Lord Lugard, seem to hold to the former view. I was anxious to face the problem fairly, and I did my best to keep an open mind.

Certainly the difficulties were brought home to me. For instance, I frequently put the question (through my English friends) to groups of primitive people: "If you had twice as much money to spend, what would you like best to spend it on?" The answer came, again and again, in almost identical terms: "We should buy more goats (or cows, according to the amount suggested), and so get more wives, and so get more work done." "And then?" "We should buy *more* goats, and so get *more* wives," &c., &c. This ambition and the uniformity of it are undoubtedly suggestive of a life incredibly remote from ours. I am well aware, too, that the period of transition is bound to have its troubles.

But then I remember the extraordinary changes I have seen—changes wrought within a single generation. The main factor has been the missionary, but the official in more recent years has done wonders. Labour for Europeans and the example of Europeans have also played their part. Among the Kavirondo and the Kikuyu, perhaps the most important of the tribes, I have seen not only wholly new types of housing and clothing but new ideas, new conceptions, for example, of women's work and of social life; and everywhere an astonishing passion for education. Nor is it only these experiences that have influenced me. I realise also the total impossibility of keeping unimpaired the old tribal conditions—whether it be desirable or not. If that were our aim we ought never to have introduced the labour contract, or the Christian school. The process of drawing the native into our Western economic system has begun. It cannot be arrested now. White settlement alone would have made it inevitable, even if no missionary had ever started a school. I came back with no doubt in my mind that the idea of "leaving the native to himself" is an exploded one, and that the problem is to devise an education and an environment which will enable him to advance on lines broadly similar to our own—though, of course, both will naturally develop some characteristic African features.

This leads on to the specific question of representation and franchise. Some hold the view that every kind of progress, including advanced education in English, is desirable and possible for the native—except a share in his government. Nay, sometimes this view regards even a share in government as allowable—so long, that is, as democratic ideas and free election of representatives are confined to local government. (The local native councils are being sympathetically developed.) But it is a view which draws an absolute and final line at any native participation in the central government of the colony. Yet I am more than ever doubtful, after what I have seen, whether the line can prudently or justly be drawn at this point. There is already, I think, a strong case for giving a share in government to those natives who have become "civilised." There are plenty of natives capable of taking an effective part in public assemblies. Election of representatives is a process which is perfectly understood and could be easily ex-

tended. Local native councils are a useful training-ground, but they can never meet the need of representation, which is keenly desired by the advanced natives and the desire for which is undoubtedly spreading fast. The most essential subjects with which government deals—taxation, labour legislation, land policy, railway administration, Customs duties—are necessarily central, not local, subjects.

In the meantime—supposing that we give full weight to the fact of the "backward" mass which does not know yet how to protect its own interests—this is no argument whatever for giving more power to white employers. It is, as far as it goes, an argument for the "sacred trust" theory. And the best way, I suggest, to carry out this trust in the true interest of our "wards" is to keep the government in the hands of a Civil Service removed from all temptation to partiality, in which every junior official knows that he will be so backed up by his superiors as a matter of course that he can afford to snap his fingers at "interested" pressure. Such a Civil Service must be controlled from home. I am patriotic enough to believe that the much-denounced English system of Crown colony government, with its flexibility and the long experience behind it, is, in spite of its defects, the best guarantee of justice in Empire administration that the world has yet discovered.

A Series of Articles on Topics of interest to the Basuto

by 'RAFUFU'

The British Empire and the Union Jack

We Basuto are British subjects and have a share in that great Commonwealth of Natives, sometimes known as the British Empire.

In 1868 Moshoeshoe was in dire straits,—Basutoland was overrun by the Dutch from the Free State, Thaba Bosiu alone remained intact. The long war seemed about to draw to a disastrous close, for the Basuto. Moshoeshoe again pleaded with Sir, P. Wodehouse, that Basutoland should be taken under the protection of Queen Vitoria,—Mofumahali oa England.

"Nkamohele, 'na le kobo ea ka, le linta tsa eona."

These were the exact words of his message, to the English Queen.

Queen Victoria at last consented, and Basutoland entered under the protection of the British Flag, which it has since enjoyed, becoming a very loyal if small mandate of the Empire.

The Basuto should try and understand the objects and ideals of this Empire; the ideals of freedom, justice and fairpluy which have always been sacred to all true Englishmen and that we hope will continue wherever the Union Jack is flown.

The important conference held in Ottawa Canada last September included councillors from most of the nations within the Empire. Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, India, the Irish Free State, Great Britain these were perhaps the most important countries represented.

Paramount Chief's wife passes away.

11-23-32

(Chieftainess Mia-Bareng, wife of the Paramount Chief Griffiths Seeiso) peacefully passed away at Maseru Hospital yesterday on the night of Friday, 18th. instant after her long illness, unlike other chieftainesses of her standing, was not buried at Thaba Bosiu the royal cemetery of the sons of Moshoeshoe, but was buried at the St Louis Church yard. The funeral which was largely attended took place in the afternoon of the 18th. inst. The memorial service conducted by Rev. Fr. Connerath in the beautiful church of St. Louis in the presence of Rev. Fr. Martin and several priests and sisters of the Roman Catholic Mission in Basutoland Rev. Christeller, Henriod and others of the P. E. M. S Church, Mr. F. Foord, Government Secretary, Mr. H. Ashton, Dr Sterling and members of the trading community.

The Paramount Chief who in spite of very poor health had left his bed was walking on crutches as his feet have lost their former strength and vigour. Other prominent chiefs present were Chief Sekhonyana, Chief Masupha, Chief Sempe, Chief Seeiso Maama Chief Mohlobela and several others.

Thousands of Basuto men and women had gathered together to pay their last respects to the Chieftainess. The surroundings of the Church yard were alive with the multitudes and horses that were grazing under saddle and the whole scene was suggestive of a big pitso. There is no doubt that if the funeral had been delayed a day longer there should have been much greater multitudes at the g ave-side than there were.

From the church to the grave the procession was led by the priests of the Roman Catholic Mission, followed by the Govt. Officials and other missionaries and traders. Chief Bereng son of the Paramount Chief and Chief Theko Makhaola and other sons of chiefs were pall-bearers. The Paramount Chief in his beautiful Sedan car drove slowly behind with Chief Soko and a few of his councillors beside him. The avenue to the grave yard was lined with the multitudes. The procession moved slowly to the grave and hymns were sung and portions of the scripture read as it went along. The body was enclosed in a beautiful casket covered with wreaths.

The burial ceremony at the grave was conducted by Fr. Martin. Chief Sekhonyana expressed his condolence to the Paramounts Chief, the sons of Moshoeshoe and the Basuto. He was followed by the Paramount Chief who spoke a few but impressive words stating that it was brought to will of God that the Chieftainess had died. It was God only who had power to separate a wife from her husband and a parent from her family and they should be comforted. Messages of condolences received from the Assistant Commissioners of the other districts who were unable to attend the funeral were mentioned.

Mr Foord, the Government Secretary after reading messages from His Excellency the High Commissioner and His Honour the Resident Commissioner stated that as an old friend of the P. C he was pleased to have an opportunity of expressing his heart-felt sympathy to the P.C. at the loss he had sustained by the death of the Chieftainness. He knew of no man who was more devoted to his wife than the Paramount Chief and he had no doubt that he must have felt the loss very deeply.

In spite of ill-health the Paramount Chief seemed to have borne the strain with remarkable courage. After the ceremonies the masses dispersed to their respective homes.

The object of this Ottaw Conference was to improve trade within the British Commonwealth of Nations and to try and bring back prosperity and plenty to a world still suffering from the cramping effects of wholesale waste in the World War 1914—18

At this Conference details of trade were talked over and agreements made, so that the produce of the countries concerned could be more easily bought and sold.

Tariff walls,—these are the duties, or money that has to be paid, on trading goods or produce for sale in other lands, were lowered on nearly every article and product. Consequently Basutoland today, must march with the Union regarding trade agreements and many of these important reductions in tariffs will be rendered more or less worthless by the Unions foolish policy about money.

This question about money is a great question to us all. Every day I am asked by some one, "Where is the money?" "When will it come back?"

Next week, I hope to try and answer these questions as simply as I can. An article will appear in the "Mochochonono" explaining the Gold Standard and its effect on us, and our money in Basutoland.

Race Problem-1932

Africa

An Open Letter

The Comet

Basutoland Problems

9-7-32

From a Native Viewpoint

Masem, Basutoland

II

Trading

(Mochochonono)

Lastly, we come to the question of trading, which is in the hands of Europeans (and a few Asiatics) who have trading stations all over the territory, and who are doing a purely Native trade. There has been no encouragement on the part of the Government for the Basuto to trade among themselves. On the contrary, they have been discouraged in their attempts to trade. In certain instances the aspirants were actually advised that it would be wiser for them to keep what money they had than to attempt to trade with it.

It is true the Basuto are backward and do not properly understand this business of trading, for a few attempts were made by them a long time ago which invariably ended in failure. It was a sad experience for the applicants, but this did not discourage the Basuto. Two more trading licences were obtained by Natives a few years ago, not without great difficulty and opposition, but in spite of the bad times they have so far succeeded. People learn by past mistakes. The Basuto will likewise learn by their past mistakes, and success will eventually crown their efforts. The best policy would be to encourage the Basuto in this respect, so that they may be able to trade among themselves, and such encouragement should not only be by word of mouth, but by deed also—that is, by giving them practical support which would make it possible for them to stand upon their own feet.

It is of course not questioned that the present European trade in Basutoland is doing this territory a great service by catering for the needs of the Basuto, and by enlightening them in matters of business, but at the same time it must not be lost sight of that the European traders here are birds of passage so far as Basutoland is concerned, and that when they retire they take away with them wealth (let us merely speak of it as money) earned in Basutoland, which one feels should be used in Basutoland.

It may be mentioned that when the Basuto make applications for trading licences their applications always meet with strong protests from European traders, one of the main reasons for such protests being that the present trading stations are enough to cater for the needs of the Basuto. This is amusing, for everybody knows that these protests are made by existing licence holders solely to avoid increased competition, which would mean decreased profits. So far as European trading stations are concerned we agree there are enough, but for the Basuto there should be no such limit:

What of the future?

To turn to another aspect, and one which must make all thinking people anxious for the future of Basutoland, we must consider the question of population. The greater part of Basutoland is mountainous and rocky, and only suitable as pasturage for livestock, but owing to congestion in the lowlands the surplus population has been thrown into the mountain area where in most cases they help to precipitate soil erosion by ploughing the slopes and hillsides, at the same time decreasing the pastures which are already overstocked. Thus the question of surplus population which pay tax regularly is an ever growing one which must demand the attention of the authorities at no far distant date and unless some provision is made for it by way of establishing local industries which may absorb some of the population, other complications are bound to result in the near future. One is reminded of Japan where much the same problem confronted their government, and where intensive agriculture was carried out on the steepest mountain slopes. But the Basuto are not Japanese!

The writer of this letter is aware that he is dealing with a subject—or rather several subjects—which require one well versed in economics to deal with in a more comprehensive manner, but who is there in Basutoland at present who will take heed and cognisance of the trend of things as they affect the people and the economics of the territory. It is hoped therefore, in respectfully drawing the attention of our higher authorities and the thinking section of the Basuto to these matters, that the foregoing lines will not be taken merely as a series of complaints, but as a sincere attempt to bring them to the public notice, so that the Basutoland Administration in deciding upon a future policy will not overlook them.

An Open Letter on Basutoland Problems

The Comet

From a Native Viewpoint

8-31-32

(Mochochonono)

I

The present economic crisis is world-wide, and the governments of all countries are trying to solve their difficulties by adopting drastic measures such as curtailing expenditure by reducing salaries and by the retrenchment of public servants wherever possible, but in doing so they are adding to unemployment, with which difficulty they are obliged to deal by means of doles and other relief measures, in order that these unemployed people may live.

Attempts are constantly being made by every country to find markets for their exports by means of international agreements and tariff adjustments but such measures are usually complicated, and even where they are satisfactory, results are slow in being felt, and in the meantime the positien is desperate and the outlook gloomy, in spite of the reported success of the recent Ottawa Conference.

During these difficult times governments are exhorting their people to be thrifty, and are urging them to hold on till better times come round—a laudable precept truly, but how, it may be asked can a man be thrifty when he is out of employment, and how can he hold on to nothing?

AGRICULTURE IN WEST AFRICA.

A contributor who has spent many years in West Africa utters a serious warning elsewhere in this issue of the dangers inherent in the present wasteful methods of agriculture pursued by the native cultivator in our West African colonies. The "shifting system," under which forest and bush are razed to provide arable land, which is cultivated until exhaustion, when a move is made to fresh areas, is resulting in the rapid disappearance of valuable forests, accompanied by steady deterioration in the fruitfulness of the soil. In a country subject to heavy rainfall continuous crop cultivation presents great difficulties, and the people are forced to seek fresh land to meet the food requirements of an increasing population. The relation of forests to rainfall is well known, and a broad policy of afforestation and conservation of existing resources is necessary to ensure soil conditions favourable to the maintenance of maximum crop yields. The Agricultural Departments of the respective colonies are doing their utmost under difficult conditions to educate and encourage the native farmer to improve the quality and quantity of his crops, and it is only by the introduction of the most modern practice agricultural science affords that the future sustenance of West Africa' teeming peoples can be assured.

African World

10-1-32

London

England

FUTURE OF NORTHERN RHODESIA.

The future of Northern Rhodesia is largely bound up with the possibilities of copper. When as Sir James Maxwell, the retiring Governor of the Territory, states, Europe and America want more copper then Northern Rhodesia, owing to its immense deposits of the ore, will be able to supply it. If the world goes bankrupt, then the future of Northern Rhodesia is negligible. Copper, and copper alone, is all-important to the future prospects of the colony. Amalgamation with Southern Rhodesia, the transference of the capital from Livingstone to Lusaka, and all other matters are of no consequence compared with the development of the copper interests. The late Mr. Solly Joel said truly, many years ago, that Northern Rhodesia's wealth in copper could only be compared with the wealth of gold on the Rand. Unfortunately, the relative value of gold and copper makes comparisons impossible. Northern Rhodesia undoubtedly possesses the greatest copper belt in the world, and production could be sustained for another hundred years and still supply the world with what it requires. Electricity is the main industry which can utilise copper to any large extent. America built up its copper position on the demands for the metal in electrical appliances. When copper comes into its own again, then Northern Rhodesia will reap the benefit. Boom days are past for the present, and copper production is restricted in consequence. The consumption of copper in Europe is about one-third per capita of what it was in America before the slump. There is, therefore, good room for expansion on this side, and if electrical industries, which absorb 40 to 50 per cent. of copper, and other kindred trades, require more of the metal in the near future, then copper and, incidentally, Northern Rhodesia, will have a rosy outlook. Let us hope, therefore, that the world will soon get a copper complex, for the benefit of this important member of the Empire.

United Transkeian Territories General Council

Purchase of Motor Ambulance for Holy Cross Hospital

Mr. R. H. Wilson: The sum of £750 was put into the motion because it was not known at that time what the actual cost would be. Since then I have ascertained that the cost will be less. The Holy Cross authorities are prepared to run the ambulance. The hospital authorities themselves will fetch the patient to the hospital and only a small charge will be made to cover the cost of petrol, oil and depreciation. The objection that was raised to the motion before the Council in regard to the request from Tsomo was that the hospital at Butterworth could not stand the expense. Of course, that expense will not exist as far as this ambulance is concerned. I think if it were possible to grant the amount it would be very greatly appreciated. The hospital is doing an enormous amount of good to the Natives in its area.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are there any roads on which to use this ambulance?

Mr. Wilson: yes, sir; we are getting a few.

THE CHAIRMAN: The constitution of the Pondoland Council, which of course has been preserved in the amalgamation Proclamation, provides only for grants to public hospitals; it is a mission hospital. Of course, it may be argued that grants have been made already to it, but it is a fact that the constitution provides only for grants to public hospitals, of which this is not one. Why the regulations were drawn up in that way when Pondoland Council was formed I am not in a position to say, because in the Transkei constitution, which of course is older, provision is made for grants to hospitals. However, the matter will be considered. Quite a substantial amount of money has been asked for, and I am aware that the Holy Cross people are finding it difficult to pay their way; in fact, they have quite recently asked for an increased grant from this Council for ordinary maintenance. I am sure there is nobody here, but if there is I am not one of them, who is opposed to doing anything to alleviate pain and suffering. I think money spent in that direction is very worthily spent, and other services might sometimes be starved for that purpose; but I doubt whether this can be approved. However, the matter will be considered.

The motion was carried.

Noxious weeds competitions: Prizes

Cr. A. Nomvete moved:—"That in view of the keen interest shown by school children and teachers of various areas in the noxious weeds competitions, and to ensure the continuity of such interest, this Council recommends that small amounts be awarded as consolation prizes to a limited number of the less fortunate teams."

The mover: The motion has been brought forward because these people are working very well indeed, and they are doing good work, but one school wins and the others do not win and those that do not win are discouraged; and if consolation prizes are awarded that will give them encouragement.

Cr. W. D. Cingo: I second the motion. This competition is a new thing, and it is clear that it is going to do much good and the object of the Council will be achieved, namely, the eradication of noxious weeds. There was great industry amongst the children in collecting weeds, and yet something also happened to discourage them. I think in some places the headmen were so surprised they thought the children were spies, and number of weeds collected will show there were a lot of weeds in a certain headman's location. This happened in our area, and we had to go and report it to the magistrate. The fear is that the children will be discouraged unless there are some small awards to be given to the other teams that did not win. It became clear during the competition that if they had taken place long ago, the weeds would have been completely eradicated. The fear is that only two prizes are awarded, that is first and second prizes, then the rest of the teams which competed will be discouraged, and will not take the trouble to work again, and the object of the motion is to keep up the spirit of industry amongst the children. It is not the size of the award that we are thinking of, but any amount that will go as consolation prizes.

Mr. R. D. H. Barry: I know the mover and the seconder are actuated by very good motives in this matter, but, to quote the seconder himself, he says this is a new thing. We have not even heard the results of the first year's competition, and he is suggesting the award of consolation prizes. Under the arrangement there are three prizes offered, not two as stated. The prizes are £5, £3 and £2 for the first, second and third prizes respectively. It seems to me if we are going to ask the Council to vote a lot of money to pay out consolation prizes all over the country, we are going to strangle the very idea of competition. The mover and the seconder are afraid that these children will be discouraged. I think they are rather crying before they are beaten. Let us wait and see if they are discouraged. We have not had the first year's results yet. Don't let us be in a hurry in this matter. I suggest that we see how the thing works before we start making any changes.

Cr. Z. Mtirara: I would like to make a remark on this subject, suggesting that the mover and the seconder should withdraw in this matter, because it is true that a child should be taught to walk first before it runs. Now, what the mover and the seconder mean is that the child in learning to walk should run. We had better learn to walk before we start to run. If we work slowly perhaps the Government will find that after a time noxious weeds have decreased. Let the mover and his seconder let this matter remain where it is, and see how the thing works, and then watch the allotments and if any weeds are in evidence ask for further money. The Chairman of Umtata has explained that three prizes are offered, not two as stated and he told us the amounts, and I think they should be satisfied with that explanation

Africa

EMPIRE PREFERENCE SOUGHT BY RHODESIA

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Prepared to "Buy British" on Large Scale to Detriment of Trade With This Country.

New York Times

Special Correspondence, THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SALISBURY, Southern Rhodesia June 18.—Properly speaking, Southern Rhodesia is not a British dominion but a self-governing colony. From self-government to dominion home rule is only a short step, however, and Rhodesians regard their country as quite the equal of the neighboring Dominion of South Africa. They are not part of the latter nation. They are jealous of their own identity. They resent the ignorance so widespread in the United States and Europe as to what and where Rhodesia is. They wish it known that in the centre of Africa there are two Rhodesias, Southern and Northern, named both after Cecil John Rhodes, the arch-exponent of British imperialism in Africa, but synonymous in no other way.

New York City
New York
7/24/32

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American interests here are not negligible. The United States exports to Rhodesia sizable quantities of automobiles, radios, refrigerators and general merchandise. Directly or indirectly, the United States imports from here important amounts of gold, copper, chrome and vanadium. In other markets of the British Empire the United States competes strenuously with Rhodesian tobacco, and after the Ottawa conference will be forced to compete even more strenuously, if Southern Rhodesia accomplishes its purpose there.

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In return Southern Rhodesia is prepared to grant big tariff rebates on British automobiles, gasoline, tires, radios, refrigerators, agricultural machinery and mining appliances. Unlike the Dominion of South Africa, she has little or no industry of her own. For a long time she will have to depend on overseas manufactures. At present these goods come by no means exclusively from Great Britain. The United States, Japan, Germany and other countries have a large share of the trade.

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Against this action there are certain things but not many which the United States can do. In Southern Rhodesia she can refuse to buy chrome. The United States Vanadium Corporation can withdraw its representatives from Salisbury and Bulawayo. In Northern Rhodesia, United States copper magnates, who control an important chain of mines along the Congo border, may be able to influence the government through indirect channels.

Besides anti-foreign and pro-British preferences, there are certain other points which Southern Rhodesia will also raise at Ottawa. She may try to float a loan. She certainly will request the abolition of the ban on Rhodesian cattle imposed by South Africa, Kenya, Tanganyika and other British territories as a result of hoof and mouth disease. Before the Privy Council in London she may start a suit against the British South Africa Company over mining rights and royalties.

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With other neighbors the colony's relations are simpler. She has no seaport of her own. On the west she is almost isolated from the Atlantic Ocean by deserts and lack of railways. On the north she faces more desert, veldt and Northern Rhodesia. It is from the east that she receives most of her contact with the outside world. In that direction lie Portuguese East Africa and the deep sea port of Beira. More than three-fourths of Rhodesia's imports and exports pass through Beira and Portuguese territory. With Beira there is excellent railroad communication and a semblance of motor-car transport. Via the same route or through the Portuguese town of Tête passes all communication with the tiny British salient of Nyasaland, which depends economically to some extent on the Salisbury. Thus relations between Southern Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa can be rated as good.

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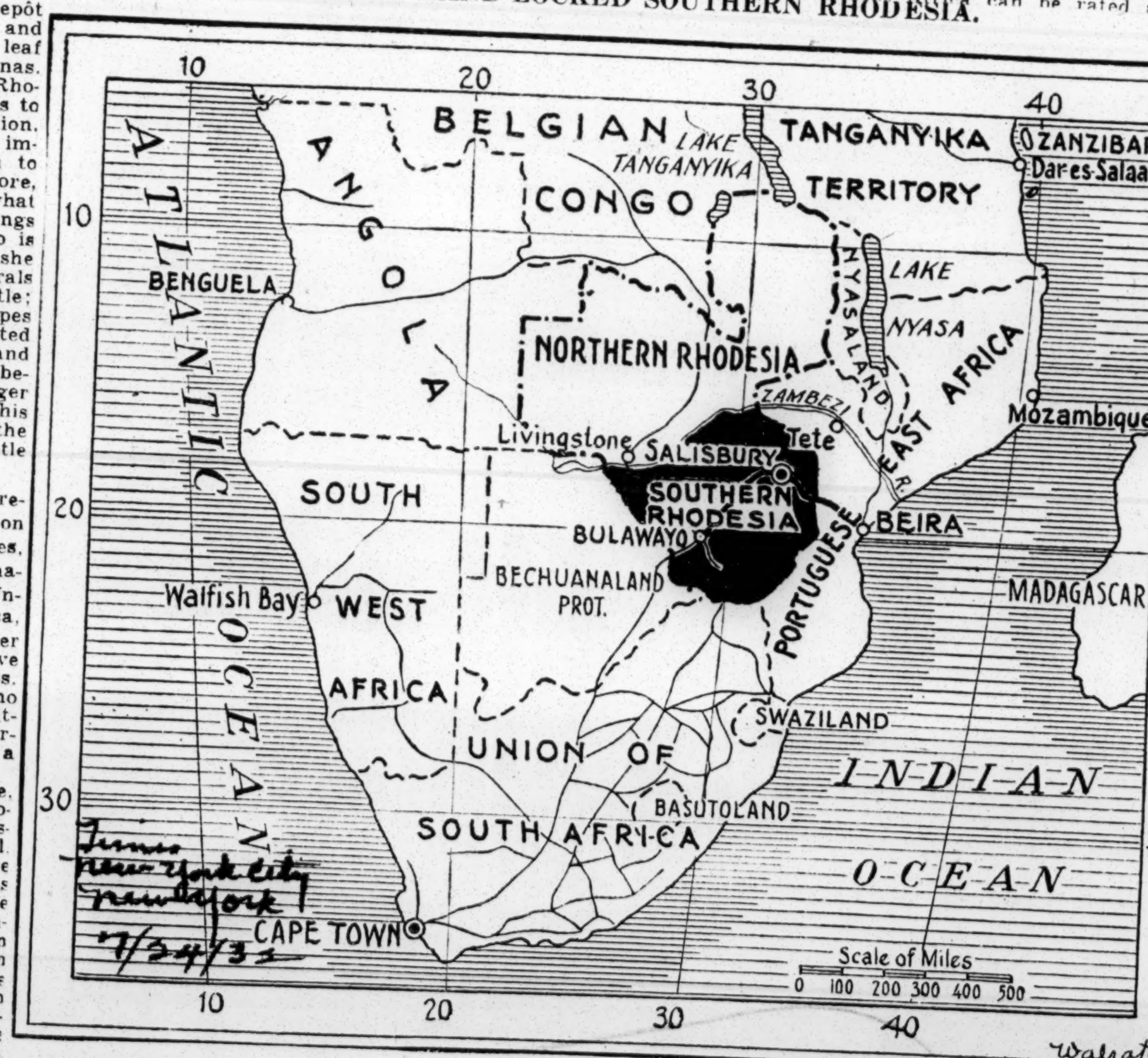

Particularly is this true of contact between the two powerful chartered companies, Mocambique and British South Africa, which dominate immense stretches of territory.

The B. S. A. or British South Africa Company always has been a vital factor in Rhodesian life. Once it absolutely owned the country, south as well as north. Today it still has a monopoly of mineral rights, a feudal lease on railways, large interests in agriculture and cattle raising, and a big say in politics. There is no time limit on its holdings.

Company's Control Firm.

Directly or indirectly B. S. A. money controls citrus farms, cotton estates, cattle ranches, guano plants, engineering firms and political activities. All in all it must contribute more than 50 per cent of the tax revenue of Southern Rhodesia. This is one of the reasons why it is so difficult for any political party to come out openly in opposition to it. To do so might ruin the finances of the State. Moreover, the B. S. A. still brings capital into the country, and it is money to develop resources which is one of the greatest needs of Rhodesia today. When accused of being unduly favorable to the company, it is on these two arguments that the present government, controlled by the Rhodesia party, inevitably falls back. An election is soon to be fought on this question of partiality, and popular rumor has it that the Reform party is likely to win. Much will depend, however, on the achievements of Premier Moffat during his present trip to London and Ottawa.

The ultimate future of the country, however, must depend on the native problem. Can 55,000 whites maintain indefinitely supremacy over

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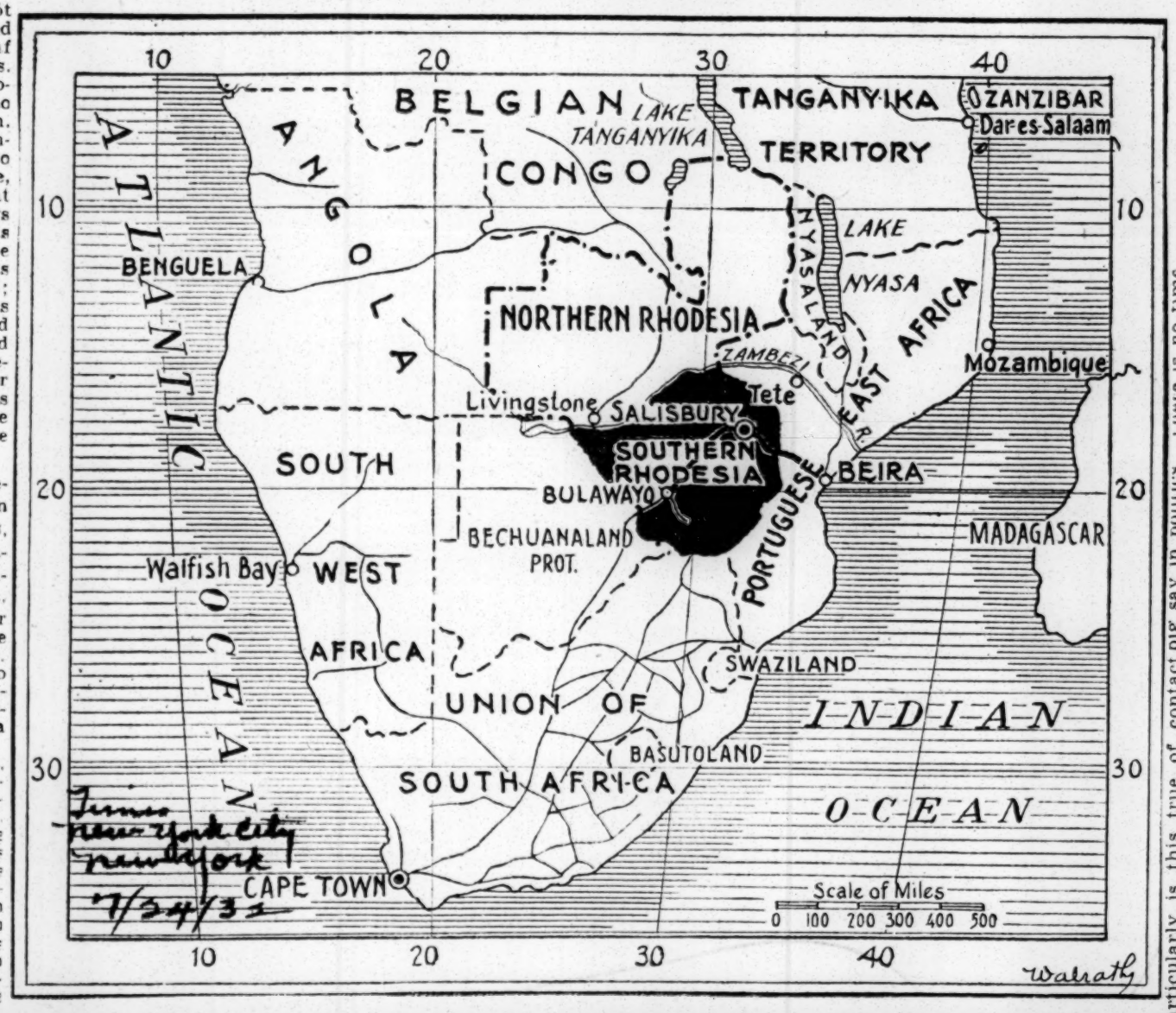

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New York City
7/24/32.

2,200,000 blacks? Can Negroes be educated sufficiently to contribute to the wealth and energy of the colony, yet not challenge white supremacy and white labor? Can the immigration policy be liberalized enough to bring into the land a stream of desirable European settlers? On the answer to these questions depends the life of the colony.

Rhodesian policy toward the natives is by no means so strict as that of South Africa, though it does favor methods like segregation and restriction. Rhodesian whites are practically all British, and consequently able to present a united front to blacks. Nevertheless, one cannot escape the disquieting facts that Negroes have a numerical superiority of 200 to 1 and that this superiority is growing larger. Furthermore, Rhodesia is situated wholly in the tropics. No other tropical possession of Great Britain, save possibly India, enjoys complete home rule. Rhodesians hope that American Rhodes scholars, who study in British universities by generosity of their patron saint, will learn more about these problems of theirs and spread the news broadcast throughout the United States and Canada.

Bill To Further Enslave South African Natives

5-27-32

CAPETOWN, South Africa.—A new law has recently been enacted by the South African Parliament known as the **Service Contract Bill.** The aim of this Bill is to drive off the land those squatters who manage to eke out a semi-starvation existence on the small plots of land belonging to white farmers, Land Companies and absentee landlords.

The Bill gives the power to the Landowners and farmers to contract natives and their families for a period of six months without pay by preventing the natives from cultivating their small pieces of land; it eliminates the competition of the small native peasantry and provides the feaudal slave owners with unpaid labor, thus enabling them to compete on the world market. It chains the native to the farmer, for it provides the farmer with the right to whip his servant, either if he breaks his contract or is 'insolent,' and thus under South African conditions murdering and whipping of natives becomes sanctioned by law. At first the Whipping clause was to be applied to natives under 18 only, but due to its great "popularity" among the farmers, it will be extended to natives over 18 years of age.

JULY 16, 1932. **The African World**

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES.

Sir R. Hamilton on Value of Research.

Sir Robert Hamilton, M.P., Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, deputised for the Secretary of State at a Government luncheon to the members of the Council of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures at Grosvenor House on Friday, July 8.

In welcoming the guests on behalf of H.M. Government, Sir Robert Hamilton said :—

It is a particular pleasure for one who has spent many years in Africa, and who to-day shares the responsibility for the administration of the British Dependencies in that vast continent, to have the opportunity of paying a public tribute to the importance and value of the work that is being undertaken by the Institute.

The Institute has not long been founded—six years only—but it has been founded on a broad basis. Its governing body includes representatives of some thirty societies in Europe, America, and Africa who are interested in the objects which it seeks to achieve, and no fewer than twenty-two African Governments have contributed to its funds.

As befits a body that approaches its objective on scientific lines, it is thoroughly international in its character, for science recognises no political frontiers, and its work has received the warm approval of the Belgian, British, French, and Italian Governments. It is also gratifying to know that, in these times of financial difficulty, its membership is steadily growing.

Objects of the Institute.

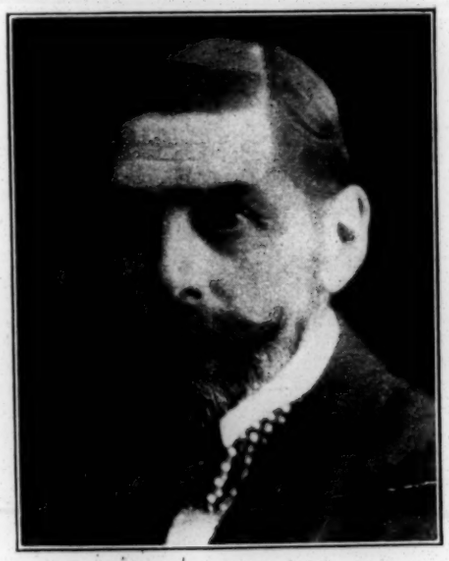
The objects and purposes for which the Institute was founded were "to provide a national clearing house in regard to research in African linguistics, anthropology, and sociology; and secondly, in order to bring about a closer association between scientific research and the practical problems with which administrators, educators, missionaries, those engaged in industry and commerce, and the leaders of the African races have to deal." In other words, it sets out to ascertain the facts and to deduce from them the methods which may be best applied to the solution of the many problems which Africa offers. It is to this carefully constructed foundation that we may, I think, directly trace the success which has so far attended its efforts and the confident hopes entertained for future results.

Now, there is, I know, in some quarters, the impression that the Institute is an association of intellectual highbrows engaged in recondite research. "Highbrow," I may tell our friends from abroad, is regarded in this country as a term of reproach and disparagement, and no Englishman likes to be thought intellectual. I should like to take this opportunity of correcting incorrect impressions, and asserting that the aims and methods of the Institute are both practical and up to date. In fact, so up to date are they in the most approved modern methods that they have evolved a "five-year plan," but, strangely enough, while the work of one five-year plan, of which we hear so much to-day, aims at destroying the foundations of existing society and building a new and different one, that of the Institute is to ascertain the foundations of existing society in Africa so that future building may have a secure basis. To quote the Institute's own words, it is proposed "that their inquiries should be directed towards bringing about a better understanding of the factors of social cohesion in African society, the ways in which these are being affected by the alien civilisations which are penetrating the continent, and the tendencies towards new social grouping and the formation of new social bonds."

The approach to the carrying out of this great programme has only been made possible by the wide vision and the generosity of the trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation, to which I am glad to pay public appreciation, and which will, I am confident, be repaid a hundred-fold in the results achieved. This is not the occasion for discussing the plan and all its implications at length, but I would like to say this, that the proposed method of obtaining co-operation from administrative officers, missionaries, teachers, traders, and all others in the African field interested in the work is one that commends itself to all practical men.

The Human Note.

In the past there has no doubt been in certain lines of research in Africa a tendency to regard Africans too much as "specimens." I remember on one occasion, some thirty years ago, in East Africa, introducing an important local nobility to two members of the British Association who, instead of entering into even the slightest conversation with him, proceeded to regard him from different points in order to obtain the best view of his facial angle, his supra-orbital ridges, and his cranial ridges, a proceeding which left both him and myself in staggered surprise. We are delighted to think that those are not the methods of the Institute, and I would like to emphasise the importance of the rule which they lay down that "the subjects in which the Institute is interested have to do with human beings. Hence it is essential that in all the studies undertaken this fact should be borne in mind, and that Africans should be considered not as objects, but as persons."



SIR ROBERT HAMILTON, M.P.

As far as the Colonial Office is concerned, we, who have to deal daily with the problems that the new Africa presents, watch the work of the Institute with the greatest interest, for it is concerned with the very foundations of African society, the basis on which all ordered progress and sound administration must ultimately rest.

The guests included: The Spanish Ambassador, the Swiss Minister, the Austrian Minister, the German Chargé d'Affaires, the Italian Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. A. Bevir, Mr. E. W. Bovill, Dr. Gordon Brown, Major Orde Browne, Mr. C. Delisle Burns, Major A. G. Church, Sir James Currie, Sir Edward Denham, Dr. James Dillard, Major W. E. Elliot, Sir William Gowers, Major-General Sir John Hanbury-Williams, Major Sir Humphrey Leggett, Colonel José Augusto dos Santos Lucas, Lord Lugard, Professor B. Malinowski, Mr. F. O. Mann, Mr. F. H. Melland, Mr. J. B. Monck, Lord Noel-Buxton, Dr. J. H. Oldham, Mr. J. D. Oman, Radi Radi Bey, Captain R. S. Rattray, Sir Denison Ross, Dr. Drummond Shiels, Sir John Shuckburgh, Sir Ransford Slater, Mr. F. A. Stockdale, Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes, Mr. E. S. B. Tagart, Mr. G. J. F. Tomlinson, Major Hanns Vischer, Dr. Alice Werner, Professor Dr. D. Westermann, Sir Robert Williams, and General Sir Reginald Wingate.

NEW YORK HERALD-TRIBUNE

AUG 1 1932

Liberia's Future Held To Hang in Balance

Depends on Parley of Republic Officials and League Board

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

WASHINGTON, July 31.—The immediate future of the African Negro republic of Liberia will depend upon negotiations in August between Liberian officials and the International Commission under the auspices of the League of Nations, which has drawn up a reconstruction and reform program, Raymond Leslie Buell, research director of the Foreign Policy Association, declared in an association report today.

Mr. Buell said that the United States is withdrawing from its exclusive position in Liberia in favor of the league's reconstruction plan. This plan is the outgrowth of the revelations as to slavery and forced labor made by an international commission of inquiry in January, 1931.

"Should the negotiations fail," Mr. Buell states, "it is possible, according to some observers, that Liberia will be the scene of revolt and disintegration or intervention by the United States or a European power. Other observers state, however, that it is hardly conceivable that the Liberian government, having invited assistance from the league, would unconditionally reject a proposal which is the outcome of arduous labor by some of the leading statesmen of the world. Nevertheless at the present writing the attitude of the Liberian government, the American State Department and the Firestone interests toward the league proposal is not definitely known. If these efforts toward reconstruction end in failure the result might be worse than if no investigation into Liberian affairs had ever taken place."

Race Problem - 1932

Africa.

"JUSTICE IN NIGERIA."

UNDER the above heading the "Times" has published this week a letter from Sir William Geary, who deals with the subject with the advantage of a decade of experience in West Africa, during part of which period he held legal office. Important at all times, the subject is doubly and trebly important at this time, because Mr. Grattan Bushe, who lately visited the Coast at the wish of the Colonial Office, to advise upon legal changes, is considering his report. It is a reasoned certainty that the Colonial Office, after it has made whatever changes it makes on Mr. Bushe's report, will for years to come have aside suggestions for further progressive change. In view of this elementary consideration it is astonishing that British business bodies connected with West Africa are not pressing, publicly and continuously, to be taken into council by the Colonial Office and told exactly what is proposed. Do they, one wonders, realise that a legal system which meets the wishes of the African people—whose money pays for it—is quite as important in a business sense as the building of a harbour or the imposition of a tariff?

Sir William dwells upon the fact that whereas in 10 years the Provincial Courts in Nigeria tried 4,235 persons for homicide—over one a day—the proportion of discharges or acquittals in the North was about 12%, whereas in the South it was about 50%. He reminds us that in 1914, at the amalgamation, the jurisdiction of the Superior Court was restricted to Lagos "Colony" and to certain centres such as Old Calabar, Jos, Lokoja, Zaria, Kaduna and Kano, apart from personal jurisdiction elsewhere in cases wherein Europeans are concerned. In capital cases arising elsewhere in the vast areas of Nigeria, where death sentence is passed by a judge not necessarily a lawyer and without jury or counsel, it is true that the report of the trial is read over by the Chief Justice and the Governor and execution is postponed till the sentence is confirmed (is it, *invariably*?), but Sir William makes the pertinent points that such revision presupposes that the report is full and accurate and that there is no safeguard that the proper questions have been asked and improper questions disallowed. His contention is that the full machinery of the Superior Court should be extended, now that all large towns are linked by railways or motor roads, and more especially as Nigeria is excluded from membership of the West African Court of Appeal (which itself, we are convinced, will not satisfy British West Africa until all suspicion of local influence or duplicate action is removed, which might be done by establishing an Appeal Court whose members would travel from one Crown Colony to another).

"Surely," Sir William Geary asks, in face of the fact that in nine years about 700 Africans have been executed after conviction under this "makeshift system" (so he styles it), "it would be possible to establish Circuits of Assize throughout Nigeria, whereby black men would be tried before a 'red' Judge, defended by counsel, and, if practicable, with a jury?"

Surely? It may not be quite possible to do it all at once. It is a great deal less possible to do none of it.

ORIGIN OF THE TERM FULANI.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—It is generally known that the tribes called by the Hausa speaking peoples "Fulani" do not apply this name to themselves, but, in their own language, "Fuffulde," speak of themselves as "Fulbe" plural from singular "Pullo" or "Fullo."

The meaning of the term "Fulani" is obscure, and it has sometimes been supposed that it is a corruption of the Fuffulde term, though the ending is not a typical Hausa formation.

I suggest a possible alternative derivation.

The offspring of the union of the European Crusaders with local Syrian and other women in the near East were termed "Pullani" or "Fullani" from the Arabic "fulan"="so and so." The original meaning of the term thus was "the people of nondescript origin," but later, (probably not before the 14th century) it became a common term of abuse, as reflecting on mixed ancestry and, frequently, bastardy.

I do not suggest that the West African Fulani have any racial connection with the Levantine *debris* of the Crusades, but the term "Pullani" to describe a people of unknown origin would be known in Egypt and North Eastern Africa generally, and might, I suggest have been used to designate nomadic tribes of which the origin was to the local inhabitants obscure.

It will be remembered that the traditions of the Fulani claim origin in North Eastern Africa and an original East to West migration. The name Fulani may have accompanied them to West Africa.

I have, etc.,

C. E. J. WHITTING,

(Senior Education Officer, Palestine, late Education Dept., N.P. Nigeria).

Jerusalem, June 5.

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN WEST AFRICA.

NEWS FROM THE COLONIES.

NIGERIA.

Improved Financial Position.

An official communiqué issued by the Chief Secretary to the Government shows that a gratifying improvement has taken place in Nigeria's financial position since the issue of the revised estimates in February. The communiqué states: "In his opening address to the Legislative Council on February 8, 1932, His Excellency the Governor stated that the revised estimate of expenditure for the financial year 1931-32 was £5,773,483, while the revised estimate of revenue for the same period (including a credit of £18,422 in respect of the repayment to revenue of a sum spent in the previous year on the relaying of the Minna-Kaduna section of the railway) was £4,430,192.

It has since been found that the measures taken to effect economy have been in fuller operation than were anticipated, and that the actual general expenditure for the financial year 1931-32 was £5,540,838. Owing to the improved yield of revenue in the last few months of the financial year, which permitted the Government to pay the charges in respect of the Public Debt which fell due in March, without further sale of investments and consequent loss of interest, and to an unexpected distribution of profits by the West African Currency Board, the actual revenue for 1931-32 amounted to £4,490,778.

After allowing for the loss on railway working in 1931-32, amounting to £316,626, assets exceeded liabilities on March 31, 1932, by £2,406,119, instead of by £2,084,014, as estimated in the Budget, an improvement of £322,105 on the position as envisaged when the estimates for the year 1932-33 were being considered.

Personal.

Mr. Walter M. Laidlaw, of the accounts branch of the Associated Tin Mines of Nigeria, Ltd., died suddenly from heart failure at Jos on June 25. Mr. Laidlaw, who was at one time chief accountant of Messrs. Armstrong Whitworth and Co. at Apapa, was a very popular figure on the Plateau.

Loss of Native Administration Funds.

The District Head of Benin, two of his servants, and three assessment clerks have been arrested at Benin in connection with the loss of a sum of £605 in taxes collected in the Benin division. It is recalled that the Native Administration of Benin has suffered much at the hands of tax collectors in recent years, four assessment clerks having been convicted of theft and sentenced to imprisonment in 1928, two in 1931, while others are now awaiting trial on similar charges.

The Legislative Council.

The mid-year session of the Legislative Council, which was opened by H.E. the Governor on June 29, was one of the shortest on record, most of the Bills under consideration being of a non-contentious nature. A resolution of congratulation to His Excellency on the honour recently conferred on him was moved by Sir Kitoyi Ajasa and supported by Messrs. H. S. Feggetter, S. H. Pearse, and E. O. Moore. In returning thanks, the Governor expressed his gratification that each of his honours had come to him when serving in the tropical dependencies, and especially in Nigeria, where so many years of his service had been spent. The Council passed a sum of £12,000 for the installation of a new telephone exchange for Lagos. A sum of £15,000 was also passed for expenditure in connection with the African staff housing scheme.

Shipping Accident at Port Harcourt.

The s.s. "Ajasa," a Government collier, which was conveying several members of the Legislative Council proceeding from the Eastern Province to Lagos for the last session, collided with the s.s. "Kumasian," owned by the United Africa Company, at Port Harcourt, on June 25. The "Ajasa" had just finished coaling and was making for her anchorage when she encountered a strong ebb tide, refused to answer to her rudder and ran into the "Kumasian," which was loading palm oil. Both vessels were damaged, but after temporary repairs had been effected they were able to proceed to Lagos, where they have been docked for repairing.

SIERRA LEONE.

King's Birthday at Freetown.

On the occasion of the King's Birthday the usual parade of the Sierra Leone Battalion, R.W.A.F.F., took place at the Recreation Ground, Brookfields. The troops were inspected by H.E. the Governor, who afterwards invested Mr. H. S. Grant, retired Foreman of Works, with the Imperial Service Medal, and Sergeant-Major Musa, late of the R.W.A.F.F., with the Long Service and Good Conduct Medal. The ceremony, which was witnessed by a large gathering of spectators, concluded with the firing of three volleys of musketry by the troops, and the playing of the National Anthem.

His Excellency gave an official dinner at Government House the same evening, about twenty guests being invited.

Local Honours.

H.E. the Governor has been pleased to announce the following local awards in the King's name:—

King's Medal for Native Chiefs:—Matturi, Paramount Chief of Nimi Koro Chiefdom, Kono District, Southern Province, for long and loyal services rendered to Government and to his people.

Imperial Service Medals:—Mr. Henry Simeon Grant, late African Foreman of Works, First Grade, Public Works Department.

Santigi Kamara, late Senior Messenger, Audit Department.

Personal.

H.E. the Governor, partnered by Mr. J. A. Harland, local manager of Barclays Bank (D.C. and O.), won the golf competition for the Aitken Trophy, their opponents being Dr. Quentin Stewart and Mr. D. J. Brown.

Mr. Justice E. J. Macquarrie, Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court, has been appointed Acting Chief Justice as from June 16.

The death is announced of Paramount Chief Kande Parian, of the Karene District, Northern Province.

SECONDARY EDUCATION.

Granted that the continuance and well-being of the State, all its citizens must be educated, we may still ask where the responsibility of the State is to end, or how far such education is to be carried. In most modern States children must be at school between the ages of five or six and fourteen, which is the period of primary and post-primary education. At the end of this stage the pupils are supposed to be literate. In the most progressive States, however, there is a further period ending at sixteen and seventeen in which additional education, while not compulsory, is free; roughly about ten per cent. of the pupils avail themselves of the time of preparation so added. This period is employed in extending the range of the pupil's activities, in increasing his knowledge of his own and other languages and literatures, in more systematic studies in number and science, and in deepening his knowledge of the environment, both physical and social. The tendency is for more and more of the pupil to avail themselves of such secondary education and some countries, like America, have set before themselves the ideal of secondary education for all. When we think of the world-wide ramification of business and of the extent to which modern scientific inventions are being applied to industry, even to those

members and dispense its benefits only to one section. If then on the barest ground of equity, we grant that the Native population is entitled to share in the benefits bestowed by the State we may proceed to deal with the second question whether it is necessary and advisable that they should have higher education. Politically South Africa appears to be a State which is determined to maintain the distinctiveness of the various communities which compose it. Even in the case of the European population this seems to be so and, within comparatively recent years, insistence has been laid on the necessity for maintaining, on equal footing, two languages and "cultures." *A fortiori* the same policy holds as between the European and the Native, and to a lesser degree only because the communities are 1929-30. No one would hold, Indians themselves do not hold, that such a state of affairs is desirable. It is simply a fact to be deplored. But when such people do follow in the wake of more advanced nations, surely no one will consider but that they are doing the right and necessary thing. If these two considerations were out of the way, compulsory education would be as necessary and desirable for Black citizens as for White.

But while it may even be granted that our South African State would be infinitely more prosperous if all its citizens, Black and White, were educated, we may still be required to answer the questions whether the State should provide *higher* education for Natives, and whether it is necessary or advisable that a proportion of them should have it.

THE NATIVE CONTRIBUTION.

In answering the first question we may remind ourselves that the State is not an entity apart from the people who compose it. It is not a benign god or goddess with a store of wealth which it has somehow acquired apart from the efforts of its citizens. All that it disburses so liberally it has acquired by taking a share of the wealth created by its members. To this wealth of the State the Native population also contributes. Every red blanket that a Native wears, every hut that he builds, every pound of tea or sugar that he buys, has made its contribution to the wealth of the State. There are many Natives who buy much more than these elementary products, but the examples are sufficient to establish the principle. To the pool of wealth out of which facilities for the education of European children or youths are provided, every Native in the country has contributed, and it is as reasonable for a Native to ask why he should contribute to the education of White children and youths, as it is for us to ask why the State should help the Native towards the education for his sons and daughters, be it elementary or higher education. If higher education is beneficial to European youths, so far as they are able to avail themselves of it, it is also beneficial to Native youths, so far as they are able to avail themselves of it. The State cannot in equity receive contributions from all the which are based on the land, it is not difficult to foresee that more and more education beyond the primary stage will be required, and that the ideal of secondary education for all is not entirely in the clouds.

The reason why the State does not insist that all its Native members should have at least primary education has nothing to do with any doubt as to whether education is desirable. The reason lies in at least two quite different considerations: First, that a small State like ours cannot at once make good the deficiencies of past generations, and secondly, that the Native people themselves have not generally awakened to the fact that education is a prime necessity if they are to have any place at all in the modern world. In some provinces of India where it may be considered that the people have their destiny in their own hands, the percentage of scholars to the whole population is only 3¼ per cent., while the percentage of girls being educated is only .83 per cent. of the total female population. These are figures for smaller, as between the European and the Coloured and the European and the Indian, not to speak of the lack of desire on the part of either the Coloured or the Indian to sink their identity in the Native population. Under conditions of equal justice, this variety of race and language and distinctiveness of community-feeling would add richness to the whole. But such a result would only accrue if each community were permitted the fullest and freest development of which it were capable, and our own faith and practice lead to the conclusion that higher education is one of the factors that make such development possible. What the European, therefore, claims, as necessary for his own community he should be ready to concede as necessary also to others. And so it follows that higher education is as necessary for Black as for White.

COMMON GROUND.

There is another line of argument which I might have used with equal cogency. If peace and harmony are to prevail in this country as between its separate communities, it is necessary that there be some in each community who understand and appreciate the point of view of those composing other groups. No such understanding or appreciation is possible unless there is some common ground between the groups, some knowledge of the fundamental elements that underlie all civisation, whatever be the character of the superstructure that is raised on the foundations. Such knowledge can only come through the processes of education, and the higher the education the more thorough the knowledge. The higher education of the Native endeavours to bridge the gap between the communities from one side. It is a corollary, and the merest common sense, that in South Africa there should be some Europeans who give themselves seriously to the task of understanding the language, the literature, the social organisation, and the economic life of the Native.

Egba Marriage Rules.

The increase in divorce for frivolous reasons in Egbaland during the last year or two has led to the framing of new rules regarding marriage which may serve as a guide to other Administrations when they experience the need for more definite regulations. No attempt has been made, of course, to discuss the relative merits of monogamy and polygamy, but it has been set forth that the consent of the girl is necessary before the marriage can be registered, and that registration may be delayed for six months upon protest from the parents or other relative acting in their place. Dowry is fixed at not more than £20, and divorce may be granted for the usual physical and mental reasons, for ill-treatment, failure to provide proper support, or desertion of not less than two years. In such cases, refund of dowry may amount to the whole sum paid, or such less sum as the court may fix, and no remarriage will be legal until repayment has been made. The custody of the children falls to the father. It will be noticed that the dowry rates are relatively high, but it was thought that only thus could excessive fickleness be limited. Since the passage of the rules, the existence of the *dipomu* system has again come under criticism. This custom, which arose from the necessity of granting protection to women during the hearing of dowry cases, leads to a number of unattached women being housed within the Palace yard at Ake, and it is now felt that their presence in such quarters is open to misconstruction, and that, at its best, it places the Alake in the somewhat undignified position of a matrimonial agent. The total abolition of the system at the moment might, as the authorities say, remove a safeguard from the *dipomus*, but there is nothing to prevent it being placed on a more impersonal basis, and the local Society of Union and Progress suggested some years ago that the aid of the Council should be invoked in the matter.

The League of Coloured Peoples.

On Saturday afternoon the League of Coloured Peoples and their friends enjoyed an at home and garden party at the pleasant home of Mr. and Mrs R. S. Nehra, Herne Hill. There was a good muster representing many countries and the guests included Sir Samuel Wilson, Permanent Under Secretary for the Colonies, and Lady Wilson; Lord Snell, Dr. T. Drummond Shiels, Sir Shadi Lal, Chief Justice of the Punjab, Mr. W. E. G. Sekyi, Gold Coast, and others.

Sir Samuel Wilson, introduced by Dr. Harold Moody, President of the League, said the Colonial Office was ever ready to do what it could for the people of all races who came to this country, and for those who lived in their own territories. The Colonial Office spent its money, not on officials' salaries, as some people thought, but on social service, promoting the welfare of the people. He wholly approved of the League and was glad to have been its guest. Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, Secretary of State for the Colonies, would have been present but for his absence at Ottawa.

Lord Snell, speaking of the solidarity of the Empire and the sense of common citizenship, dwelt on the importance of promoting real friendship between the races.

Dr. T. Drummond Shiels said he would echo the words of Sir Samuel Wilson. He was delighted to meet the League. The importance of the human side in government could not be exaggerated. To neglect it was to court disaster. He believed that the great bulk of the British public were free from race snobbery. One must not be misled by the attitude of a few. If civilisation were to survive friendliness between races was essential. He would quote Scotland's national bard, who sang of the time:—

"When man to man the warld ower,
Shall brithers be, for a' that!"

That was the ideal to work for. Whatever the colour of the various races within the Empire, they included millions of "White" men and women in the moral and spiritual sense and that was what mattered. (Applause.)

Dr. Moody announced there would be tea and tennis at Herne Hill on the first Saturday of August and September, and at his own house on the third Wednesday in these months.

Race Problem - 1932

Africa

THE BELGIAN CONGO.

OUR BRUSSELS LETTER.

African World

("African World" Correspondent.)

8-20-32

BRUSSELS, August 16.

The "Leopoldville."

The Antwerp "Neptune" reports, this morning, that the Antwerp Mercantile Marine Engineering and Graving Docks Co. has just transformed the "Léopoldville" (11,172 tons), the flagship of the Compagnie Maritime Belge, into an oil-burning liner. This will mean appreciable savings for the Compagnie Maritime Belge and increased comfort for the passengers. The Mercantile Marine Engineering and Graving Docks Co. belongs to the group of the Compagnie Maritime Belge.

Congo Railway Need Not Fear Competition from Congo-Ocean Railway

Interviewed by the Brussels "Tribune Congolaise" of the 15th inst., on his return from the Congo, the engineer, M. van Leeuw, managing director of the "Unatra," stated that the Congo Railway (Matadi-Léopoldville) has not to fear competition from the Congo-Ocean Railway (Pointe Noire-Brazzaville).

Indeed, the Matadi-Léopoldville Railway is but 366 kilometres long, whilst the Pointe Noire-Brazzaville Railway is 540 kilometres long. Further, its gradients have a maximum of 17 metres per 1,000 metres, whilst on the Congo-Ocean line they reach 20 metres per 1,000 metres. Further, the curves on the Belgian line have a minimum of 150 metres, whilst on the French line their minimum is but 100 metres.

Navigation on the Upper Congo.

Mr. van Leeuw stated also to the "Tribune Congolaise" that the buoying of the Upper Congo River has now reduced to a minimum the difficulties of navigation the whole year round.

Navigation on the Kasai River.

Mr. van Leeuw stated also that the navigation conditions on the Kasai River have much improved during the last few years. Only at the lowest waters' period, that is to say during one month, certain precautions have still to be taken.

The Congo-Nile Motor Route.

The Brussels "Soir" heard by wireless on the 13th inst., from its Aketi correspondent, that the Congo-Nile motor car route, at present open between Aketi (on the Itimbiri River) and Juba (on the Nile), will be open up to Bumba, on the Congo River, probably in January next.

The Sleeping Car Co. in the Congo.

The International Sleeping Car Co., of Brussels, which is already running dining cars on the Congo Railway (Matadi-Léopoldville) is, on and from September 15, to take over the dining and sleeping cars services on the Lobito-Elisabethville line and on the Port Francqui-Elisabethville line.

It will also inaugurate at Lobito, on September 1, a new hotel, presently being completed. This news is according to the Elisabethville correspondent of the Brussels "Soir."

Produce Prices Going Up.

When one compares the quotations of the Congo products on the 11th inst. (according to the latest weekly circular of the Antwerp "Societe Anonyme Bunge") with those of four weeks ago (July 14) one notices with pleasure a rise, which, though a small one, is nevertheless better than the continuous downfall of recent years.

The ton of palm nuts appreciated only from 1,305 to 1,315 frs., the 100 kilograms of plantation palm oil from 175 to 195 frs. and the 100 kilograms of copal from 160-190 frs. to 195-200 frs., the kilogram of Congo cotton improved from 5 frs. 25-5 frs. 50 to 6 frs. 25-6 frs. 50, and the kilogram of coffee: the robusta, from 6 frs. 7 frs. 15 to 6 frs. 35-7 frs. 75, and the arabica from 6 frs. 75-9 frs. to 7 frs. 50-9 frs.

As stated in my previous letter, copper has also improved its quotations during the last few weeks. Thus, yesterday (August 15), the ton of electrolytic copper was quoted in London at £35 5s., against £29 10s. on July 15.

A Further Kilo-Moto Record.

In July last Kilo-Moto reached its highest monthly output on record, 532 kilograms 377 grams (in July, 1931, 409 kilograms 321 grams).

This brings the output of the first seven months to 3,471 kilograms 5 (against 2,875 kilograms 5 in the first seven months of 1931, a 20.8 per cent. increase).

Cost of American Copper.

Mr. G. W. Tower, Mining Engineer, New York City, contributed to the July issue of "Mining and Metallurgy," the monthly magazine of the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers (29, West 39th Street, New York: 4 dollars a year for countries outside the U.S.A.), a very interesting article on "American Copper Costs in 1931."

Mr. Tower used for his article the data given in the annual reports of the chief companies producing copper in North and South America. These data enabled him to fix up the average cost of American copper production. This average cost takes due account of the operating costs, of the taxes and interest, of depreciation, of income from sundry metals, of miscellaneous income, miscellaneous expenditure, but not of depletion (the exhaustion of the mine).

Here is this production cost per pound of copper:—1928, 9.08 cents; 1929, 9.65 cents; 1930, 9.49 cents; 1931, 8.06 cents.

As yesterday (August 15), the pound of electrolytic copper was still quoting in New York at 5 cents 45, it is quite evident that the quotations cannot remain at their actual low level. Indeed, the copper companies will not continue to sell at 5.45 cents what it costs them 8.06 cents to produce.

J. ROUSSEAUX.

IN MEMORY OF STANLEY.

Monument Shipped to Matadi.

BRUSSELS, August 12.

The monument of Sir Henry Stanley designed by the Belgian sculptor, M. Matton, which is to be erected at Matadi in the Belgian Congo, was shipped at Antwerp to-day. It will be officially received on its arrival at Matadi by M. Tschoffen, the Minister of Colonies, who is at present on a tour there.

The monument, which is in bronze, was not assembled in Belgium, but it is understood that it will be somewhat similar in form to the Belgian memorial which stands on the Victoria Embankment, London. In the centre will be the figure of Stanley, in the dress he wore on his travels, and ranged about it six large plaques portraying scenes from Stanley's journeys.

The events commemorated in the plaques include (1) Stanley taking leave of Tippo-Tib on the bank of the Lualaba; (2) the transport of canoes under great difficulties; (3) Stanley's flotilla caught between cannibals and a waterfall; (4) the death of Frank Pocock in the falls of Massassa; (5) the ravages of famine in the Bas-Congo; and (6) Stanley welcomed by white men near Boma.—"The Times."

THE LATE CAPTAIN POULETT WEATHERLEY.

Discoverer of the Source of the Congo

Captain Poulett Weatherley, who has died at Bournemouth at the age of 72, was a noted African explorer and big-game hunter. We are indebted to our contemporary, "East Africa," for the following details of his career:—

But for his intense modesty and his persistent refusal to publish any record of his long years of travel in Central Africa, even when Stanley brought pressure to bear on him, the name of Captain Poulett Weatherley would have been known to a wide public, for he was one of the early explorers of what are now Northern Rhodesia, the Belgian Congo, and Tanganyika Territory, was the discoverer of the source of the Congo, the first white man to circumnavigate Lake Bangweulo, the first European permitted by the powerful Rhodesian chief, Mporogoso, to pass through his country, and the first European to safari in the dry season from Mwanza across the Serengeti to Moshi.

At the age of 19 he joined Weatherley's Horse (raised by his father) and served through the Zulu War of 1879, in which his father and his brother were killed on the same day. Five years later he served with the Nile Expedition, after which he began his long wanderings through Central Africa, for which he received the Cuthbert Peek grant of the Royal Geographical Society. In the early 'nineties he was in Nyasaland, then for a time British Vice-Consul in Quelimane, and in 1896 he made his memorable investigation of Lake Bangweulo and declared to the scientific world that the Chambezi River was the (most remote) source of the Congo—a claim substantiated years afterwards by the Director of Surveys of Northern Rhodesia. Then followed constant safaris in British, Belgian, and German territories.

In August, 1914, though 54 years of age, he offered his services to the War Office, was appointed a captain in the Royal Bucks Hussars, and served through the Senussi Campaign in the Libyan Desert. In 1917 he was transferred to the Australian Army, which he joined a few days before the first taking of Bapaume. He remained in the front line until the Armistice, and then acted as a liaison officer with the French Army until May, 1920.

As a geographer he made a lasting impression on the blank regions of Africa along the Upper Nile, in the Southern Sudan, the Luapula, and the river systems of Lakes Bangweulo and Mweru. His method of survey was characteristic. When shooting along the Luapula he took compass bearings of all the windings of the river, and every night he posted men with rifles at important points, and by timing the interval between the flash of the rifles and the hearing of the report determined the distance between the points by calculating sound to travel at 1,111 ft. per second. So accurate was he that when the distances were later mapped by trained surveyors no serious errors were discovered in Weatherley's maps.

AFRICAN AFFAIRS.

The annual "Report on African Affairs" edited by Mr. Owen Clough and published by the Empire Parliamentary Association at 10s. 6d. net, once again fulfils its purpose in offering to all who require it a survey of conditions in British Africa which could otherwise be gained only by laborious reference to individual annual colonial and departmental reports, many of which—in the case of West Africa, at any rate—have appeared only since publication of the volume.

West Africa

The territories dealt with number 20, arranged in alphabetical order, and with the heads of information following a uniform system to facilitate reference. In regard to matters, such as public and animal health, that are not coterminous with political boundaries, it may be said that space could have been saved by general inter-colonial summaries, but since the volume deals exclusively with British possessions and mandates, the direct territorial classification certainly best meets the need of the general reader.

Evidence of the compilation of the Report from official sources is, perhaps, a little too obvious in the absence of adequate information on non-official activities other than trade and mineral development. In education, for instance, the missions call for more notice, and when, as in the Gold Coast section, introducing a list of the "most important" agencies the omission to state that the list is alphabetical may prove misleading to many, since the first name is the least significant. In the West African Colonies, Sierra Leone is alone in mentioning African professions, and here the only reference is to the number of medical practitioners.

8-20-32

Local policy receives little notice, and in the case of Nigeria a footnote indicates that the Government "has not found it convenient to furnish a report." This presumably means that the Aba report had caused uncertainty in regard to the future, but it need not have prevented publication of the system in force at the time.

London England

The statistics of trade and production generally cover quadrennial or wider periods, and are thus most useful for comparative reference, while the addition of an appendix showing Empire and world production of the principal commodities affords a ready key for the determination of the economic relationship of each Colony with the rest of the British Commonwealth and the world. Other appendices give the text of the mandates for the ex-German territories controlled by Great Britain, with that of the Convention of St. Germains, thus making of the book a self-contained encyclopædia of modern African affairs.

JOS NEWS.

PROFESSOR J. G. BALLANTA AND MR. COLLINGWOODE WILLIAMS.

We are pleased to report the safe arrival here on the 26th June last, of Professor Ballanta Bac., Mus., and Mr. Collingwoode Williams, L.N.C.M. (West African Baritone and Theatrical Entertainer) who staged a highly successful Concert at the Palladium of Messrs. Barlatt-Hughes and Sons, on the night of the 30th June under the Chairmanship of E. Guy Bryan, Esq., Station Magistrate. The Concert Programme which consisted of Pianoforte Solos, Negro Spirituals and Comic Songs were excellently performed by Professor Ballanta and Mr. Collingwoode Williams, and the audience which comprised of a large number of Europeans, Africans and Syrians were thoroughly impressed with their respective performances. 8-6-32

The present visit of Professor Ballanta is the second within the last seven years and has confirmed his extreme popularity of his achievements in his musical research of African airs as a musician of a very high standing. In the performances of Mr. Collingwoode Williams, it was more or less observed that he was a versatile entertainer in his repartoire which included comic, sero-comic, sentimental and comedy pieces. His rich baritone voice undoubtedly warranted the several enchores when he appeared on the stage singing. The songs "I'm sitting on top of the world" 'Scandalise my name' and his pattern on 'Love' were amusing as they were funny and yet interesting, and it evoked prolonged laughter and applause. At the conclusion of the Concert which was highly successful, Professor Ballanta and Mr. Collingwoode Williams were warmly greeted by both Europeans and Africans for their splendid and appreciated efforts. The second part of the programme was a Dance in which Mr. A. Bunting Wright acted as Master Ceremony—the Minesfield Band provided music, assisted by a piano orchestra at which Professor Ballanta presided. The whole function was happily brought to a close at the early hours of the morning when the Band played the National Anthem.

Beside the Concert and Dance mentioned above, Professor Ballanta and Mr. Collingwoode Williams took part in the night service of the English speaking section on the 26th ultimo, at which the Professor presided at the Organ while Mr. Williams rendered Negro Spiritual Songs—their services were appreciated by the audience. During the stay of the Professor and Mr. Williams, they were the guests of Mr. and Mrs Jacob Wilson and Mr. and Mrs C. P. A. Boomboo Johnson respectively—and were warmly greeted by the African community many of whom were knowing them for the first time while others took advantage to form their acquaintances, which has made their short stay in Jos interesting in every way. The arrival of Mr Collingwoode Williams brought together three friends (but one) from boyhood days after many years of separation—these were Mr. Desline Taylor and Mrs. Mitchell Norman who represented her late brother—Claudius Rollings—one of the most popular organist in Freetown, connected with Centenary Tabernacle Church—Collingwoode, Desline and the late Claude (as they were popularly known among their friends and particularly in the South End of Freetown, were very great friends—and rivals as choristers in Tabernacle Church. A happy and pleasant time was spent together by the three before Mr. Williams bade them adieu on his departure. A working Committee of Africans were formed prior and on arrival of the Concert Party and among those who took part may be mentioned Messrs. Barlatt-Hughes (Chairman) Jacob Wilson, W. F. Beserve, J. K. Abakah, S. D. W. Taylor, J. K. Trezise, D. O. Lijadu, G. P. Acquaye, etc. etc. to all of whom the best thanks are accorded for giving due publicity to the arrival of Professor Ballanta and Mr. Collingwoode Williams, and making such satisfactory arrangements from first to last. They take with them the best wishes of their friends for a pleasant trip in their journey and all prosperity in their undertakings.

NATIVES AND LIQUOR.

Economic Commission's Report.

The Native Economic Commission have issued their report, which is published in the Union Gazette of July 22, of which the following is an extract with regard to natives and liquor:— 8-20-32

The Report recommends broadly that the native has a right to have beer and it is wrong to attach a stigma to the manner in which he may obtain it. The exclusion of his national drink from his home, and the view that he can only be allowed to have it "in a cage under the eyes of a European certainly does attach a stigma to it—a stigma which the native feels and to which he objects. It is wiser not to interfere with the normal course of the native's life, except where this proves to be necessary. The attitude in this, as in so many native customs, should not be to destroy it unless there is a valid reason for maintaining it, but to maintain it unless there is a valid reason to destroy it. It is a curious fact that many persons who would entrust the native with advanced rights in matters entirely strange to him are yet averse to trusting him in a matter which is part of his everyday life.

The demand of the natives generally is for home-brewing. Your Commission feels however, that the demand of the native in this regard should be considered not from the point of view that it can only be granted if a case is made out for it, but that it should only be refused if a strong enough case can be made against it. This follows from the Commission's opinion that the institutions and customs of the natives should not unnecessarily be broken down.

If wholesale utywala can be obtained without breaking the law, many will revert to it. Instead of giving the police a liquor problem which affects a large part of the native population, home-brewing would narrow it down to stronger drink.

If the right to sell were admitted, competition would soon rid the system of the large profits now attaching to it, which is the basis of much of the present evil.

The natives who are satisfied with utywala would tend to congregate in groups based on tribal loyalties. A certain standard of conduct would obtain at such gatherings, which would utilise the institutions of the natives in the cause of law and order.

Home-brewing could undoubtedly be better controlled if the good services of the natives themselves could be enlisted to guard against abuse. Owing to the existing prohibition, home-brewing could be used as a privilege to be enjoyed as long as it is not abused. The inhabitants of a location could quite easily keep the system within bounds, and would be quite willing to do so if they understood clearly that this is a condition of their having it at all.

It has also been suggested to your Commission that licensed houses, run by natives, should be established. The idea is worth considering, inasmuch as it would give licensees an interest in suppressing illicit trade. Your Commission is, however, of opinion that if home-brewing is ruled out State or Municipal beer-shops would be a better alternative than licensed houses.

As regards utywala your Commission would suggest that prohibition should disappear, but that alternative schemes should be tried in different areas, particularly in labour centres. These experiments should be continued for a sufficient period to enable the authorities to judge of their merits and defects and to enable them to frame a policy for regulating the making and consumption of utywala.

As a large number of natives are teetotallers, provision should be made for "dry" areas in locations, following the example of Port Elizabeth. It was admitted in evidence before us, by many witnesses, that among educated natives there is much less drinking than among the uneducated. A mine manager told us that on his mine about twenty per cent. of his native labourers are teetotallers.

EAST AFRICA WOMEN'S LEAGUE.

Annual Council Meeting.

8-20-32

The Annual Meeting of the Council of the East Africa Women's League took place in Nairobi on July 29, when Mrs. Ralph Turner was unanimously elected President for the eighth successive year.

The following Vice-Presidents of the League were appointed:—Lady Francis Scott, Lady Eleanor Cole, Gladys Lady Delamere, Lady Viola Conduitt, Lady McMillan, the Hon. Mrs. Grant; Mesdames Bailey, Welby, Joyce, Archer, Dormer, Vivian Ward, Cunningham, Carnelley, Gordon Anderson, and Miss Stephens.

The reappointment of 30 District Vice-Presidents, who are also Chairmen of their respective Branch Committees, and members of the Council, was ratified.

Approximately 50 women, representatives from different parts of the Colony, attended, and after the routine work was concluded a debate took place upon subjects of special interest.

After the meeting the President and the up-country District Vice-Presidents were the guests of the President of the Nairobi Rotary Club (Colonel Ralph Turner) at Luncheon, during which Miss Irene Bliss, Lecturer on Economics at Toronto University, gave a most concise and interesting address on some of the causes of the world depression. This was the largest meeting that the Nairobi Rotary Club has yet held, there being some 80 people present.

Race Problem—1932

Africa

LETTER TO THE EDITOR.

THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM OF NIGERIA.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—It is open to question as to whether anything of any value can be written on this subject other than what has already been urged both for and against the present system as regards the Native and Provincial Courts in Nigeria.

Affection for the African and an immense interest in his present content and future welfare press me, however, to add my opinions to those already expressed.

Dealing firstly with the Native Court System in the Northern Provinces: When, at the beginning of this century, we took over the administration we found a Native Court system which was part and parcel of the then administration, whether Fulani, Habe or Pagan, etc., for, apart from what may be called the higher courts, presided over by one whose *métier* was a thorough knowledge of Koranic law and Native custom, there were the Village Councils, composed of Village Elders, and also the judgments of the Pagan priests. It is true that the sentences were not infrequently barbaric in severity and that, according to present-day European mentality, there was little effort to ensure the punishment fitting the crime. Fortunately for the African and for ourselves, we possessed a born Colonial Administrator in the person of Lord Lugard, *a man who knew the African in his home,* a man of moderation, whose judgment was as unerring as the courage of his opinion, once formed, was unswerving. Anyone who has had the privilege to read Lord Lugard's "Political Memoranda" has been impressed with the keynote running through each chapter: the protection of the African races and their welfare. It was through such counsel that the Native Courts were both encouraged and restrained, and led along a path of clean, unbribeable justice; the vision of the man saw in the Native Courts the bulwark of the Native Administration.

The past three decades have been devoted in large part to the guidance of these courts by experienced officers until it has been proved in each particular case that too direct a supervision may be relaxed; the European administrative staff keep in the forefront the absolute necessity for ensuring the maintenance in numbers and training of the judicial class of the community.

There is no shadow of doubt as regards the popularity of these courts with the indigenous African; one has merely to scrutinise the regularly submitted returns to be made aware of that fact. It is true that there are to be found semi-educated Africans from the Colony who are averse from trial before a Northern Court, whether on a civil or criminal charge, but who, to my knowledge, have not hesitated to use the same court when it has suited their purpose; I use this term of "semi-educated African" in no general sense of opprobrium, knowing "Lagosians" of very considerable intellect, men who can apply their knowledge.

As I have already stated, the Native Courts are the bulwark of the Native Administration, and any detraction from the powers which they have, rightly and deservedly, won after years of guidance and supervision, will react automatically and immediately on the Native Administration and our policy.

As regards the Provincial Court system, a letter has recently appeared in the "Times" by Captain Ross, of Oyo, and I doubt if I can improve on the case as put by him. I have nothing in particular to urge against either the African or European barrister, but it is still imperative to *go slow* in this matter. Our own barristers and judges have nothing to beat the drum about, judging by the publicity given to certain cases of quite recent years.

Put quite simply, it is this—is the Administrative Officer to go to the African who looks upon him as his father, tax assessor and collector, judge, prisoner's friend, prosecuting counsel, all in one, and tell him that in future he must be prosecuted, defended and judged by one who knows not his language, his customs, his passions and his deeply-inherited fears and beliefs, and that, in addition, the benefit of advice will not be free? An old saw, it may be, but none the less true in such a recently administered part of the world is that moderation is the wheel-horse of development.

Let those who decry the present system examine the court records, tell us the percentage of cases referred back or in which the sentences have been reduced or quashed altogether, and then let them refer to similar records in the case of our own courts in England.

So surely as a special magistracy is created so surely will the Resident and his District Officers lose both touch and status with the African tribes; the day is not yet.

I enclose my card, and remain, yours obediently,

August 22. MAI-ISGA

BISHOP OLUWOLE: THE GOVERNOR'S TRIBUTE.

In our picture pages to-day photographs appear which show the representative and impressive character of the gathering at Lagos at the funeral of Bishop Oluwole, on July 23. At early morn the body was taken to Christ Church Cathedral, and thousands attended the lying-in-state, where, surrounded by a guard of clergy and Boy Scouts and by floral tokens of esteem, that included one from a Catholic congregation, the veteran bishop made his last public appearance. At the funeral service, which was attended by the Officer Administering the Government and many high officials, the address was given by Bishop Melville Jones, who described the remarkable record of the deceased,—60 years as a priest, and 39 of them as a bishop,—a record which would have placed him fifth in seniority among the 300 bishops who attended the last Lambeth Conference. Bishop Melville Jones testified to Bishop Oluwole's power of promoting inter-racial understanding, which was as great as that of Dr Aggrey, and closed by reading the following memorable letter from Sir Donald Cameron, Governor of Nigeria:

My dear Bishop,

I hasten to convey to you and to your diocese our warm sympathy on the occasion of the death of that grand old African gentleman, my friend, Bishop Oluwole. I well recollect how I persuaded him to let me publish his very eloquent and noteworthy sermon at the thanksgiving service at the end of the War. I know we can say with all our hearts that the name of this good and faithful servant and his works after him will endure in this his own land, which he loved so ardently.

Yours faithfully,

DONALD CAMERON.

AFRICAN LABOUR SINCE LAIRD'S DAY

[From a Correspondent.]

At the time when Livingstone was elaborating in South Africa his great gospel of the need for legitimate trade to replace slavery, Macgregor Laird had already begun to put such views into practice on the Niger, and it may be interesting, therefore, to see what progress has since been made in regard to labour. By 1832, the work of Sharp, Wilberforce, Clarkson, Macaulay, and Fowell Buxton had borne fruit, and the slave trade had been abolished, on paper, by the successive steps declaring slaves free on British soil (1772), forbidding Britons to share in the slave trade (1807), declaring slavery piracy (1814), and abolishing the status of slavery in British Colonies in 1833,—a step which did not affect future Protectorates, or the difficulties of Sierra Leone in 1927 would have been avoided. Actually, the export of slaves from West Africa continued until 1860, up to which date fast ships found it profitable to risk visits to the Rio Pongo, Lagos, the Niger Delta, and the mouth of the Congo.

With the death of overseas slavery, however, the labour wrongs of Africa did not come to an end, and the human tendency to profit by the weakness of others, seen early in Sierra Leone in the way Europeans and Liberated Africans enslaved the newly emancipated, merely changed their form. The old domestic slavery of Africa, generally mild, and the solution of financial difficulties by a system of human pawns, remained, as did the power of Chiefs to demand compulsory labour, and these customs have not been eradicated to-day, nor are they likely to be for some time. Beside them, however, has arisen a labour problem introduced by European civilisation and by the advent of European capital.

Such progress has now been made that none could feel to-day the spiritual ease of a John Newton meditating on divine matters in his cabin above a ship's deck packed with slaves, nor would responsible people suggest that Africans have no souls, but it is still necessary for a Labouret to point out to an International Labour Conference that African society has a soul, and that forced labour, under whatever euphemism, is as fatal to African progress as the old slavery,—more so, perhaps, since slavery at least resulted in a depot of educated Africans at Sierra Leone that could be drawn upon for educational purposes elsewhere.

It is nearly 500 years since the first West Africans were carried, without heed to their own wishes, to Europe for "the salvation of their souls." To-day, there is still a school that gravely tells us that the good of Africa's corporate soul demands that she gives compulsory labour for the furtherance of exotic civilisation or even alien capitalistic enterprise, and even friends of Africa in the Brussels Labour Conference three years ago showed much of the muddled mode of thought of earlier days when they supplemented a resolution that agriculture in the tropics can only be carried out by Africans *led* to produce a sufficient quantity by another saying that strict regulations would *make* them produce such quantities! If their own needs for food or imported goods do not make Africans produce, it is idle to expect them to produce for the foreigner, except under conditions that are slavery.

With the disappearance of the theory that the African had no soul arose one that he has practically no mind, and anthropometric and psychometric observations became fashionable,—too fashionable, for they now exist in such diversity of detail as to confound themselves, without need of assistance from such hard facts as the recorded successes of Africans in intellectual pursuits.

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Race Problem - 1932

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The modern anti-slavery crusade differs greatly from the old,, but it is not, as Lady Simon suggests, a matter of making the public realise that slavery exists, as against the old problem of educating public opinion against slavery, but of bringing the world's leaders to recognise that the demand for labour to extend an exotic cultural and industrial system is as much slavery as is the individual exploitation for private profit which still persists in various forms of contractual labour, however carefully hedged about with wordy safeguards regarding the health and free-

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labour, but it is a large subject, beyond the scope of the present short survey. Nevertheless, it is worth noticeing that just as the opening of the West African slave trade to "private enterprise" in 1697 brought about the worst horrors of the traffic, so the opening of land-ownership to non-African private enterprise has brought to Africa the worst of her modern labour problems. At present, labour questions in the West are governed by the Berlin and Brussels Acts of 1885 and 1890, consolidated by the Treaty of St. Germains of 1919, which agrees to the complete suppression of slavery *in all its forms*, but international action has been limited by the refusal of the Colony-owning Powes to submit to majority control by the non-Colonial nations, which may be taken to imply that the vested interests cannot yet agree to the view, expressed by the I.L.O. Committee of Labour Experts that abolition is the only means of preventing forced labour from approximating to slavery. In present conditions, the old cry that compulsory effort is required, in the world's interest, for the production of raw materials does not hold good, for there is over-production and depression in everything except a few large industries controlling the manufacture and marketing of tropical products, and African interests, at any rate, demand a return to the methods of Laird,—*the encouragement of African production on African land by Africans*, and the provision of suitable opportunities to market surplus commodities.

"Tropical Agriculture."

The August "Tropical Agriculture" (Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, St. Augustine, Trinidad,—6d.) urges in its editorial that the layman should be educated further in the beneficial effects of forestry for in the tropics there are still too many people who prefer rapid returns to the slower security of the forest crop, and far too few who realise that many a tropical soil, subject to annual leaching, is *permanently* fitted for forest alone. A still more practical plea, however, is the visual one in another part of the journal, showing the result in Madras of removing restrictions on woodcutting and grazing on certain hills. Already, the soil of the hills has been removed by torrents, and to make matters worse the river valley at the base is now overlain with coarse sands and gravels brought down in the worst of the floods. The West African counterpart of the scene may be viewed to the south of the Udi escarpment, where, however fairly successful attempts have been made to remedy matters. Other papers of interest deal with bee-keeping in Tanganyika, showing how last year's record output of 12,143 cwt. of wax from "wild" bees may be improved by proper farming methods, and with the history of the Trinidad cacao industry.

NATIVE POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA

A New Orientation

By J. H. Hofmeyr.

PRETORIA, JULY 27.

"Make South Africa safe for the white man." "Vote for a white South Africa." These are compelling slogans in the Union to-day. The issue on which the 1929 election was fought was represented as being "the preservation of the white race." The essentials of the mentality which these things imply are obvious. The white man in the Union is conscious of cultural superiority over the native; he is conscious also of numerical inferiority. And so he is afflicted with the haunting fear that his present dominant position may be weakened and destroyed. Does not the native outnumber him by three to one?—and nearly always when he speaks of it he exaggerates the ratio. Is not the native's rate of natural increase higher than his own?—and usually he forgets the factors which to-day tend to limit that increase. He has asserted his mastery over the native in the past; to-day he has all the material resources necessary for the enforcement of his will—but what of the subtler and deadlier economic struggle of the future? To whom in that day will the battle be?

It cannot be denied that this fear complex has been in the ascendant of late in the Union's handling of its native problem. Against it the Liberalism traditionally associated with the old Cape Colony has been fighting a losing battle. So far from Cape ideas of political rights for natives prevailing in the rest of South Africa, as was hoped at Union, these rights have been assailed at the Cape itself, and though the main attack has not yet been pressed home, the value of the rights has been undermined in other ways. In the economic position of the native there has been a definite deterioration. In the regulation of native administration the general tendency of legislation has been repressive, and one enactment after another has been introduced aiming at the keeping of the native "in his place," a place of permanent subordination to the white man and of subservience to his interests.

Yet it is necessary, especially for those who live outside of South Africa, to be on their guard against taking too sombre a view of the picture. For one thing, there is often a tendency to lose sight of the psychological justification of that fear complex to which reference has been made—the black man's numerical superiority (and when comparisons are made with the United States this is all too often forgotten), the menace presented by his lower standards to the white man's economic position, his constantly accelerating advance under the impact of European civilisation. The European in South Africa is apprehensive, not without reason, for his children's future.

Very often, too, false conceptions tend to prevail in regard to legislative and administrative Acts in South Africa. Let us take a recent illustration. There appears to be a wide-spread impression in Britain that the whipping clause in the Native Service Contract Bill, which recently passed into law, permits of the flogging of native servants (including adult natives) by their masters. The truth is that it is applicable only to natives of 18 and under, and that all that it enacts is that whipping may be imposed on such natives as a penalty by the courts. It is objectionable enough that whipping should be permitted as a penalty for the breach of a civil contract, but the clause is far from being the badge of slavery which it is conceived by many as being. In this connection, too, it may be mentioned that in the matter of the apportionment of revenue and expenditure between white man and black in South Africa a recent investigation has yielded a very different result from that arrived at by Lord Moyne in Kenya. The Union is to-day spending on its native population a sum comfortably in excess of what it receives from it by way of revenue.

One other feature which tends to lighten the picture must be mentioned. As far as Parliament is concerned, the old traditional Liberalism has in recent years steadily been repelled; yet with it all, "far back through creeks and inlets making," a new tide of Liberalism has gradually been swelling. Speaking generally, the European may be said to have begun to understand the native better, and to show greater sympathy with his aspirations. Joint councils of Europeans and natives have in many cases done valuable work in the towns. The universities are taking a keen interest in the native as a subject of scientific study. Among the students in particular there is very definite evidence of a revolt against the narrowness of the doctrine of "keeping the native in his place." A joint European-native student conference organised by the Student Christian Movement, and held two years ago at the South African Native College, was a very significant sign of the times. In this new tide of Liberalism, based not so much on sentiment, as the older Liberalism very often was, but rather on careful and sustained investigation, there is undoubtedly great hope for the future—if it can but come to the flood before it is too late.

In the meantime there is much encouragement to be derived from the recently published report of a Government Commission—the Native Economic Commission. The appointment of the Commission was in itself a happy inspiration, for it diverted men's thoughts away from the political aspect of the native problem, which had come unduly to absorb attention, to the economic position of the natives, which raises issues far deeper and more fundamental. The composition of the Commission was, however, disappointing, in so far as it appeared to take inadequate account of the Cape Liberal point of view, and indeed to be weighted in favour of the Northern tradition. Yet the Commission has produced a report which, though it does not satisfy Liberal sentiment in all respects, stands out definitely against many of the manifestations of that tendency in native policy which has prevailed in recent years. A significant instance of this is its condemnation of the labour tenancy system which the Native Service Contract Bill was devised to buttress up, and its definite recommendation in favour of an obligatory written contract between farmer and native labour tenant, a proposal which the Parliamentary majority specifically rejected when that bill was under discussion.

Of wider bearing, however, is the Commission's central thesis—its conception of a South African "nation white as well as black," and its emphasis on the fact that there is no threat to the white community in the development of the native. The Commission has sought to administer a blow to the prevalent fear complex. It has told the white man, in effect, that the essential aspect of the problem of ensuring his future in South Africa is not the repression of the native but rather the living together of white man and black side by side, and that it is of the essence of such living together that the prosperity of either element should be to the benefit and not to the detriment of the other.

The Commission has gone on to find the root of the native economic problem in the land question. It has emphasised in the strongest of language the under-developed condition of the native reserves, the dangers of over-stocking, the threat of the creation of desert conditions in what are among the most fertile parts of South Africa, and the prospect of an appalling problem of native poverty. It has urged that, in the interest of the white man as well as of the black, present tendencies must be checked and a vigorous policy of the development of the native reserves pursued. And as part of that policy it has contended that the great native grievance—the failure hitherto to implement the 19-year-old promise of more land for natives—must be met at once.

It is, however, also a significant thing that while the Commission has pressed so strongly for the development of the native areas, and while it has urged further that, wherever possible, such development should take place by the utilisation of the institutions of a transformed and revitalised tribalism, it has not fallen to the popular segregation fallacy. Segregation has been a "blessed word" in South Africa for the last generation. To those in particular who suffer from the fear complex it has all the soothing properties of a panacea. It has been conceived as meaning the extrusion of the native from the white man's sphere, and his relegation to the destiny of developing in his own areas "on his own lines." But the upholder of this crude segregationism has never faced up to its

corollaries—the payment of higher farther in this direction; but the time
wages as a result of the withdrawal of is long since past when the whole of
the black man's labour, and the setting the native population of South Africa
apart of land for natives sufficient for can be provided for in this way. The
that development. There is undoubt- simple fact is that the white man has
edly much virtue in a policy of native pressed the native to become part of
development in native areas—as the his economic life, and the native has in
achievement in the Transkeian districts large measure become indispensable in
of the Cape so well illustrates—and the his farming, his mines, his industries.
Commission rightly wants to advance In whatever economic readjustment is
to take place the permanence of the

native as a factor in the white man's the native as an urban dweller, must be
economic life must be allowed for. conceived as a permanent factor in the
This, too, the Commission has realised. life of South Africa. Moreover, though
It favours partial economic segregation somewhat hesitantly and tentatively,
in so far as it is implied by the develop- it envisages the development of the
ment of native areas so as to make efficiency and the increase of the wages
greater provision for the needs of the of the native urban worker.
natives resident there, but it has faced These are some of the outstanding
up to the fact that the native as a features of the report. It is a challeng-
participant in the white man's economy, ing document. It involves a new

orientation of policy; it involves a courageous and determined assault on deeply ingrained prejudices; it involves the provision of a great deal of money if the programme of native development is to be carried out. The future of South Africa will in large measure depend on whether the challenge is in fact met.

End

8-26-32

labour, but it is a large subject, beyond the scope of the present short survey. Nevertheless, it is worth noticeing that just as the opening of the West African slave trade to "private enterprise" in 1697 brought about the worst horrors of the traffic, so the opening of land-ownership to non-African private enterprise has brought to Africa the worst of her modern labour problems. At present, labour questions in the West are governed by the Berlin and Brussels Acts of 1885 and 1890, consolidated by the Treaty of St. Germains of 1919, which agrees to the complete suppression of slavery *in all its forms*, but international action has been limited by the refusal of the Colony-owning Powes to submit to majority control by the non-Colonial nations, which may be taken to imply that the vested interests cannot yet agree to the view, expressed by the I.L.O. Committee of Labour Experts that abolition is the only means of preventing forced labour from approximating to slavery. In present conditions, the old cry that compulsory effort is required, in the world's interest, for the production of raw materials does not hold good, for there is over-production and depression in everything except a few large industries controlling the manufacture and marketing of tropical products, and African interests, at any rate, demand a return to the methods of Laird,—*the encouragement of African production on African land by Africans*, and the provision of suitable opportunities to market surplus commodities.

"Tropical Agriculture."

The August "Tropical Agriculture" (Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, St. Augustine, Trinidad,—6d.) urges in its editorial that the layman should be educated further in the beneficial effects of forestry for in the tropics there are still too many people who prefer rapid returns to the slower security of the forest crop, and far too few who realise that many a tropical soil, subject to annual leaching, is *permanently* fitted for forest alone. A still more practical plea, however, is the visual one in another part of the journal, showing the result in Madras of removing restrictions on woodcutting and grazing on certain hills. Already, the soil of the hills has been removed by torrents, and to make matters worse the river valley at the base is now overlain with coarse sands and gravels brought down in the worst of the floods. The West African counterpart of the scene may be viewed to the south of the Udi escarpment, where, however, fairly successful attempts have been made to remedy matters. Other papers of interest deal with bee-keeping in Tanganyika, showing how last year's record output of 12,143 cwt. of wax from "wild" bees may be improved by proper farming methods, and with the history of the Trinidad cacao industry.

NATIVE POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA

A New Orientation

By J. H. Hofmeyr.

PRETORIA, JULY 27.

"Make South Africa safe for the white man." "Vote for a white South Africa." These are compelling slogans in the Union to-day. The issue on which the 1929 election was fought was represented as being "the preservation of the white race." The essentials of the mentality which these terms imply are obvious. The white man in the Union is conscious of cultural superiority over the native in the past; to-day he has all the material resources necessary for the enforcement of his will—but what of the subtler and deadlier economic struggle of the future? To whom in that day will the battle be?

It cannot be denied that this fear complex has been in the ascendant of late in the Union's handling of its native problem. Against it the Liberalism traditionally associated with the old Cape Colony has been fighting a losing battle. So far from Cape ideas of political rights for natives prevailing in the rest of South Africa, as was hoped at Union, these rights have been assailed at the Cape itself, and though the main attack has not yet been pressed home, the value of the rights has been undermined in other ways. In the economic position of the native there has been a definite deterioration. In the regulation of native administration the general tendency of legislation has been repressive, and one enactment after another has been introduced aiming at the keeping of the native "in his place," a place of permanent subordination to the white man and of subservience to his interests.

Yet it is necessary, especially for those who live outside of South Africa, to be on their guard against taking too sombre a view of the picture. For one thing, there is often a tendency to lose sight of the psychological justification of that fear complex to which reference has been made—the black man's numerical superiority (and when comparisons are made with the United States this is all too often forgotten), the menace presented by his lower standards to the white man's economic position, his constantly accelerating advance under the impact of European civilisation. The European in South Africa is apprehensive, not without reason, for his children's future.

Very often, too, false conceptions tend to prevail in regard to legislative and administrative Acts in South Africa. Let us take a recent illustration. There appears to be a widespread impression in Britain that the whipping clause in the Native Service Contract Bill, which recently passed into law, permits of the flogging of native servants (including adult natives) by their masters. The truth is that it is applicable only to natives of 18 and under, and that all that it enacts is that whipping may be imposed on such natives as a penalty by the courts. It is objectionable enough that whipping should be permitted as a penalty for the breach of a civil contract, but the clause is far from being the badge of slavery which it is conceived by many as being. In this connection, too, it may be mentioned that in the matter of the apportionment of revenue and expenditure between white man and black in South Africa a recent investigation has yielded a very different result from that arrived at by Lord Moyne in Kenya. The Union is to-day spending on its native population a sum comfortably in excess of what it receives from it by way of revenue.

One other feature which tends to lighten the picture must be mentioned. As far as Parliament is concerned, the old traditional Liberalism has in recent years steadily been repelled; yet with it all, "far back through creeks and inlets making," a new tide of Liberalism has gradually been swelling. Speaking generally, the European may be said to have begun to understand the native better, and to show greater sympathy with his aspirations. Joint councils of Europeans and natives have in many cases done valuable work in the towns. The universities are taking a keen interest in the native as a subject of scientific study. Among the students in particular there is very definite evidence of a revolt against the narrowness of the doctrine of "keeping the native in his place." A joint European-native student conference organised by the Student Christian Movement, and held two years ago at the South African Native College, was a very significant sign of the times. In this new tide of Liberalism, based not so much on sentiment, as the older Liberalism very often was, but rather on careful and sustained investigation, there is undoubtedly great hope for the future—if it can but come to the flood before it is too late.

In the meantime there is much encouragement to be derived from the recently published report of a Government Commission—the Native Economic Commission. The appointment of the Commission was in itself a happy inspiration, for it diverted men's thoughts away from the political aspect of the native problem, which had come unduly to absorb attention, to their economic position of the natives, which raises issues far deeper and more fundamental. The composition of the Commission was, however, disappointing, in so far as it appeared to take inadequate account of the Cape Liberal point of view, and indeed to be weighted in favour of the Northern tradition. Yet the Commission has

has asserted his mastery over the native in the past; to-day he has all the material resources necessary for the enforcement of his will—but what of the subtler and deadlier economic struggle of the future? To whom in that day will the battle be?

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does not satisfy Liberal sentiment in all respects, stands out definitely against many of the manifestations of that tendency in native policy which has prevailed in recent years. A significant instance of this is its condemnation of the labour tenancy system which the Native Service Contract Bill was devised to buttress up, and its definite recommendation in favour of an obligatory written contract between farmer and native labour tenant, a proposal which the Parliamentary majority specifically rejected when that bill was under discussion.

Of wider bearing, however, is the Commission's central thesis—its conception of a South African "nation white as well as black," and its emphasis on the fact that there is no threat to the white community in the development of the native. The Commission has sought to administer a blow to the prevalent fear complex. It has told the white man, in effect, that the essential aspect of the problem of ensuring his future in South Africa is not the repression of the native but rather the living together of white man and black side by side, and that it is of the essence of such living together that the prosperity of either element should be to the benefit and not to the detriment of the other.

The Commission has gone on to find the root of the native economic problem in the land question. It has emphasised in the strongest of language the under-developed condition of the native reserves, the dangers of overstocking, the threat of the creation of desert conditions in what are among the most fertile parts of South Africa, and the prospect of an appalling problem of native poverty. It has urged that, in the interest of the white man as well as of the black, present tendencies must be checked and a vigorous policy of the development of the native reserves pursued. And as part of that policy it has contended that the great native grievance—the failure hitherto to implement the 19-year-old promise of more land for natives—must be met at once.

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Race Problem - S.A.

Africa

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Guardian Weekly

An Improving Public Opinion

By J. H. Hofmeyr

South Africa has also been having its Round-table Conference. From January 12 to February 4 delegates of the Government of the Union and of the Government of India met in Capetown. The results of the Conference were communicated to the world on April 5—the Indian delegates had meantime returned to Delhi,—and the cables had been kept busily humming in the further discussion of some of the points that had been dealt with.

The presence at the Capetown Conference of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu provided a link with the deliberations in London. The matters under discussion were, however, of course entirely different. The Union's Indian problem is a problem of European-Asiatic competition—the lower standards of the East operating among a people proud of its Western civilisation and, owing to the presence of the native, accustomed to make high demands on the comforts and amenities of life. There are 20,000 Indians in the Transvaal, whose competition with the European is limited almost entirely to retail trading, and 160,000 Indians in Natal, making their presence felt in pretty well every activity. It is an alien element in the South African body economic—seemingly impossible to assimilate, yet peculiarly resistant to attempts at extrusion.

6-3-32

There was a twofold reason for the holding of the Conference this year. For one thing it was in the nature of a stocktaking. Five years ago the Governments of India and South Africa concluded an agreement—the time had come, it was felt, to take it in review. The main results recorded in the agreement of 1927 were the co-operation of the two Governments in a scheme of voluntary assisted repatriation of Indians from South Africa, the acceptance by the South African Government of responsibility for the "uplifting" of those who remained in the Union, the appointment of an Indian Agent General in the Union (Mr. Sastri was the first holder of the office), and the withdrawal of the Class Areas Bill, which was then before the Union Parliament. The principle of the bill was the segregation of the Asiatic in "bazaars," and the consequent restriction of his freedom of competition in trade.

Miss Hobhouse

The re-emergence of this segregation principle as a basis of legislation provided the second reason and the immediate occasion for the holding of this year's Conference. In 1930, as a result of Supreme Court judgments, which invalidated the rights of a large number of Indians on the Witwatersrand to their trading sites, a Transvaal Asiatic Tenure Bill was introduced in the Union Parliament to provide for the removal of those affected by such judgments to special areas to be set aside by the municipalities. The resultant storm of protest led to the intervention of the Indian Government and the holding over of the bill until after the Conference.

Breakdown Barely Averted

It cannot be said that the Conference has led to spectacular results. The omens at its opening were none too favourable, and it is an open secret that a complete breakdown was narrowly averted—yet there is ground for at least a measure of satisfaction in the statement issued on April 5, although it might seem to some to be a face-saving declaration reminiscent of that with which the Round-table discussions in London were concluded. The net result is that the 1927 agreement stands, although it is acknowledged that along one of the main lines indicated by it no further progress can be made. The possibilities of assisted emigration to India are admitted to be practically exhausted. The scheme has at no time yielded large-scale results, the repatriated have in many cases found it difficult to re-establish themselves in India, a fact which has discouraged others from following in their footsteps, and with the steady increase in the percentage of South African-born Indians in the Union (now estimated at 80 per cent of the total Indian population) the number of those willing to return to India has dropped to a mere cipher. The recognition of these facts led the Conference to consider the possibilities of land settlement outside India as a means of relieving the Union of a portion of its Asiatic population, and it has been announced that "the Government of India will co-operate with the Union in exploring the possibilities of a colonisation scheme for settling Indians, both from India and from South Africa, in other countries." To that end a joint investigation is to take place this year, at the completion of which the two Governments will consider the results of the inquiry.

The Conference also dealt with the Asiatic Tenure Bill. It was accepted that the measure was a purely domestic concern of the Union, yet certain important modifications were agreed to, and although the effect of these is somewhat difficult to forecast, the intention would appear to be to limit the arbitrary powers of the municipalities in the application of the principle of segregation and to give the Indians who are to be displaced a better chance of pursuing their callings with success.

Indian Dissatisfaction

Apart from the mere fact that an agreed statement has been issued it has been difficult for any of the chief parties involved to find cause for much satisfaction in the nature of that statement. The Indians in South Africa are clamorous against the Asiatic Tenure Bill, with its continued enshrinement of the segregation principle—they have petitioned Parliament for leave to be heard at the bar of the House,—and as for the emigration proposals they are frankly scornful. To-day they are talking in terms of threats of passive resistance—and perhaps it should not be forgotten that it was in South Africa that Gandhi developed the theory of "satyagraha" and devised the methods of non-co-operation. The Indian Government, on its part, can claim no significant achievement on behalf of the Indians in South Africa—instead it seems to have been brought a little nearer to an admission of the insecurity of its status in interfering in what are really South Africa's domestic affairs. The Indian's European competitors are inclined to resent even the concessions that have been made, and to emphasise that in respect of Natal, where the competition is more severe, the position remains "as you were." As if to add point to this contention, the publication of the statement coincided with the replacement of a substantial body of Europeans by Indians in the printing trade in Durban. And the South African Government has not scored any points which will enable it to restore its at present sadly weakened prestige. No doubt the emigration scheme will be investigated —a mission is to be sent to British Guiana and Brazil,—but there are few who anticipate that anything will really come of it.

Yet there are other aspects in regard to which the Capetown Conference connotes real progress. For one thing the matter has been dealt with, as far as South Africa is concerned, on a non-party basis, the South African delegates to the Conference including representatives of the South African Party Opposition as well as Cabinet Ministers. That in a party-ridden country like South Africa is in itself a considerable achievement. And its value is the greater in relation to this particular problem. In the past it has afforded abundant scope for the exploitation of the racial prejudices of the electorate. At the 1924 elections one of the slogans was "Out with the coolie and down with the native." It would seem that anything of this kind has definitely been made impossible for the future.

Influence of Mr. Sastri

And at the same time there has been a very real improvement in public opinion in South Africa in regard to the Indian question. For that improvement Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, who during his term of office as Agent General interpreted to South Africa a very different India from that which it had learnt to know from the Indian within its gates, must receive much of the credit. Certainly South Africa to-day is beginning to face up to the essentials of the problem. It is realising that its problem is only an aspect of a great world problem, that it must view the Asiatic in South Africa against the background of Asia. It is also appreciating the fact that there is no short cut to the solution of the problem by wholesale expatriation. The Indian is in South Africa to-day because the white man desired that he should come; he has sent down his roots into the soil; he is predominantly of South African birth; he is firmly established as an element of the South African population. And the European in South Africa must make the best of these facts. As to how that best is to be achieved there are as yet in South Africa only the faintest glimmerings of realisation. The 1927 Agreement included a declaration by the Union Government of its adherence to "the principle that it is the duty of any civilised Government to devise ways and means and to take all possible steps for the uplifting of every section of the permanent population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities." That declaration implied that the raising of the standards of the Asiatic rather than a policy of repression was the appropriate method of removing the menace which at present he seems to present to white civilisation. But public opinion is still a long way from the full acceptance of this principle. The path to be trodden towards a final solution of

South Africa's Asiatic problem remains a long and difficult one.

'The Comet.'
Maseru, Basutoland.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 1, 193-

Justice in Basutoland

In our last issue (we published a report of the interview that took place between the delegates of the Basutoland Progressive Association and the Paramount Chief on the laws of Lerotholi that were augmented by the Basutoland Council ten years ago to meet the grievances of the Basuto and to restore their confidence in the chiefs' courts. It is to be regreted that the other two Associations were not represented in this interview and did not even give the reason why hey failed to send delegates as had been agreed upon in the joint conference. We must, on the other hand, congratulate the delegates of the B.P.A. for their boldness in carrying out their purpose.

From the report of the interview it is evident that the Paramount Chief was quite confident that he had well defended himself and the chiefs against the attacks that were levelled against him and the other chiefs, but the Paramount Chief has only succeeded in evading the point for a time. Although the delegates of the B.P.A. were unable to submit a list of cases that were refused appeal it is not because the cases are not there but because they had not made up their mind to submit a list of such cases, as the parties directly concerned in such cases may be looked upon as the proper parties to proceed with the cases. As a proof of the fact that the grievance was a genuine one we may refer to a proclamation that was promulgated a few years ago making provision for people so treated to go to a higher court or to the Assistant Commissioner for the district who may order the Chief concerned o hear the case within a given period or sent to the Paramount Chief. We might point out that this is a grievance which has been provided for by law and the B.P.A. need not worry about it.

With regard to the question of delay caused by parties concerned in the dispute not attending on the fixed date the Paramount Chief pleaded lieniency It was cleaver of him to raise the point of lieniency which he had to exercise in certain cases as nobody would quarrel with lieniency shown by a chief to his people. But on the contrary liniency should not interfere with the proper course of justice A party that does not attend the court on a given date is guilty of contempt of court and should be punished. If the court is satisfied by evidence produced by the accused that he had reasonable cause to be absent it is then lieniency may come in. But if the court merely refrains from taking action against a defaulter that is not lieniency but an encouragement for contempt of court, and an injustice to the party that obeyed the order of the court.

That the Paramount Chief is unable to preside over his court owing to the many important state duties which he has to attend to has on many occasions been stated, in he Basutoland Council by his councillors. It was therefore not strange that he brought this up as his defence, he went further and defended his sub-ordinates on the same grounds. He has therefore made it clear to everybody that what the Council has held out to Government and the people as the remedy for the existing grievances ten years ago has not been and cannot be applied. Though the Paramount Chief may think that he has well defended himself against the grievances and attacks of the B.P.A. he has however failed to remove the cause of the grievance and the injustice remains and continue. Now the question is whether he Basuto shall continue endue njustice and misgovernment for ever without hope of redress? The Paramount Chief has confessed his nability to improve the situation hough he will not take the advice of the Government and accept the proposals that were culculated to improve conditions in the Territory How long will the Government remain indifferent when the Basuto continue to suffer injustice? Has protection been intended for the sons of Moshesh and not for the Basuto as a whole? There was a time when the Basuto people were regarded as the most progressive of all the Bantu people in South Africa but what is the position to-day? They are the most backward. With years and years of injustice and lack of systematic government progression set in. The chiefs are a law unto themselves and treat the people as they like and the peopl endure injustice without hope of the Government intervening on the side of justice. The Basutoland Council which had been intended to be representative of all sections and classes of the Basuto in the Territory has become a council for the chiefs whose object is to guard the interests of the chiefs against the people and the government and the Government is allowing this to continue.

It is said that "if you sow an act you reap a habit." The Basutoland Government allowed the chiefs to treat the people as they pleased in spite of the Lerotholi code of Native laws which were in existence but were not applied. That created among the chiefs the evil habit of despotism. As a result of the people's grievances against the chiefs the Government made a promising gesture of intervening on behalf of the people. At last there was hope that their interests would be served. Proposals that were calculated to improve the position were made by the Govern.

Justice 2nd

ment only to be rejected by the chiefs without any attempt on the chiefs' side to suggest anything new except to cry that Lerotholi's laws satisfied the people. The Government was weak enough to allow their proposals to be flouted. The chiefs victory over the Government on the contrary strengthened them to continue in their despotic rule.

To-day when the people demand that the elixir be applied the Paramount Chief tells them frankly that the elixir cannot be applied, it is impossible. Thus the Basuto a is unenviable. The situation calls for real patriotism. It demand s men who will sacrifice themselves for the salvation of their country and people by bravely and boldly fighting for the noble cause of justice The Basutoland Progressive Association have taken the lead. Let them not hesitate but fght the cause to a finish. When the position becomes hopeless it is the man with will who succeeds.

WASU MISSION IN SIERRA LEONE.

"WELL DONE" TO HON. MR. A. H. STOCKS, (PROVINCIAL COMMISSIONER, S.P.)

PRACTICAL CO-OPERATION BETWEEN WHITE AND BLACK DEMONSTRATED.

Very few, if any at all, are aware of the contributions already made by Hon. Mr. A. H. Stocks, (the Provincial Commissioner of the Southern Provinces of our Protectorate) in various capacities towards the success of the WASU Mission in this country, especially among our people in the Protectorate. Perhaps one or two of these may be mentioned here for our present purpose. We understand that our energetic WASU Missioner (Mr. Ladipo Solanke) had the first interview with Hon. Mr. Stocks, on the Wasu Hostel Scheme, on the 30th April last, at the Rest House, on the Tower Hill, during which Mr. Stocks, including Hon. Mr. Fenton (the Provincial Commissioner of the Northern Provinces) extended to him aud his mission their warm sympathy and their best wishes for the success of the scheme. They also promised to do their own share in the interest of the mission.

Accordingly, when the Wasu Missioner went recently on his mission tour to the Southern Province, he discovered that it was chiefly through the good and kind offices of Honourable Mr. Stocks that the Wasu Mission successes in the Ptotectorate already published in our local press, had been rendered possible. This then is the nature, the story and the result of the gallant gentleman's moral support. But Mr. Stocks did not stop his act of sympathy there, for, on the 24th instant about noon day, the Wasu Missioner was honoured with the receipt of a cheque for twenty pounds and one florin from the Provincial Commissioner for Wasu Hostel Fund.

This, then, is the nature and story of his personal financial support. Mr. Stocks also manifested his sympathetic disposition towards the scheme in one or more other ways.

There is no doubt that Mr. Stocks has by these sympathetic actions on his part, demonstrated to us in a practical way, how co-operation between White and Black is to be carried out and the Wasu Missioner has, therefore, no alternative but to call earnestly on every member of this community to join him and WASU to shout "Well Done" to Honourable Mr. A. H. Stocks, our trusty "Negrophilus." All honour, praise and success to him!

We also congratulate W.A.S.U. for this achievement. We hope our leaders in this community will take the necessary hint from the adove-narrated philanthropic actions of the gallant Commissioner.

Thanking you in advance,—Yours, etc.

WHITE AND BLACK CO-OPERATION.

Race Problem-1932

Africa

United Transkeian Territories General Council

The Comet

Abolish of Five-Mile radius: Trading Sites for Natives

(Moeletsi oa Mohoma)

5-11-32

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The debate was adjourned.

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Justice in Basutoland.

The Comet

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That the Basuto have a genuine grievance against their chiefs about the Administration of justice is a fact that is well known to the Basutoland Government. An attempt was made by the same body to introduce reforms that were aimed at ameliorating the existing conditions about two years ago. These were rejected by the chiefs without making any suggestions to meet the people. It was a victory for the chiefs who, satisfied with their victory against the Government, became still more negligent in serving their people's interests. The result was that the position has become worse. We are hoping therefore that this time something must be done to meet the case of the Basuto if they are expected to continue to trust the Government.

NATIVE RACES OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

Weekly News

To the Editor of the WEEKLY NEWS.

Sir,—Folklore, though so popular in various European countries, has unfortunately been sadly neglected in the heart of our vast Empire, where its study above all places ought really to prove of peculiar importance and utility, and, as some of your readers will appreciate, I have not only been contributing for some twenty-five years to various journals, including "The Sierra Leone WEEKLY NEWS," on the customs habits, pursuits, feasts and ceremonies of mankind in general, but also lecturing in Loudon on folklore twice or thrice weekly with some considerable measure of success.

Sierra Leone

In view of the fact that the British Empire is the home of innumerable races—the governing springs of whose conduct are vastly different from our own—and that vast interest must shortly be enlisted in those peoples by reason of the Ottawa Economic Conference, I thought it wise some time ago to arrange during the forthcoming winter for my lectures to deal in particular with the native races of the British Empire but have been somewhat surprised to discover the untilled nature of the soil and the amount of pioneer work that yet remains to be done.

7-9-32

Despite difficulties, I have already obtained, however, a good deal of interesting information about the social life and customs of the West Coast of Africa and also a good deal of valuable material regarding the important contribution which the Negro has played in the civilisation of the world. Research work nevertheless often leaves untouched the intimate life of a people and I am wondering whether any kind (though unknown) friends could help by supplying me with native riddles and conundrums, wit, proverbs and so forth. It would be helpful, too, to receive the rough manuscript of the music of any simple native songs, with, if possible, a free English translation, so that they could be sung to the identical melody during the lectures. Postcard pictures of native life and customs, including weddings and funerals, with explanatory English text, would be welcomed, too, for lantern projection.

I feel certain there are a number residing in the West Coast of Africa who realise how important it is that the British people, and especially those who are responsible for moulding its opinions and directing its forces, should possess the widest possible knowledge of the beliefs and customs of the innumerable races of which the Empire is composed, and whilst it is yet too early to anticipate the foundation in England of University chairs in Folklore similar to those in Estonia, Finland, Sweden and elsewhere, I think it possible that before long I shall be able to discover a magnanimous person who will co-operate in founding a Folklore Institute to push forward still further the vastly important cultural work in which I am engaged by means of additional lectures, demonstrations of folklore exhibits, arranging examinations for teachers and others, publishing textbooks, creating an ethnographical museum similar to those in the large cities of Germany and supervising generally research work, conferences and so forth. It is difficult to tell how much can be done with faith and the enthusiastic support of those who realise with Pope that "The proper study of mankind is man," but it has certainly been my dream to see established in London such a collection, which is daily becoming more a happy social venue as a Folklore Institute valuable, and I have no doubt some of your where—irrespective of colour or clime, race readers will gladly send from the West Coast or religion—hand might clasp hand in of Africa a few lines on those aspects of social brotherly welcome and hearts might thrill and life—such as riddles and conundrums—which throb in unison in contributing to the world's store of unrecorded culture.

Before I can hope to assist in bringing this dream to realisation, however, I must get together a good deal more for my unique collection, which is daily becoming more valuable, and I have no doubt some of your readers will gladly send from the West Coast of Africa a few lines on those aspects of social life—such as riddles and conundrums—which might might clasp hand in hand and might thrill and hearts might welcome and might throb in unison in contributing to the world's store of unrecorded culture.

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With many anticipatory thanks, believe me,—

Yours faithfully,

S. JACKSON COLEMAN.

(Barrister-at-Law),
President, City Folklore Club.
107, Barcombe Avenue,
Streatham Hill, S.W. 2.

Race Problem-432

Africa

United Transkeian Territories General Council

The Comet

Abolish of Five-Mile radius: Trading Sites for Natives

(Mochochonoma)

5-11-32

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NATAL CHALLENGES THE POWER OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN UNION

New York Times
6-19-32.

Old Quarrels of British and Boers Bring on a New Crisis Over Questions of the Dominion's Relation to the Empire

By P. W. WILSON.

IN South Africa, which yields today more than half the gold of the world and nearly all of the diamonds, there has arisen a constitutional crisis which, if pressed to an issue, would be of far-reaching significance to the African Continent.

The Union of South Africa, a self-governing dominion within the British Commonwealth of Nations, with its varied population of whites, blacks and East Indians, includes four provinces, namely, the Cape of Good Hope, Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal. The whites in Natal have held a popular congress and a Devolution League has been formed which is demanding secession from the Union of South Africa, as now constituted and administered.

Reduced to its simplest terms, the situation is the latest phase in the long struggle between the British and Dutch for the control of South African affairs. In the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, the Dutch are a majority, and at the Cape they are powerful. But Natal is British and she is restive under the predominance of a majority which she holds to be unsympathetic.

What Disturbs Natal.

The assumption under which Natal entered the Union of South Africa in 1909 was clearly understood on both sides. It was that the Union itself should remain within the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is a doubt as to the continuance of this status that is now disturbing Natal.

The situation can be most clearly set forth by comparing it with the curiously similar development of events in Ireland. In both countries, there was war with England. In both countries, peace was concluded on the basis of autonomy. In both countries a party continued to agitate for complete independence, and by means of this agitation obtained control of the government. Just as President de Valera succeeded Mr. Cosgrave in Dublin, so in 1924 had Prime Minister Hertzog, the Nationalist leader in South Africa, succeeded General Smuts. His is the administration against which Natal, playing the part of Northern Ireland, is in revolt.

In any direct trial of strength the contest, if restricted to South Africans, would be unequal. In 1926 the white population of the Union was 1,676,660. The white population of Natal was only 158,916, or one-tenth of the Africander people of European extraction. It is, however, rapidly increasing.

Natal Would Stay British.

But the proposed separation of Natal from the Union does not mean that Natal would leave the British Empire. On the contrary she would only leave the Union of South Africa as now constituted, in order to draw nearer to Great Britain; and if an attempt to coerce Natal by armed force were conceivable, Great Britain could hardly fail to display an interest in the matter. A peaceful secession would mean, in theory at any rate, that Natal's subsequent relation to South Africa would be parallel with Newfoundland's relation to Canada.

The trouble appears to be confined to a small community. But the area of Natal—35,000 square miles—is almost half that of Great Britain; the province has great potentialities; and its future has to be seen in a perspective that reaches from the Mediterranean in the North to the South Seas. The whole continent of Africa is arriving at a consciousness of itself, and at a moment so formative of the future a disruption of the Union, even if bloodless, would change many things.

It was the Dutch settlers who founded South Africa, including Natal, with its capital, Pietermartizburg. When the British arrived, the Dutch trekked inland, so attempting a permanent segregation of the two bodies of pioneers. Cecil Rhodes was the statesman who envisaged a sovereignty which would unite both peoples in one white democracy.

A "Cape-to-Cairo" Blow.

According to his aspirations, this would be extended northward until there could be achieved what came to be called the Cape-to-Cairo railway everywhere laid and worked within the British sphere of influence. The dream of so majestic an imperialism depended throughout on the assumption that British and Dutch could and would share a common citizenship and live as friends.

To such hopes, the secession of Natal, with its underlying complications, would be a serious blow.

The cities of the Cape province—Cape Town, East London and Port Elizabeth, along the coast—contain many British whose sympathies on the points at issue are with Natal. If Natal were to secede, the Cape province might not remain united.

Also the vast dependencies known as Northern and Southern Rhodesia, now in the hands of British colonists, would be deeply concerned. In these dependencies we see the sphere of South African expansion toward the north. It is unlikely that they would join a dominion from which the only strong British element had been eliminated. They are divided territorially from Natal. But they could share their future with the group of colonies—Uganda, Tanganyika and Kenya—in the north, where also the British form the governing class.

It is declared that British sovereignty in the South African Union, while accepted as a formality by Prime Minister Hertzog, has been reduced in fact to a shadow. Even the symbols of this sovereignty are ignored. In 1926 there was a heated controversy over the flag. The Dutch majority proposed a tricolor of orange, white and blue from which the Union Jack would be excluded. Not one member approving of this flag was elected by Natal to her legislature. The province, refusing to fly this flag, was driven to the point of secession, and Prime Minister Hertzog entered into a compromise by which the Union Jack was admitted to the flag but in diminutive size and subordinate position. At that time there was a change in the design of the postage stamps. The face of King George disappeared and scenes from South Africa and her history were substituted.

The difficulties include a matter of immediate concern to every home in the country, the controversy over whether English or English and Dutch languages shall be compulsory in schools. The controversy is complicated by the fact that the Dutch no longer speak Dutch as it is heard in Holland but a dialect called the Taal which is lacking in some graces of the original. This form of Dutch, known as Afrikaans, has been made legal by act of Parliament. In Natal, where 70 per cent of the provincial revenue is devoted to education, the bilinguistic policy, admittedly burdensome and even unworkable, provokes heated opposition.

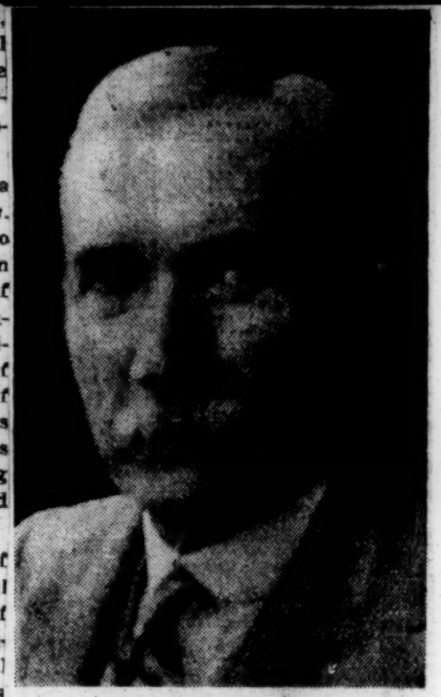
In disturbed moments, South Africa has had reason to watch the cables. The Kaiser's famous telegram to President Kruger after the Jameson raid in 1895, made a good deal of history. A telegram by Prime Minister Hertzog congratulating President de Valera on his leadership of Ireland at a time when the oath of allegiance was called in question has upset Natal, where a similar oath is held to be one of the few remaining links between South Africa and Great Britain.

In two other matters the action of the government has been distasteful to loyalists. Despite the hopes of imperial preference which are fructifying in the forthcoming Imperial Conference at Ottawa, South Africa has concluded a trade treaty with Germany.

There arises the question as to what lengths either side is prepared to carry these differences. Prime Minister Hertzog, like President de Valera, is leader of a party, not the spokesman for all parties in the dominion. The elections in June, 1929, made this clear. The Nationalists, led by Hertzog, won seventy-eight seats; the South African party led by Smuts, won sixty-one seats; Labor and an Independent won nine seats. The Assembly sits for five years as a maximum period and three years have elapsed. The dominion is thus divided virtually half and half, and subject to an election within two years at most.

On the other hand, Natal has to face grave contingencies. The financial and industrial metropolis of South Africa is Johannesburg, in the Transvaal, with the Rand and its gold mines. Natal, with her seaport at Durban, is but one of several thresholds to this source of prosperity. During the negotiations in 1909 which led up to Natal's entrance into the Union, it was agreed that her proportion of Rand imports should be increased from 22½ to 30 per cent of the whole volume, and the concession proved to be of economic value. Obviously, Natal would suffer if trade were diverted from her territory to the Cape Province or the Portuguese port of Lorenzo Marques.

On the final question of outright succession, even the Devolution League in Natal is thus open to argument.



Wide World Photos.

Prime Minister J. B. M. Hertzog of South Africa.

MARION, O.
STAR

SEP 16 1932

Conceived in Trouble.

Another passage in the turbulent history of ideal istically named Liberia will be written this month by the international committee created to deal with the problems of this bothersome stepchild of the United States. The prospect is for a futile engagement of theories and facts which will end where most things that concern Liberia have ended—in frustration.

It has been a long time since the first boatload of American freed Negroes, in search of a suitable home, came in sight of the shoreline of what was to be designated by an American minister as Liberia. The American Colonization society, sponsor of the repatriation, is almost forgotten. But the problems it helped to create promise to hang on forever.

No longer is the dream of populating Liberia with contented Negroes governing themselves after the pattern of the United States cherished. Decades ago its impossibility was demonstrated beyond question; failure has even been the chief characteristic of the venture. The United States, having sought and gained the aid of the League of Nations for regeneration of its African stepchild, has abandoned active interest. Like Japan, its Pacific neighbor, it is engaged largely in the delicate business of saving its face and its neck at the same time.

Its neck is a commercial interest, which usually is "le femme" in a diplomatic mystery. American dollars are invested in Liberia; America's rubber supply in case of war might have to come from Liberia. Peaceful stay-at-homes who wonder why their officials are interested in a place so remote shouldn't have to be told. The explanation always is the same

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
PET 12

Race Problem – 1932

Africa

WEST AFRICAN COMMERCE, FINANCE AND MINING.

West Africa 8-27-32

[COPYRIGHT, ALL COUNTRIES, BY LT.-COL. J. H. LEVEY, D.S.O., O.B.E.]

What Business London is Talking About—The Colonies and Ottawa—France and Colonies—United States Prosperity Move—Hopes for Higher Prices of Commodities—10 Years' Sale of Gold Coast Products—The Outlook for Rubber—Why Not Sell in Great Britain the Handicrafts of West Africa?

WHAT BUSINESS LONDON IS TALKING ABOUT.

Criterion Buildings, Piccadilly Circus, S.W.1 (Telephone Whitehall 5820), August 25:—

1. British stocks and shares were surprisingly indifferent to the results published relating to the Ottawa Conference. The issues of the Conference have been received without causing more than a ripple upon the sea of Stock Exchange prices. It may be that too many people are still holiday-making.

2. There has again been a lot of interest taken in West African gold mining shares, especially in the three A's—Ariston, Ashanti, and Akim.

3. The feature of the week has been the activity in all classes of gold mining shares. There has been a keen demand for Kaffirs and Australians.

4. Swedish Match creditors have reached agreement Subject to American interests the company will be reconstructed.

5. The Governor of the Bank of England is in the United States. His visit is causing much interest. It is thought his object may be twofold, (a) to talk about monetary stabilisation on a new basis, (b) matters relating to War debts.

6. Gold is up again to 119s. per fine ounce. Tin has improved and is a little higher at £143 7s. 6d. Commodity prices are going up, especially cotton and copper.

7. Wall Street has been buoyant. The upward movement has been resumed. The week started with increased optimism regarding the outlook for improvement in general trade. Several shares show exceptional rises.

8. Sterling has cheapened during the week. The present rate is 3.46, which is about 14s. 3d. to the pound.

9. When the details of the Ottawa Conference are announced, it is anticipated that there will be a good demand for certain British industrial shares.

10. Economies of searching and far-reaching character must be effected quickly, if the Government wishes to see trade revive, and unemployment decrease.

WHAT OTTAWA HAS ACHIEVED

Complete details of the Dominion offers to Britain will not be revealed for some time, owing to fears that the proposed changes may be forestalled by foreign competitors.

Seven agreements have been drawn up between Great Britain and the sister-nations of the Empire.

The two outstanding points, which are expected to obtain far-reaching and constructive results, are:—

(1) Great Britain is to impose a duty of 2s. per quarter on foreign wheat.

(2) Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa have agreed to a scheme to restrict the output of meat.

It will be at least two months before the public will know the precise results obtained through the negotiations of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Governments of all the Dominions and India have undertaken to invite their Parliaments to grant new or enlarged preferences for a number of commodities in which the Crown Colonies are interested. In the meantime the Secretary of State for the Colonies has gone on a trip through Western Canada.

As anticipated, the main agreements are to remain in force over five years. The general principles affecting the Colonies appear to be that his Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom will invite the Governments of the Colonies to accord to the Dominions and India any preference which may for the time being be accorded to any other part of the Empire. Certain schedules, which are to be published later, contain a limited number of articles of importance to the Colonial export trade, on which the Dominions and India are ready to increase or grant preferences. As far as can be gathered the items are as follows:—

New Zealand: No details.

South Africa: Two important commodities produced by the Colonies.

Southern Rhodesia: Cocoa 1d. per lb.

Canada: No details.

Newfoundland: Five items upon which a preference of special importance to the Colonies will be given.

Australia: No details.

India: Preferences on gums, resins, oilseeds, vegetable and essential oils, coconuts and copra.

Beyond the above-mentioned items there are no details available as to how the Colonies are likely to benefit.

No mention is made of existing treaties affecting the African Colonies. The labour of the delegates has not been in vain. Neither side got all it asked—that was not expected. The advance made is along the right road, and the Empire should benefit as the pace of trade increases. Stubborn obstacles have been overcome, and the result of the Conference has met with a good reception from the press—other, of course, than the Free Trade press, who see only the coming of dearer food to the hand worker as a result of the work accomplished.

I can see two great advantages, (1) The Conference has stemmed the drift towards Dominion economic nationalism. (2) Duties are being lowered for the United Kingdom instead of raising them against foreign countries.

FRANCE AND HER COLONIES.

Suggestions have been put up to the French Prime Minister to follow the British example, to promote closer and more fruitful economic relations between France and her Colonial possessions.

It is suggested that the French Government would carry far more authority to the coming World Economic Conference if it came as the representative, not of a Continental Power alone but of 100,000,000 people in all parts. Without being able to form a self-sufficient economic unit, they could find material for useful international agreements.

Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco among them buy from France every year twice as much as Great Britain, which is her best foreign customer, three times as much as Germany, and four times as much as Italy and Spain together. This trade is not only in industrial products. Last year Algeria alone took from France 50,000,000f. worth of cheese, 38,000,000f. worth of butter, 31,000,000f. worth of potatoes, 17,000,000f. worth of fresh fruit, 203,000,000f. worth of sugar, and 40,000,000f. worth of spirits. Though the trade of France with foreign countries showed an adverse balance of 1,270,000,000f. in 1931, *her trade with her Colonies in that year showed a credit balance of* 1,000,000,000f. And the French Colonies are only in an early stage of organisation.

The Ottawa Conference showed the difficulty of making economic agreements between people. The task should be easier within the directly-administered French Colonial system than among the practically autonomous units of the British Commonwealth. It is suggested that a Council for France Oversea should be set up at once, and should begin preparatory work. Its creation would be the first step towards a Ministry for France oversea, embracing all territories administered by Frenchmen, which has been the goal of French Colonial propagandists for years.

AUTUMN PROSPECTS FOR STERLING.

The Autumn is likely to prove a period of pressure for sterling. No sharp decline is anticipated, but it is generally expected that the rate may fall below the present level of 3.46.

Payments in sterling will be required for cotton and grain. In addition there are two special payments:—(1) The Treasury's outstanding franc credit falls due next month for repayment in Paris. (2) Repayment of War loan held by foreign investors. The repayment of the latter is due on December 1, 1932.

U.S. PROSPERITY MOVE.

The President of the New York Clearing House Association has announced the organisation of the Commodity Finance Corporation by a score of leading commercial banks for the purpose of supplementing existing credit facilities in the commodities field. The corporation will begin operations as soon as it is formally incorporated, being empowered to offer subscription notes to a maximum of 50,000,000 dols. at par, while the nominal capital will be subscribed by the clearing house banks.

The organisation of the corporation has followed a long series of discussions by Wall Street bankers.

A conference was opened at Washington between President Hoover and financial and industrial leaders to formulate plans for the forthcoming attack on a "wide front" in order to raise prices, restore confidence and general trade activity. I wish it all possible success. The West African people will rejoice when prices go up.

GOLD COAST EXPORTS, 1922-31.

Cocoa	...	...	...	2,137,021 tons
Manganese	...	...	...	2,891,483 tons
Diamonds	...	...	...	4,020,867 carats
Gold	...	...	...	£8,712,525

The total value of the above exports was £111,645,527.

EXPENDITURE IN NIGERIA.

The Treasury reports that for the first four months of 1932 the total expenditure in Nigeria was £419,000, as against £494,000 in 1932 The est imates provide for a total expenditure of £5,020,479 for the year 1932-33.

RUSSIAN BUYERS IN LONDON RUBBER MARKET.

The further decline in rubber stocks is attributable to the same cause as that responsible for the almost continuous reduction in stocks since May—Russian buying.

During May, 1932, Russia purchased 2,526 tons of rubber in this country, compared with 10 tons in May, 1931.

For the seven months to the end of July Russian purchases of rubber from the United Kingdom amounted to 15,675 tons, against 7,918 tons for the seven months of 1931.

Russia also has imported more rubber from other quarters, her total imports of the commodity for the first half of 1932 amounting to 18,700 tons, compared with 10,930 tons in the same period of 1931.

"SHOP WINDOW" FOR BRITISH GOODS.

It is announced that a new organisation, to be known as British Industries House, has arranged to take over the new building near Marble Arch which was built for Gamages (West End), Limited, and to transform it into a permanent exhibition of British manufactures.

The promoters state that financial arrangements have been made for the acquisition of the building and that a large measure of support has already been promised by industrialists. The building contains 5½ acres of floor space, much of which will be available for the new organisation.

Manufacturers, it is stated, will be given scope for sales administration and sample display, in addition to service, stock rooms, interviewing rooms, the use of publicity and research departments, and opportunity for a window display. A merchants' club is being organised in the same building and will be open to Empire exhibitors, manufacturers, retailers, and buyers both at Home and oversea.

"Recent events," the promoters state, "have opened up a new phase of possible and interesting distribution for British manufacturers. The 'Buy British' plea coupled with greater security in the Home market through the operation of some necessary tariffs, together with other possibilities arising from exchange matters in various oversea markets, has created a definite demand for numerous British industries.

"Here, in one permanent and spectacular home, in the midst of the greatest distributing centre of the Empire, and under conditions never previously surpassed, a great trade circle—comprising producer, distributor, and consumer, will be completed for a wide variety of Empire goods."

What a golden opportunity for displaying West African Native industries, for which there is a splendid market waiting in the United Kingdom!

WEST AFRICAN MINING MARKETS.

Increasing Public Interest in West African Gold Mining Market—Aristons Again Active and in Great Demand—Position of Akim, Ltd.—Ashanti Goldfields Reserves—New Areas Awaiting Development—Tin Mining in Nigeria, Diamond Position Improving.

Not for a long time has there been such activity in the Stock Exchange gold markets as during the past week, more particularly in West Africans and Kaffirs. The demand in the West African market was attributable chiefly to recent favourable developments on the Ariston Mine and the prospects of an early dividend.

RENEWED APPRECIATION IN WEST AFRICAN MINING SHARES.

During the last account West African mining shares were in demand again, and many rises have taken place. The most important are:—Akim +9d., Anfargah C.M. and Finance +1s., Anglo-Continental +9d., Ariston Gold M. (1929) +1s., Ashanti Goldfields +2s., Ex-Lands, Nigeria, +1½d., Fanti Consolidated +1s. 6d., Jantar Nigeria Tin +3d., Jos Tin Area +1½d., Kaduna Syndicate +1s. 3d., Naraguta Extended Areas +1s. 3d., Naraguta Karama Areas +4½d., Ribon Valley (Nigeria) Tin +3d., United Exploration +1½d., United Tin Areas of Nigeria +1½d.

ARISTON GOLD MINES.

Last week I drew attention to the development cable from this mine, which, when posted in the Stock Exchange, drew a crowd of eager brokers and jobbers, like bees round a honey pot. I have since been discussing the future of the mine with a late Inspector of Mines of the Gold Coast, who has had a long and valuable experience of this mine. He said: "I have always held the opinion that Ariston would one day become a great gold producer." In the Gold Coast Government Mines Department report of 1931, the following was written by the present secretary of Mines:—

"Ariston Gold Mines. (1) The sinking of Prestea Shaft to 17 level has been continued and it is expected that the cutting of 17 station will be commenced shortly.

(2) The values in the bottom of the mine have been confirmed and the width of the reef is improving.

(3) The fully developed ore reserves are reported on March 31, 1931, to be 130,000 tons averaging 12 dwts.

(4) There are indications that a new reef is making west of the main reef. It is possible that, as in other parts of the Prestea-Ashanti series of quartz reefs, a new ore body may be ultimately opened up in depth.

(5) With the reconditioning of the underground, the improvement of the reef, and under new management, the prospects of this company are more hopeful."

Since the above was written the mine has more than justified the hope of the Government report and is now well on the way to increasing tonnage and profits, and before long should be paying good dividends.

AKIM, LIMITED.

Referring to the prospects of this company last week, I find I overlooked an important asset. The company has also an interest in Gold Coast Selection Trust. This Trust was formed in 1928 to acquire and float gold mining properties on the Prestea (Ariston) reef formation. The Trust owns six concessions adjacent to the property of Ariston.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

DR. JOHNSON'S LETTER.

Mr. Carl Murphy, President, The "Afro-American," 628, N. Eutaw Street, Baltimore, Maryland.

My dear Mr. Murphy,—May I thank you for calling my attention to the article on the death of Dr. Cuthbert Christy, which appears in THE AFRICAN WORLD and to the editorial in the "Afro-American" on July 30 under the caption, "Who Did the Work"? In complying with your request for some comment upon both of these articles, I can only add to THE AFRICAN WORLD's estimate of Dr. Christy as an explorer and naturalist my own high esteem of him as a colleague on the International Commission of Inquiry in Liberia.

The speculation of THE AFRICAN WORLD's editorial regarding the efficacy of the League commissioner's tact in dealing with his Negro colleagues on the Commission is no doubt based upon the not infrequent assumption of many Europeans that tact is more important than fact in situations involving international relations. It is as yet unthinkable to many persons that a negro can be objective in dealing with conditions in which other negroes are involved. These splendid qualities might indeed have been demanded had there been at any time any serious disagreement among the commissioners in the findings. This did not, however, occur. The gesture of THE AFRICAN WORLD was a particularly gracious one in view of the fact that this paper was aware of and had carried notice of the handicap of illness which overcame the League commissioner on the third day of the journey inland, which illness, together with his advanced age, prevented him from entering fully into the investigations in the interior. Moreover, it does not do justice to the courage and extraordinary knowledge and insight of the Liberian member of the commission, ex-President Arthur Barclay, to attribute his conclusions to any influence beyond the weight of the evidence itself. The findings of the report, as you will note, are based upon extensively documented testimony and easily verifiable observations.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) CHARLES S. JOHNSON,

Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

August 13, 1932.

DODGING THE ISSUE.

Who did most of the Work on the Liberian Commission?

Our contemporary the "Afro-American" of Baltimore seems to be exceedingly upset because when paying tribute to the late Dr. Cuthbert Christy, we stated that "his knowledge of the native made him exceptionally qualified to conduct the investigation in the hinterland of Liberia. He had the knack of getting on with primitive peoples; and it also required unusual tact to produce a unanimous report with his fellow commissioners, who were both negroes." The "Afro-American" claims or assumes that Dr. Johnson and one of the remaining members of the Commission—did the work, and to obtain support for the assumption wrote to Dr. Johnson, who in his reply bears testimony to the position of Dr. Christy as an explorer and naturalist, and to Dr. Johnson's own high esteem of him as a colleague on the Commission. Dr. Johnson also pays tribute to the work done by the remaining member of the Commission—ex-President Arthur Barclay—but is careful not to confirm the claim made that the work of the Commission was done by himself. We appreciate that such a claim could neither be made nor admitted by him. Who actually did most of the work is immaterial, and we think our contemporary, instead of making a claim which could not be substantiated, and even if substantiated would be of no relative importance, would have better served the cause it advocates by discussing that report, which revealed a condition of affairs in Liberia which no amount of whitewashing or drawing red herrings across the trail could possibly justify. As the report speaks for itself, it is unnecessary to repeat the statements therein made, more particularly as we should like to believe that they no longer exist, and are unlikely to recur under European supervision. The report was a condemnation of the then Liberian Government, and however ingenious our contemporary may be it cannot get rid of that condemnation by unjustified claims that such and such a member did most of the work of the Commission. The main issue is clear. What has our contemporary to say about the only thing that really matters?

Race Problem -1932

Africa

PRESENT-DAY SLAVERY.

In 1833 Britain decided upon Abolition of Slavery to take effect in 1834. This meant liberty for 700,000 slaves.

A Century later, (in 1926) the League of Nations decided to attempt "world abolition" which must mean liberty for millions of slaves.

"There are certainly in the world to-day at least 4,000,000 slaves. There are probably more; their number may even exceed 6,000,000." ("Slavery" by Lady Simon.")

Those prominently associated with securing the historic League decision were Lords Astor, Cecil, Irwin. Lytton, Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, Sir Austen Chamberlain and Dr. Nansen.

In 1924 the Maharaja of Nepal, in a great emancipation speech, announced the liberation of the slaves in Nepal numbering 58,000. These were all set free within eighteen months.

In 1928 Mr. Amery secured abolition of domestic slavery in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone—215,000 slaves set free.

In 1932 Lord Noel-Buxton's mission was received at the Court of Addis Ababa by His Imperial Majesty, Haile Sellassie I, King of Kings, Conquering Lion of Judah, Emperor of Ethiopia. The Emperor undertook to carry out the following reforms:—

1. That a registration of the slaves will be undertaken by a Slavery Bureau.
2. That Certificates of Freedom will be handed to every slave as set free.
3. That all children will be born free.
4. That slave traders will be punished severely.
5. That the Emperor hopes to bring about the total abolition of slavery within fifteen to twenty years.

The House of Lords passed unanimously the following resolution on the 22nd July, 1931:—

"In the opinion of this House the abolition of slave-owning, slave-trading and slave-raiding is an urgent international duty. That while this House fully appreciates the action hitherto taken by the League of Nations, it is of opinion that further steps of a definite nature appear to be required in order to bring about the extinction of slavery in all its forms."

"May Heaven's rich blessing come down on every one—American, English, or Turk—who will help to heal the open sore of the world."—(Slavery.)

David Livingstone's Tomb, Westminster Abbey.

Arrangements are being made in many cities and towns to celebrate the Centenary of British Abolition by calling public attention to the League decision to secure World Abolition.

The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society will be prepared to supply speakers, literature, lantern slides and lectures. The Society has also in preparation a Pageant, comprising the principal events of Slavery and its abolition. The properties and "words" can be obtained at a modest charge by schools, Amateur Dramatic. Societies and other Societies.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

FARMERS' MESSAGE No. 4.

How to Form a Mutual Credit Society.—From what we have learnt already, it will be evident to everybody that Mutual Credit Societies are not formed by Government. They must be the outcome of a desire by the people themselves. But this desire will not be definitely and usefully formed unless the people are taught what the Societies are and how they can help them; and this is what we are trying to do.

The First Step.—One or more persons who have similar interests realize that it would be of benefit to themselves and their neighbours if they formed an association for mutual help. They will then have an informal meeting, inviting such of their neighbours as they think will be usefully interested; and discuss the next step to be taken. If they are uncertain of what this should be, or require more information of any kind, they will write or send someone to the Director of Agriculture, who will arrange for everything to be explained to them. The Director will try to contrive that someone shall give this explanation in person (rather than merely writing); and this person will probably ask for a meeting, which everybody interested should attend.

The Next Step.—Then before any formal steps are taken, those who think they are worth while, whom we will call the Promoters, will draw up a written statement showing the objects of the Society, its working prospects, facts that appear to show that it will be successful, and the benefits that will be obtained if successful. They will be helped in this by what has come out at the informal meetings already, and if they wish by the person sent by the Director to explain to them.

They will also be helped in another way. For such Societies to be effective there must be a Law under which they are constituted, and the Law will state what the objects of the Societies must be. Such a law is now being drafted, in order to make it possible for such Societies to be formed.

Forming Society.—Now is the stage when matters will become formal. The Promoters (see above) will call a meeting of all those who are likely to join *and are well known to them.* A few keen are better than many largely lukewarm.

If the minimum number of persons required by Law to form a Society is present, a Chairman and a Secretary for the meeting will be elected from these. The Chairman will then read the written statement of objects and benefits that has already been prepared, mentioned above. If then it is decided by a majority vote of the meeting to apply for recognition as a Society, those in favour will proceed to draw up a Constitution, Regulations or Bye-Laws, which will be in accordance with Law and will have reference mainly to the following matters:—

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The Society then elects its Officials and applies for recognition under the law.

Those interested will see that the forming and running of Mutual Credit Societies is a serious affair of *looking after their own business.*

The workings and responsibilities of such Societies can be understood by considering the Law that is necessary for their formation and we will look into this in the next Farmers Message.

Line Areas for Piassava Production.—The Director of Agriculture sends us the foregoing note by the Assistant Inspector of Plants and Produce.

Productive efforts from the Railway areas of the Southern Province have not yet reached expectation. Propaganda in the form of giving practical instruction in the preparation of Piassava has been active in this region now for a little less than a year: every Chiefdom has been visited and instuctional rotting ground prepared wherever preparation is possible. The demand for Piassava is year by year steadily increasing, and Sierra Leone quality is now very much sought for. But these encouraging circumstances do not seem to be generally realised by most of the producers living in the areas where production in large quantities is possible. Past failures, due to faulty preparation as the result of ignorance, in the line areas should belong to that past. Piassava can be prepared there of the *best marketable quality;* and merchants will be only too ready to purchase, at prices according to quality, any quantity that is offered to them.

United Transkeian Territories General Council

Agricultural Demonstrators

Lectures to teachers and Scholars.

Mr J. W. D. Hughes (Director of Agriculture): The spirit of this resolution is being carried out as far as it can be to-day. All our demonstrators do assist in any way that they possibly can, and I fear that if a resolution of this kind were to be carried it would lead to a teacher neglecting his duty altogether in regard to his school garden and then, instead of answering the inspector and saying why he had not done his job, he would say that the demonstrator did not come and teach him 'to' do it. It is utterly impossible for the demonstrators to attend all the schools in the Territories if they are to do their other work. The instructions are now that where these schools happen to be close to where they are stationed then they must give advice to the teacher; but the teacher, of course, must see that the work is done. We have also considered teachers' conferences or congresses, and have already made arrangements by which an agricultural supervisor has attended a congress. He attended there and gave certain lectures and also did a certain amount of actual demonstration work in the way of seed-raising and so on. I feel that all the time that we can possibly devote to this particular side of agriculture is really being given. I quite appreciate the remarks made that it is the child we must catch young and teach him agriculture, but at the present time with the number of lands which our demonstrators have to attend to and the stock matters, they can devote very little time to schools.

Cr. E. J. Mayeza: I appreciate the remarks made by the Director of Agriculture that the teachers would put the blame for failure to do their work on the demonstrator if he can call and teach for some time. That is to say, many of the teachers there are lazy people who neglect their work, but I am thankful for what has been said, namely, that when a demonstrator has got the time and happens to be near a school, then

Race Problem - 1932

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Weekly News

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BRITISH TRUSTEESHIP IN WEST AFRICA.

ONE of the out-standing thoughts which loomed so very largely in the minds of those who were concerned in the recent celebrations of the Centenary of MACGREGOR LAIRD, was the rôle of Trusteeship which the British People have assumed over the people of West Africa, with the reflection of how far the policies hitherto pursued have furthered the grand ideal which had been set forth, and if not, what reforms should be adopted so as to avoid as much as possible such dead-locks and their consequent bewilderments which have evolved elsewhere under British suzerainty.

His Lordship the Bishop of Liverpool at the Commemoration Service at the Liverpool Cathedral laid special emphasis on this important aspect of Great Britain's connection with the West African Colonies when in his concluding remarks he said :—

> "When would our part in it be accomplished? Would this task of trusteeship have an end? That is one of the most difficult of questions, and its solution was not yet. It might be that the time would come when by mutual consent and with honour we should be able to leave Africans to themselves. But no human foresight could determine when that would come. He believed that it was good for us to have and to cherish a vision of the day when the African would bid us a grateful farewell, and say "you have made us your friends and our friendship you shall keep. We honour you for guiding us thus far, now we can order our own life."

Undoubtedly, this is the grand end to which all trusteeship should tend.

For the present, we are not so much concerned about when such an accomplishment would be possible, as to how far do the principles on which the policies which from time to time are set forth ring true to such an ideal? If these are assured, then the natural developments would lead spontaneously, in the fulness of time, towards that end.

If for nothing else, for this alone, the celebration of that epoch, which has led to a close study of the life of one of those distinguished and eminent Pioneers who, one hundred years ago, "pursuing the light of adventure and of science, not sparing life or fortune, set forth to develop the commerce of a kindlier day in kingdoms long cursed by dark fears and cruel slaveries," has been worth all the time, money and other sacrifices which have made the event the grand success it has been.

We do not write in any carping spirit: for we recognize how tremendous the task has been and increasingly so would continue to be, as the West African peoples advance in Race-consciousness and feel the urge of independence by the growth and development of their racial wings. There can be no doubt also, that the spirit which fired those early pioneers is still found in a host of their successors who have continued to blaze the trail of healthy colonizing influences in all the various activities in the several departments—religious, political and commercial in which MACGREGOR LAIRD felt and was convinced, that the development of the people should be compassed.

But we recognize that the extreme magnitude of the adventure, the growing complexities with which, as the Century advances, this colossal task of Trusteeship is fraught, make it absolutely necessary that those responsible for the task should ever keep an open mind and allow themselves to be influenced by thoughts and opinions from whatever quarters and from whomsoever these may come.

It is worthy of note how very early in his great task, MACGREGOR LAIRD was convinced of the necessity of working and co-operating with the young African teacher CROWTHER who afterwards became the first Bishop and Founder of the Christian Church in the Niger. Very early at that stage of his development, the famous Bishop proved himself capable of exercising his independent judgment to such an extent that, as an evidence of catholicity of spirit and his broad outlook in defining the attitude of the Christian Mission to Moslems, he laid down the principle, that "there should not be disputes about the truth or falsehood of one religion or another, but we should aim at toleration." It is in the absence of this cardinal recognition of human frailty and errancy that most of the mistakes in the administration of those Colonies have found their unenviable places in the history of British Colonization. For, as Mr. W. E. G. SEKYI puts it in his highly philosophic but forceful contribution in the issue of *West Africa* July 23, it could not but be otherwise, when "the most inexperienced youth, fresh from Europe, can wield powers which his grandfather would not have dared to contemplate" and that, inspite of pronounced opinions from thinking Africans who, but for their colour, the youthful representative of British Trusteeship should have been sitting at their feet,

The nightmare of fearful apprehension, about which Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL felt it pertinent to warn the distinguished guests at the West Africa dinner at the Savoy Hotel, over which he presided, and in which His Royal Highness the PRINCE OF WALES was the principal guest and chief speaker, that the drama of India's intolerance and Liberia's muddle of her sense of responsibility—but which many have thought an unfortunate riot, an unfortunate slip in his balance of judgment—must be inevitable, so long as such arbitrary distinction on account of colour and empty prestige, is given an undue prominence. There should be no need, we repeat, of hastily anticipating the end of the British Trusteeship, so long as care is exercised to make use of the contributions of the African if and when he is ripe for it, and he is not treated as a temporary stop-gap under the pretext of the usual slander of incompetency, inefficiency and dishonesty, too well-known amongst a class of officials in this Colony. If even a child who has to be taught to swim must get into the water; so the African would never show what he could do in the higher preferments in his country, until he is given a trial We cannot stress this point too much in view of the policy of discrimination which obtains here and elsewhere, by which such lines of demarcation are drawns ruling out the African from certain positions which in the past had been competently filled by him, but at the present, he is told that there is no objection to his being given his chances except that he is hopelessly incompetent and that his position in his own country has created some disability to his filling others. He may not retort, he cannot fight; but the spirit of revolt swells up in his mind and generates the poison of antipathy and suspicion which will hinder the co-operation necessary toward the expression at the end of a "grateful farewell."

BISHOP OLUWOLE MEMORIAL SCHOLARSHIPS.

TWO FUNDS ESTABLISHED,

FULL PARTICULARS OF TRUSTEES CONDITIONS.

Two valuable Scholarships are being established by the Trustees of the estate of the late Bishop Isaac Oluwole—one at Lagos and one at Fourah Bay College. Details of the Scholarships, as given by the Trutees' are as published below:

BISHOP OLUWOLE MEMORIAL SCHOLARSHIP.

C.M.S. GRAMMAR SCHOOL LAGOS.

1. The Trustees of the late Bishop Oluwole's Estate have decided to establish a Scholarship tenable at the C.M.S. Grammar School, Lagos.

2. The Scholarship shall be known as "Bishop Oluwole Memorial Scholarship."

3. The Scholarship shall be open to Yoruba boys who are members of C.M.S. Churches in the Diocese of Lagos, and who are not pupils of any Secondary School. The Scholarship shall he awarded by the Trustees, on the recommendation of the Principal, to the boy who has obtained the best result in the Entrance Examination for admission into Form one (Secondary,) and who would otherwise be unable to receive Secondary Education.

This Scholarship shall, be tenable for four years only.

4. A holder of the Scholarship shall receive free tuition and free supply of text-books required for school use.

5. The tenure of the Scholarship shall be subject to the good conduct and progress of the scholar. The Scholarship may be withdrawn if the conduct or progress of its holder is unsatisfactory.

6. The Scholarship shall be open for competition this year and shall be awarded for the next and succeeding years by the Trustees on the information supplied by the Principal. The decision of the Trustees shall be final.

7. The name of the winner of the Scholarship shall be announced on the occasion of the Speech Day and Prize Distribution of the School.

8, Intending competitors should send their names, ages, present school and addresses to Doctor I. Ladipo Oluwole, P.O. Box 589, 26, Igbosere Road, Lagos, not later than September 30th, 1932.

The examination will take place on October 5th and 6th, 1932.

BISHOP OLUWOLE MISSION FUND SCHOLARSHIP.

(FOURAH BAY COLLEGE, SIERRA LEONE).

It was an expressed wish of the late Bishop I. Oluwole that his Mission Fund should continue to bear the name of "Bishop Oluwole Mission Fund" after his death. The Trustees of his Estate have therefore decided, with the approval of the Bishop of the Diocese, to establish a Scholarship tenable at Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone.

The Scholarship shall be designated "Bishop Oluwole Mission Fund Scholarship."

The object of the Scholarship is to encourage students of Melville Hall, Oyo, who desire to join the ministry of the Church in the Diocese of Lagos, and have passed the Final Examination for the L.Th., of Durham University, to proceed to Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone, and qualify to present themselves for the Final Examination for the Degree of B.A., of Durham University.

The Scholarship shall be administered by the Trustees of the Estate of the late Bishop Oluwole in conjunction with the Bishop of the Diocese, the Chancellor of the Diocese, the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, Yoruba Mission, and the Principal of St. Andrew's College, Oyo, who shall be known as the Board of Electors.

The Bishop of the Diocese shall be the Chairman of the Board, and in his absence each meeting of the Board shall elect a chairman for the purposes of the meeting.

Race Problem. -1932

Africa

BRITISH TRUSTEESHIP IN WEST AFRICA.

Weekly News

VI. 9-17-32

It is only as this high sense of responsibility dominates the consciousness of those who are sent out to help to work out the destiny of the Africans, that more than a sense of personal advantage, of earning their livelihood or finding a place under the sun becomes the high motive, the incentive for the part they undertake to play as Empire Builders.

During a warm argument in a debate in one of the Legislative Assemblies of the West African Colonies, a very high and responsible officer of Government was reported to have said that Europeans in Government Service are out to earn their living and not for any altruistic purpose. That we think was an unfortunate expression; but unfortunate though it be, yet it represents the feeling of many who, whether they recognise it or no, have been building up the destiny of the people.

There are certain pre-requisites, apart from general qualifications, which those who are out to fulfil the trust which the British People have assumed over the African should abundantly possess; such qualities of mind which are calculated to foster and stimulate in the African those virtues which would make them self-reliant and progressive. In an address delivered sometime ago by the then Governor of the Gold Coast, Sir JOHN ROGERS, K.C.M.G., on the occasion of the opening of the Training Institution and the Technical and Industrial School of that Colony, His Excellency was reported to have said, *inter alia* :

> "I now wish to say a few words to the European Staff. When I recently delivered an address on this Colony before the African Society in London, I said, that in dealing with Natives, the qualities required for a successful administrator were sympathy, imagination and above all patience."

It is the cumulative effects of these virtues which would clarify the vision towards the creation of a healthy optimism in the rise and progress of the people.

There is no doubt that the financial outlay in any department of the great centres of civilising influence in West Africa is prodigiously high, and many a time the question forces itself as to whether it ought so to be. In the order of things, the merchants could not afford to increase the cost of their enterprise regardless of the interest of the establishments. The life and stability of the business as also its continuity would much depend on the careful balancing of the cost of capital and its remunerative value. In consequence, there is not much scope for the patronage of prestige or race discrimination. The Missionary, on the other hand, reckoning nothing too dear for the rescuing of even one soul, does not appear to bring much business commonsense on the administration of the funds at his disposal. This is most clearly illustrated by the policy we referred to in our last, by which the African is excluded from certain spheres of their operations, and the exorbitant expense of supporting a number of European Missionaries in the field becomes, naturally, a set-back to progress in a work where the funds are not so generously subscribed.

With the Government, the situation is much easier; for with the power to raise and increase taxation and having at its disposal the Colony's Revenue, the tendency of excluding the African presents no difficulty at all. But however it is done the result does not contribute that maximum of co-operation necessary. It is now more than twenty-two years since the report of a departmental committee appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to enquire into the West African Medical Staff, was published. The recommendations of that committee and their eventual adoption by the British Government of that policy which has created a separate camp for men who by reason of their special training have been recognised by the conferment of the same degree or diploma for their professional capabilities; but who on account of their race and colour have been not only deemed ineligible for appointments in that exclusive branch of the service known as the West African Medical Staff but also denied the right of equal scales of salaries as their white confreres are matters of common knowledge.

The principles on which such a policy is based are untenable in the face of the clear Proclamation of the late Queen VICTORIA in which she enunciated the humane doctrine of equal opportunities for all British Subjects, irrespective of race, colour or creed, as follows:—

> "It is Our Will, that so far as may be, Our
> "subjects of whatever race or creed be fully
> "and impartially admitted to offices in Our
> "Service, the duties of which they may be
> "qualified by their education, ability and
> "integrity duly to discharge."

Since such a pronouncement has never been abrogated, it is natural to appreciate how the Educated Africans would growingly resent such policy of preferential treatment by which they are excluded from positions in their own country, to enjoy the mortification of seeing men of other race and colour holding positions for which they are no more qualified than they, except it be that by reason of the powers vested in their raceas Trustees of the African people, the Colonial Office have by such arbitrary decision ,done violence to the sense of equity of the British Throne.

BRITISH TRUSTEESHIP IN WEST AFRICA.

Weekly News

V.

Just as time is required for the mastication, salivation, deglutition and ultimate digestion of the food which becomes blood for the nourishment and continued upkeep of the body, so also should there be sufficient time for the development of any people, who by a process of education, are expected to bring to useful purpose the latent possibilities of their mind and soul; particularly so, when the process appears foreign and must be adapted to their special peculiarities. The time element therefore is important; because, by some natural impatience, there is sometimes the demand for greater quiet and more spectacular results than should be expected; consequently some injury has resulted from the disappointment which some unwise intervention was intended to correct. Nor is this the main source of irritation and cause for bad spirit between the educated African and his foreign teachers. It is natural to expect that Africans, living along the sea coast would, by means of the facilities they enjoy for constant contact with the white man, prove more advanced and show better aptitude for assimilating his manners and customs than his *confreres* in the interior. It is for this same reason that those who live in the coastlines are more advanced intellectually than those in the interior. It is also obvious that those in the enjoyment of civilised amenities would be in the minority, though always the most influential section.

They naturally undertake to think for their *confreres* in all their intercourse with the white man, urging their right to be so recognized as the representatives of their people. The fact of this conservative, intelligent, and perhaps shrewd point of view of those who are generally described as the *intelligenstia*, as distinct from their untutored and very often simple-minded brothers in the interior, has proved a serious disturbing element in the administration of the Colonies; to the extent that, even though they are people of the same race and were sometimes bound by mutual good will, as was the tendency in the hinterland of this Colony before it became a Protectorate, definite efforts have been made not only to discourage intercourse between the two, but by law, the one has come to be regarded as a foreigner, an alien in the other's country, whilst the other has been allowed the same privileges in the Colony and is treated to all intents as with equal rights as the Colony-born.

It is this attitude of the administrative mind which is responsible for that disintegrating policy of **Divide and Rule** which is so often patronized by a class of autocratic administrators. It is known that in this Colony, there was a set policy of alienating the people of the Protectorate from those of the Colony, that for some long time it was impossible to convince the pupils of the Bo School that the way of progress lay in the direction of co-operation between the Colony-born and those of the Protectorate. A glimpse of such an attitude was reflected in the speech of one of the Protectorate Chiefs, representatives in the Legislative Council, when he said, "we come to Freetown, and nobody knows us."

The Chief who appeared to have been suffering from short memory, forgot the part which was played in that very Council in the early days and during the formation of the Protectorate by their worthy predecessors who were all Colony born.

He did not seem that at the time he was in the position of making an intelligent following of the great fight for the rights he now enjoys; on the contrary, he seemed to have been impressed that, for the most part contact of the Colony-born with him is generally for his exploitation; and in consequence he must be prepared to work out his own salvation, independently and with fear and trembling when his brother from the Colony may be at hand. This is unfortunate.

A general survey of the policy and plans adopted by two of the principal factors in this Trusteeship,—the Government and the Church —would seem that where it could be effected, no Colony born should have anything to do with certain aspects of their work in the Protectorate. There is no doubt that such a policy would not only in the nature of things, be very expensive and wasteful, but it would render the progress of the work unnecessarily slow, because of the time which the natural adjustment of the mental and moral perspective of the one with the other, must entail. As a result of such a policy the educated Colony-born becomes resentful and suspicious, the Protectorate born becomes petulant to his brother, and over-confident in the first instance to his teachers; then, in the process of time, when by contact he begins to find out some strange inconsistencies unable to reconcile the word with the conduct of his teacher, he becomes a painful dissembler, a professional hypocrite. This is the stage at which relations between the two are mostly regulated to-day in the Protectorate. The Protectorate people do not as a rule reveal their true and real feelings

CAMPAIGN AGAINST SLAVERY.

ETHIOPIAN EMPEROR'S ACTIVITIES.

The Emperor Hailè Salassiè, now released from the preoccupation of the recent political troubles has found time to devote to his anti-slavery campaign. A new slavery Department has been constituted by decree. It is to be independent of the Ministry of the Interior—that is to say, its Director will be directly responsible to the Emperor.

Liqamaqwas Mangesha, recently Ethiopian Minister in Rome, a young man of good family, is to be the first Director. Made Halpert, the Adviser to the Ministry of the Interior, is to advise the Department. A council composed of all the Rases and several other important dignitaries, presided over by the Heir-Appointed, Prince Asfao Wasan, will support the Department.

An Ethiopian Anti-Slavery Society is to be founded forthwith under the active patronage of the Emperor. No one will be admitted who has not previously liberated the slaves, if any, in his possession. There exists already quite a body of opinion among the younger officers in favour of such a society. Its object will be to exert pressure on the Slavery Department to keep it up to its work. The Emperor hopes that the members of the Council will be induced to enter the society, but they will have to conform to the condition concerning the release of their slaves. The school for slave children, started some years ago but allowed to languish, is to be revived and placed under the Department.

LIBERATION OF SLAVES.

The Government is liberating all the slaves of Ras Hrilu and Sultan Aba Jifar of Jimma, and a special committee is considering what is to be done with them. Those already employed by their former masters on the land will be settled on the land they worked for their masters. Registration of slaves is already in progress, and the Slavery Department is to publish statistics. A part of the Emperor's scheme will be a model prison for which the funds will be provided from his private purse.

Professor Work, the United States Adviser to the Ministry of Education, is to try to raise money in America to found an Ethiopian University at Addis Ababa, the University to be controlled by the American philanthropists who subscribe the money. The Ethiopian Government will contribute £50,000 towards the cost. Dr. Work has already sailed for America.

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The committee of experts on slavery provided for by the Assembly's resolution of September 25, 1931, opened its second session to-day under the chairmanship of M. Gohr (Belgium). Lord Lugard is vice-chairman.

This session of the committee will be devoted to the preparation of its reports based on the material supplied by Governments since the signature of the Convention of 1926. Under its terms of reference the committee is to report to what extent the convention has been successful and what obstacles, if any, exist to further progress in the abolition of slavery. It will also submit to the Council suggestions as to the assistance which the League of Nations could render to countries which are in need of such.—*The Times.*

They do not generally tell the white man what is actually in their mind, but they have proved such wonderful adepts in discovering what is wanted of them, that they are soon expressing their borrowed feelings with all the warmth of sincerity as they know too well to do. Such an undesirable condition may prove a temporary solatium and may flatter the vanity of the short-sighted teachers, who have consoled themselves with the success of their work to justify their making glowing reports of their apparent triumphs, till at such time as was the fatal rising in 1898 Government Officials and Missionaries received such a shock in their lives from those whom they were wont to regard as simple-minded loyal and grateful people.

It is plain, therefore, that such methods of educating a people to the sterner realities of a responsible life must at the end prove disappointing. It is like a house built on a foundation of sand; it naturally has no promise of endurance and, consequently, must prove a failure at the end. The educated African must take an important part in bringing the light to his less favoured brother; he only could assimilate its rays to his natural capacity and in the way most easily apprehended; any other means would be unnecessarily costly involving serious outlay of endurance and the risk of losing that stability on which true progress is assured and by which a people's destiny is brought to that stage of independence leading to spontaneous outbursts of "a grateful farewell."

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST ANRICA.

The Fifth Session of Congress.

No. 78/1932/F11.

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The General Secretary will gladly welcome any suggestions and recommendations as to Topics, Papers, Resolutions and other matters for the Programme.

Thanking you in advance for the kindness.—

Yours etc.,

SAML. R. WOOD,
General Secretary.

General Secretary's Office,
Axim, Gold Goast,
West Africa. 8th August. 1932.

GAMBIA
Population, 211,000; Capital, Bathurst; Governor, Mr. H. R. Palmer.
Chief Imports, Cotton Goods, Rice, Kolas, Sugar, Apparel, Cement.
Edible Oils, Tea, Tobaccos, Lubricating and Fuel Oils, Motors.
Exports, Ground Nuts, Palm Kernels, Hides, Beeswax.

General Progress in the Colony.

[BY OUR GAMBIA CORRESPONDENT.]

Of the information in the "Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of the Gambia, 1931," trade and production have already been dealt with in previous articles in the reports of the Receiver-General and the Director of Agriculture so that there is comparatively little that will be new to our readers. The chief change in the administration was the local one of giving Bathurst an Urban District Council, with elected members, as well as officials and nominated representatives of commerce and shipping, in place of its old Board of Health. The finances of the Colony at the end of the year were by no means unsatisfactory, for although the expenditure was £227,487, as compared with revenue of £184,825, the only debt was one of £5,709 outstanding from the loan of £187,893 received some years ago from the West African Currency Board, while surplus assets amounted to £120,878. Direct taxation consisted of a yard tax of 4s. per yard of four huts or less, with 1s. per hut over this, and 2s. to 6s. for non-members of the family occupying the yard, according to whether they farmed public land or not, and this brought in £10,179, as against £11,073 in the previous year, the fall, presumably, representing "the decrease in the number of strange farmers" and immigrant labour.

Health was normal, but since St. Mary is the only area in which statistics are kept, no reliable figures are available. For instance, the infantile mortality is said to be 227 per 1,000 births, as compared with 395 in 1928, but it is explained that, whereas deaths are nearly always recorded, births often escape registration, so that these figures mean little. Of no other West African Colony, probably, can it be said that there are no slums and no overcrowding, except to a very slight extent in the trade season. the average population per hut varying from 14 to 3 in St. Mary to from 2.5 to 1 downwards elsewhere.

As regards education, Bathurst had six elementary schools, with an enrolment of 1,233 boys and 620 girls, five of the institutions being run by missions and one—the Moslem School—by the Government. Of the four secondary schools, one each for boys and girls is run by Wesleyans and Catholics, the Government awarding scholarships to them, and the total enrolment was 87 boys and 92 girls. All the boys were sent for carpentry to the Government Manual Training Centre, and in 1930 a teacher training school was opened by the Wesleyans and Catholics jointly, and 50 teachers started on a two years' course. Here, again, the Government awarded scholarships. In the Protectorate there was a Government P[illegible] by MAJOR H. E. SMITH, M.C., late Gold Coast Police.

It is good to be back in England again after many years abroad, and re-accustoming myself to things English has been more pleasing by finding still remaining many features which existed when I set sail some 20 years ago.

As courteous and helpful as ever is the policeman and as patient does he look—and is—under the cumbersome heavy helmet, but now wriggling his chin at the chin-strap trap which recent regulations decree he must wear down.

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CONGRESS OF BRITISH NATIONALS.

By Major H. E. Smith, M.C., late Gold Coast Police.

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Race Problem - 1932

Abyssinia

Africa.

Abyssinian Leader Arrested With Son

5-29-32

ADDIS ABABA, Abyssinia, May 28.—(AP)—Ras Hailou, governor of the Abyssinian province of Gojjam, and his son were arrested tonight while reports of all sorts of political disturbances prevailed.

One rumor was that former Emperor Lidj Jeassu, who was deposed in 1916, and since then has been held in captivity in northern Ethiopia, had won his freedom. He has long been considered a possible source of danger to the government.

Another report, which was not confirmed in any authoritative source, was that an attempt had been made to poison Emperor Haile Selassie, whose ostentatious and colorful coronation ceremony in 1930 drew attention from all parts of the world.

In Addis Ababa, the capital, everything was quiet.

Ras Hailou is one of the most powerful chiefs in the nation and his arrest caused a sensation. His son was engaged some time ago to marry the emperor's daughter, Princess Yeshin Manbat, but it was assumed that with today's developments the wedding never would occur.

SLAVE-RAIDING

Lord Noel-Buxton on Abyssinia

Guardian weekly

Lord Noel-Buxton, speaking last week at a meeting in Friends' House on slavery in Abyssinia, gave an account of his mission to that country with Lord Polwarth. He told a grim story about the village at which he and his companions arrived at the end of their first day on the train journey from the coast.

"We went for a walk," he said, "and found traces of a murder that had occurred the day before. We thought now we should see what happened on these occasions, but nothing did happen. The village was buzzing with excitement, but there was no official action." In a country where crime was not even regarded as a crime to be punished by the State but as an injury for which some sort of compensation should be given it was difficult to get rid of an ancient institution like slavery, especially when even those who began to realise that slave raiding and trading were wrong saw no evil in the possession of slaves.

6-10-32

The Emperor had assured him that he had succeeded in stamping out slave raiding and trading, and was indignant when his visitors mentioned the fact that his people had carried out slave raids across the frontier even in British territory. "Within about a week of that time," said Lord Noel-Buxton, "the largest raid that has been recorded took place into British-Sudan, resulting in the capture of a large number of natives. Captain Cazalet is putting questions to Sir John Simon on that subject on Monday. It will be useful to the situation in Abyssinia if great publicity is given to the survival of this very worst form of raiding that has ever been known."

Mr. John H. Harris, referring to this well-authenticated report, said that these raids outside Abyssinia into British territory had been going on for a long time. There had been nearly a hundred and forty within a few years. Many of the raiders were equipped with modern rifles, the origin of which was known. The trade in arms was also being used as a barter traffic for more slaves. In one territory under English administration £40,000 a year was spent on patrolling the frontier to prevent raiders destroying villages and carrying off such of the inhabitants as could be sold in the slave markets. Sir John Simon would be asked to say what could be done to stop this constant raiding of British territory and of people under British protection.

DEPOSED Former RULER IN MARCH ON NEW KING

6-18-32

Philadelphia Pa.

ADDIS ABADA, Abyssinia, June 16—Like Napoleon, the former Emperor Lidj Jeasu of Abyssinia has escaped captivity and is gathering an army about him to march on the present ruler, Haile Selassie.

But, unlike Napoleon, Jeasu fled garbed as a woman, it was revealed today, and is awaiting the end of the rainy season in the wilds of Gojjam before he tries to settle his score with Selassie.

Emperor's Troops Desert

Emperor Haile Selassie announced he had sent his minister of war and an army into Gojjam to settle score now. It is reported, however, that the emperor's soldiers are deserting him in favor of the former ruler.

The present trouble apparently began late in May, when Ras Hailou, governor of the province of Gojjam, was arrested for plotting. Presumably Lidj Jeasu escaped then.

The former emperor has been in captivity for 15 years, since he was deposed by Haile Selassie. He had been in custody of an influential noble, the Ras Kassa. The Ras Kassa was a virtual prisoner here today.

Grandson of Menelik

Reports filtering into the capital had it that a large and influential following is gathering about Lidj Jeasu, who is a grandson of the man who welded Abyssinia into a modern kingdom, Emperor Menelik.

When Menelik died in 1913 Lidj Jeassu succeeded him, but he was deposed when he tried to introduce Mohammedism into a nation that had been Christian for many centuries.

Haile Selassie is already embroiled with the French authorities. The trouble began with an attack by an Abyssinian soldier on an employe of the French railway at Diredawa. The man's wife and child also were said to have been beaten. After that assault the French minister went to Diredawa to investigate the circumstances of a strike which had broken out in consequence of the attack. When he arrived he refused to accept a complimentary guard of honor. Ignoring a line of Abyssinian soldiers drawn up on the platform, he left the station by a side exit.

ABYSSINIAN RAIDS IN THE SUDAN.

As a result of the meeting between Sudan and Abyssinian representatives held at Gambela from June 10 to 14 to settle matters connected with the recent Anuak raids into the Sudan, the local Abyssinian Governor has signed an agreement undertaking to restore captives and stock within a specified period and for the payment of compensation for the Sudanese killed in the raid, states "The Times" Khartoum correspondent.

An Abyssinian representative has left for the Gila Anuak country in an attempt to secure this restoration by peaceable means, failing which stronger measures are promised.

7/23/32

In the meantime another incursion into Sudan territory has been reported from farther north, where, on June 2, a party of Abyssinian riflemen and spearmen crossed the border south of Kurmuk, in the Fung Province, and abducted the entire population of Shima village. These people, who are members of the Berta tribe living in Sudan territory, are claimed as serfs by the Abyssinian Watawit across the border. The latter have carried out this abduction in order to extort labour from these serfs without danger of Government interference. Strong representations have been made to secure the return of the captured Berta and the surrender, for punishment in the Sudan, of the men chiefly responsible for the raid.

END OF REVOLT IN ABYSSINIA.

Ex-Emperor Captured and Banished.

The Emperor Haili Salassie of Abyssinia has confounded his enemies and now reigns supreme, for Lij Yassu, the former Emperor, who was deposed in 1916, has been taken prisoner by the Imperial troops. The King of Gojjam, who has been plotting to restore the ex-Emperor to the throne, has also had his teeth drawn.

African World 7/30/32 London

Thus ends the daring attempt to dethrone the Emperor, which began when Lij Yassu escaped from prison in the guise of a woman in June this year.

The Government troops brought Lij Yassu quietly into Addis Ababa, whence he was taken to the radio station which is being erected a few miles from the town, where he was placed in a special train at 1 o'clock in the morning unknown to the inhabitants of the capital. He has been banished to Harrar, where he will be kept in custody.

The King of Gojjam, Ras Hailu, first aroused suspicions that he was plotting to put Lij Yassu on the throne some months ago, and a close watch was kept on his movements. As soon as Lij Yassu escaped Hailu was arrested. He has now been tried by his peers and the assembled Members of Parliament, numbering 500, with the Emperor presiding. This gathering formed a court in which any member could, according to Abyssinian custom, plead for or against the accused. Ras Hailu was sentenced to death, but the Emperor has exercised his clemency and altered the sentence to banishment for life, together with loss of all rights and property. As Ras Hailu was a very wealthy man this will mean a considerable acquisition to the State.

The former Governor, Dedjazmatch Imerou, of Wollo, has been promoted to Ras Prince and made Governor of Gojjam in place of Ras Hailu, and the Emperor's nephew, Dedjazmatch Desta Damptor, has also been made a Ras and appointed Governor of West Abyssinia.

The capture of Lij Yassu follows prolonged operations by 15,000 Government troops in the mountainous districts of Gojjam.—Reuter.

The Times LONDON

Date

CAMPAIGN AGAINST SLAVERY

T-WOR

ETHIOPIAN EMPEROR'S ACTIVITIES

FROM OUR ADDIS ABABA CORRESPONDENT

The Emperor Hailé Salassié, now released from the preoccupation of the recent political troubles, has found time to devote to his anti-slavery campaign. A new Slavery Department has been constituted by decree. It is to be independent of the Ministry of the Interior—that is to say, its Director will be directly responsible to the Emperor.

Liqamaqwas Mangesha, recently Ethiopian Minister in Rome, a young man of good family, is to be the first Director. M de Halpert, the Adviser to the Ministry of the Interior, is to advise the Department. A council composed of all the Rases and several other important dignitaries, presided over by the Heir-Apparent, Prince Asfao Wasan, will support the Department.

An Ethiopian Anti-Slavery Society is to be founded forthwith under the active patronage of the Emperor. No one will be admitted who has not previously liberated the slaves, if any, in his possession. There exists already quite a body of opinion among the younger officers in favour of such a society. Its object will be to exert pressure on the Slavery Department to keep it up to its work. The Emperor hopes that the members of the Council will be induced to enter the society, but they will have to conform to the condition concerning the release of their slaves. The school for slave children, started some years ago but allowed to languish, is to be revived and placed under the Department.

The Government is liberating all the slaves of Ras Hailu and Sultan Aba Jifar of Jimma, and a special committee is considering what is to be done with them. Those already employed by their former masters on the land will be settled on the land they worked for their masters. Registration of slaves is already in progress, and the Slavery Department is to publish statistics. A part of the Emperor's scheme will be a model prison for which the funds will be provided from his private purse.

Professor Work, the United States Adviser to the Ministry of Education, is to try to raise money in America to found an Ethiopian University at Addis Ababa, the University to be controlled by the American philanthropists who subscribe the money. The Ethiopian Government will contribute £50,000 towards the cost. Dr. Work has already sailed for America.

Abyssinia and Slavery

It is expected that the Government will issue a White Paper on Slavery in Abyssinia before the meeting of the League Assembly. I am told that it will include an interesting report on the conference between British and Abyssinian representatives which took place on the frontier between Abyssinia and the Sudan concerning a recent slave raid into the Sudan, when from eighty to a hundred natives under British protection were carried off. This is one of many such raids that have taken place from Abyssinia in recent years. The White Paper will describe the steps that the British

Guardian weekly 9-23-32

authorities are taking to put a stop to slave raiding and to obtain the liberation of the victims.

Meanwhile, according to reports from Addis Abeba, the Emperor is showing activity in carrying out the measures which he has decreed for the reform of slavery inside his country, largely as the result of Lord Noel-Buxton's recent mission on behalf of the Anti-slavery Society here. A new Slavery Department has been constituted under the direction of the former Ethiopian Minister to Rome, and a Council, composed of rases and other important dignitaries, has been formed to help the department. No chief will be admitted to this Council who has not already liberated his own slaves. A register of slaves—one of the points urged by Lord Noel-Buxton—is being opened, and the school for slave children is being revived. Slaves are being liberated in good numbers—they are given a bracelet to show that they are free—and put to work as labourers on the land. Abyssinia is even having its own anti-slavery society.

Race Problem - 1932

Abyssinia

Africa

American Minister To Abyssinia Is Attacked

ADDIS ABABA, ABYSSINIA, Jan. 18—(AP)—Addison E. Schuthard of Louisville, Ky., American minister to the Court of Haile Selassie, Emperor of Abyssinia, was knocked down yesterday during an argument with policemen.

Southard's automobile, which he was driving, ran over the foot of an Abyssian woman, it was reported, and a native policeman arrested the minister's chauffeur.

The arrest caused Southard to protest. During the argument several other policemen arrived on the scene and the minister was knocked down.

The woman was only slightly injured. Southard stopped immediately to assure she was not badly hurt.

Abbyssinian Prince Visits European Capita

London, Jan. 21.—(ANP)—Returning the courtesies of the nations that sent representatives to the coronation of his father, Haile Selassie I, as emperor of Abyssinia, Crown Prince Asfaou Ouossan was in London this week as the guest of the British government. With his sisters and the other members of his entourage he occupies nearly an entire floor at the hotel provided him by the government.

Tuesday the prince lunched with King George and Queen Mary at Sandringham palace and presented the greetings of his father.

In the evening he returned to London and sat in the royal box at the Drury Lane theater to view "Cavalcade," a pageant of English history written by Noel Coward.

From London, the Prince departed for Paris where he is the guest of the French government and is receiving high courtesies despite the unsettled political situation in the country. He expressed satisfaction that Premier Laval's government had been retained which insured the place in the cabinet of Blaise Diagne, the Senegalese under secretary of state for the colonies.

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The young Prince was accompanied by the Earl of Airlie, who has been attached to his staff during the visit in England, and members of the royal suite. His attire was ceremonial, with a dark cloak, rimmed in black silk braid over his black and white silk robes. He wore a wide-brimmed hat.

After lunching with the King and Queen, the Prince returned to London. On Thursday he sat in the royal box at Drury Lane Theatre to view "Cavalcade," Noel Coward's pageant of English history.

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Washington, D. C., Feb. 10.—(By (ANP).—The United States Department of State has instructed Addison E. Southard, American minister to Ethiopia to express the appreciation of this government for the prompt punishment meted out to the three Abyssinian policemen who struck Southard some weeks ago when his automobile hit an Abyssinian woman. The department has also advised Southard to ask the Abyssinian authorities to lift the fine of 100 Maria Theresa Dollars which was imposed upon the policemen in addition to a year's imprisonment. This action of the state department followed an editorial protestation of the Amsterdam News of New York last week when the News pointed out that the fine was sufficient to keep the men in prison for the rest of their lives and suggested that Southard should be the first one to request that the fine be lightened since the punishment was out of all proportion to their crime. The action of the Department of State suggests that justice will be more nearly accomplished although the men still will be required to spend a year in jail for striking Mr Southard, the Kentuckian who is minister to the Negro empire.

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He agreed to establish a special governmental department to deal with slavery and eliminate the abuses of the system. Slave trading has already been suppressed in Abyssinia under penalty of death.

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"The Times."

MUNCIE, IND.
EVENING PRESS
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DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
PEL 42

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TO ABOLISH SLAVERY IN ABYSSINIA SOON

LONDON, Eng., Apr. 14—(CNS)—Returning here after a series of conferences had with Emperor Haile Selassie I Emperor of Abyssinia in the capital of the Empire, Addis Ababba, Baron Noel-Buxton of Aylsham, chairman of the Anti-Slavery Society's mission to Abyssinia, stated that he had definite assurance from the Ethiopian ruler that the 2,000,000 slaves of the empire would be gradually freed and that there would be no slavery n the country at the expiration of 15 years.

The Emperor agre . with most of the commission's views, Lord Noel-Buxton said, especially those dealing with the registration of slaves and the granting of liberation certificates. He is said to have agreed to a special governmental department to deal with slavery

The Abyssinian Slaves

Lord Noel-Buxton, who has been to Abyssinia on the invitation of the Emperor to discuss with him measures for the abolition of slavery, will have some interesting things to relate when he addresses the Anti-Slavery Society at its meeting here to-night. The mission was a remarkable success and resulted in the promise by the Emperor of definite measures to give effect to his undertaking to abolish slavery. An anti-slavery bureau is to be set up which will supervise everything connected with the liberation of the slaves, will nominate judges for the slavery tribunals, and control a special police force which will collect the necessary information. The bureau will watch over the welfare of the liberated slaves.

Lord Noel-Buxton suggested that the Imperial Government should appoint a foreign official, to be chosen by the League of Nations, to assist the slavery department, and this the Abyssinian Government considers has been met by the appointment of a European counsellor to the Minister of the Home Department. It was agreed that a register should be made of all slaves in the country, and liberated slaves will receive freedom certificates. The society was anxious that the Emperor should fix a definite period within which the status of slavery should be abolished, and he has now sent a letter in which he says: "We are happy to announce to you that it will be possible for us to bring slavery to an end in our country within fifteen or, at most, twenty years."

and eliminate the abuses of the system. The trading in of slaves has already been made punishable by death in the Empire.

SLAVERY IN ABYSSINIA.

To End Within Twenty Years.

The Emperor of Ethiopia has addressed a letter to the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society (which held its annual meeting in London on Thursday) in connection with the recent mission of Lord Noel-Buxton and Lord Polwarth to Abyssinia to inquire into conditions with regard to slavery in that country. After a reference to his resolution to suppress slavery and to the visit of Lords Noel-Buxton and Polwarth, the Emperor says:—

"The great Ethiopian nobles, as well as other persons in our country, are already convinced that to have slaves in their house is a useless burden. This conviction will spread of itself and we shall encourage its spreading throughout our country by a sustained propaganda. As a result of the laws already existing and of those which we shall promulgate in due course, numerous slaves will obtain their freedom.

H.M. THE EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA.

"We are happy to announce to you that it will be possible for us to bring slavery to an end from our country within fifteen or, at most, twenty years. Our action is dictated not only by our duty as Sovereign, but also, and above all, it is inspired by our Christian sentiments."

The proposed reforms were discussed by Lord Noel-Buxton's Mission, and those secured are contained in a memorandum from the Ethiopian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

An Anti-Slavery Bureau will undertake to watch over the whole question of the liberation of the slaves. It will have under its control nomination of judges for the slavery tribunals, a special police force in order to secure information, and the welfare of liberated slaves by judicial decision.

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All slaves in future will be registered. Freedom certificates are being given to al slaves set free.

Slaves in Abyssinia

The news that the Emperor of Abyssinia has agreed to a number of reforms with the object of extinguishing slavery finally in his country "within fifteen or twenty years" is a notable result of the tactful work of the Anti-Slavery Society. It is also a personal triumph for Lord Noel-Buxton and his companions on his recent mission to Addis Abeba. Abyssinia is the last great stronghold of slavery which survives in the modern world. The traffic in human flesh has been mostly abolished elsewhere, but if Livingstone returned today he would find the "open sore" he loathed still festering in the heart of the Africa he served. Her ruler is proud that Abyssinia has been admitted to the family of nations as a State member of the League. But there are certain ways of life which are incompatible with pretensions to any civilisation whatever, and slavery is one of them. It must go if Abyssinia is to remain. But, as Lord Noel-Buxton has pointed out, we in the West should recognise the obstacles in the way of abolition. As in all lands which are still feudal, reform depends on the personal energy and enterprise of the ruler. If we picture the present Emperor as an Ethiopian Henry II., carrying much of the work of government on his own shoulders, "seriously overworked," rising at five and getting to bed at midnight, transacting law business, hearing appeals, managing a semi-barbarous and divided land with little help from his tiny Civil Service, we shall have a good idea of the difficulties of his task. Haile Sellassie I. is himself the chief force behind the abolition movement. Many of his subjects, being quite of the old European opinion that Providence intended the sons of Ham to be our servants, are actively hostile. Plainly, anything that can be done to strengthen the Emperor's hands should be done. If slavery in Abyssinia is to be quickly and smoothly brought to an end, the active support and encouragement of the West and of the League will be especially essential.

ABYSINIA GRANTS GOLD

ADDIS ABABA (AP)—Exploitation of gold mines in Abyssinia is being undertaken with Swiss capital by German geologists, who have a 60-year concession granted as reward for 10 years of research work in the country.

5 Years In Captivity, Ex-Emperor Escapes And Assembles Army

ADDIS ABABA, (ETHIOPIA) ABYSSINIA, June 9—(AP)—Like Napoleon, the former Emperor Lidj Jeassu of Abyssinia has escaped captivity and is gathering an army about him to march on the present ruler, Haile Selassie.

But, unlike Napoleon, Jeassu fled garbed as a woman, it was revealed today and is awaiting the end of the rainy season in the wilds of Gojjam, before he tries to settle his score with Selassie.

Emperor Haile Selassie announced he had sent his minister of war and an army into Gojjam to settle the score now. It is reported, however, that the Emperor's soldiers are deserting him in favor of the former ruler.

The present trouble apparently began late in May when Ras Hailou governor of the Province of Gojjam, was arrested for plotting. Presumably Lidj Jeassu escaped then.

The former Emperor has been in captivity for 15 years since he was deposed by Haile Selassie.

Abyssinian Emperor Recaptures Deposed Foe

ADDIS ABABA, Abyssinia, June 13.—(AP)—Lidj Jeassu, the former emperor of Abyssinia, who escaped last week from the captivity in which Emperor Haile Selassie had kept him for 15 years, has been recaptured.

An official statement issued today by the Abyssinian foreign office said Lidj had fled into the hills of the Gojjam region pursued by Selassie's troops. The army surrounded him and he was captured in a gorge north of the Blue Nile. Today, the statement said, he was brought back and handed over to the commanding officer of the emperor's troops.

A KING ARRESTED IN ABYSSINIA

Eastern and Western Ideas in Conflict

A sensation has been caused by the arrest at Addis Ababa of Ras Hailou, one of the most powerful chiefs of Abyssinia, by the Emperor Haile Selassie, the "King of Kings." No reason was given for the arrest, which was made by Government troops. but it is believed to be due to disagreement over the Emperor's Westernising policy.

Ras Hailou is King of Gojjam, one of the remote provinces of the Abyssinian Empire, where there has been fierce opposition to the new ideas of enlightenment. The ancient beliefs and ways of the East are in conflict with the ideals of the West, and the situation is much like that which lost ex-King Amanullah of Afghanistan his throne.

Further excitement was caused by the simultaneous arrest of Ras Hailou's son Yahannis, who was engaged to be married to the Emperor's daughter Yeshinmanbat. It is now regarded as almost certain that the marriage will not take place.—Reuter.

Race Problem - 1932

Liberia

Africa

EXPOSE PROVES BARCLAY PLAYS ENGLAND NOW AGAINST U. S.

Liberian Delegate Told to Follow Advice of Lord Cecil.

U.S. IS TERMED OPENLY HOSTILE

Barclay Says Secret Paper is Forgery.

TEXT PUBLISHED BY AFRO THIS WEEK

Claim Made that U.S. Minister Mitchell Influenced Liberian Legislation that Barclay Vetoed.

(Full Text of Liberian Secret Document Attacking U.S. on Page 7.)

MONROVIA, Liberia—Indication that President Barclay regards the United States government as hostile and that he is playing England against this country was revealed in a document which fell into the hands of the AFRO-AMERICAN correspondent here.

The document, which President Barclay claims to be a forgery, and the text of which is printed in full in this issue of the AFRO-AMERICAN, purports to be secret instructions given the League of Nations delegates, Gabriel Dennis and A. L. Grimes.

Blocks Minister Mitchell

After calling attention to the statement that the Liberian Senate was influenced by American Minister Charles E. Mitchell to adopt a resolution requesting the Council of the League to appoint a white American as chief adviser to the Liberian government as a part of the reform program, the document instructed these delegates to not only oppose the appointment of an American, but fight against any American dictatorship in the republic.

It also instructed the delegates to accept the advice of Lord Cecil and to work out with him a program based upon the understanding that the British position upon the Liberian question was not only sympathetic but acceptable to the administration. They were told in the document to call upon the British statesman upon their arrival in London and present the Liberian government's gratification for the advice contained in a letter and adopted by executive order.

U. S. Regarded Hostile

The instructions to the delegates also make it unmistakably clear that the Liberian administration regards the U.S. State Department as hostile to Liberian interests. Attention is called to the American Finance Corporation and the Firestone agreements, which the administration considers unfair advantages.

Terms Not Known

In the meantime neither Dennis nor Grimes has returned to Liberia and the government has not made public the terms of any agreement they have signed. That all is not smooth, however, cropped out here when the legislature passed a resolution modifying the League's suggestion, in that it did not grant satisfactory authority to the chief adviser.

The chef adviser, together with the three provincial commissioners are expected here sometime after the first of the year.

Hail Hoover Defeat

The Barclay government hailed the defeat of Hoover and the election of Roosevelt as they feel the latter will adopt a more favorable attitude towards the administration.

Administration opponents, however, declare that the present administration is so thoroughly morally bankrupt that nothing can happen now to save them. They feel that Barclay should step down as soon as the chief adviser and commission arrives.

Information has also reached here that there will be nine foreign specialists to assist in working out the reforms. President Barclay the opposition says, is still spending much time in persecuting his enemies. The latest event reported along this line was the recent arrest of Dr. F. W. M. Morias, who, with Mr. Brownwell, went to the League to lay before it the grievances of the native chiefs.

According to information, Morias, after being feted by the Kroo Coast natives, was arrested on a charge of "sedition" and thrown into Sasstown prison. Forty other cases of arrests have been reported.

Among visitors here is Henry L. West, of the American Colonization Society, of Washington.

Firestone Rubber Company Interests Out Liberia's Independence and Put Charged V Her People

Journal and Guide

NEW YORK—(ANP)—Liberia is in danger of having her independence taken away from her and the power which threatens the future of the African Republic founded by freed American slaves is the American government and the League of Nations. The chief power behind this movement, however, is the Firestone Rubber Company, millionaire tire manufacturers, who have a million acre rubber plantation within the republic, and have made a five million dollar loan to the Liberian Government which it wishes to protect. 12-24-32

The above charges are made by Howard W. Oxley, white educational advisor to Liberia, whose work there is backed and supported by the foreign mission boards of the National Baptist Convention, the Methodist Episcopal church, the Protestant Episcopal church, and the American Lutheran churches, as well as three widely known American colonization societies.

Writing in the December Crisis, Mr. Oxley gives an analysis of the situation in Liberia which he has observed during his stay there of three years from 1929 to 1932. Exposed to the propaganda of paid emissaries who have sought to serve these financial interests and fed information through daily paper descriptions of the conditions found in Liberia but without adequate knowledge of the background of all African colonies, Negro public opinion in America has been wavering in its allegiance to the Liberian republic. Mr. Oxley, writing in the December Crisis, says:

What Has Happened

"Through the leadership of the Firestone Company an indictment has been framed against Liberia in such a way as to induce the United States Department of State and the League of Nations to cooperate in planning to set up a white dictatorship in Liberia in the place of the present republican form of government which has prevailed since 1847.

"The indictment has been so framed that it has obtained almost universal support among the leaders of the nations at Geneva, and even the two reports of the commissions sent down to Liberia by the League of Nations are used as evidence in support of the indictment.

Firestone Dictation

"The indictment charges the Liberian government with a series of high crimes resembling slavery, and that certain high government officials were profiting from such a social system. These conditions shocked America and Europe, and general resentment followed. Liberian officials came to be thought of as slave drivers, and the great mass of native peoples were thought of as slaves. The mere mention of the name Liberia became odious and repellant to the finer sentiments and intelligence of civilized peoples.

"The American Government and the League of Nations united on a program for stamping out this system and it was agreed by the representatives in Geneva that a white dictator should be selected by the League who should have absolute powers in Liberia. He was to be responsible only to the League of Nations. But it was soon learned that the Firestone Company wished to reserve the right to name such a dictator, and that he must be an American.

"Liberia thus stands condemned before the world; she faces having white dictatorship over her; the Barclay administration will be subservient to white control, and the elected officials of the country will become mere figureheads. The destruction of Liberian independence will have been made complete. The Firestone Company will have completed its plans for controlling the country in order that their rubber plantations may prosper. The economic system of America will have been clamped down upon a helpless country and the last opportunity which Negroes have had for free and unmolested experimentation in self-development and self-determination will have been destroyed.

President King Responsible

"But there is another side to this question. Great changes have been taking place in Liberia. Unbiased understanding of these would make the appointment of white dictators in Liberia seem unwise and unnecessary. In the first place the shocking conditions reported by the committee from the League of Nations are directly chargeable to the administration of President King, and not to the new and younger generation of administrators in Liberia. President King was forced to resign and the liberal, progressive forces of the country drafted Edwin Barclay for acting president.

Mr. Barclay promptly summoned to his aid all the best elements in the population to rid Liberia of the evils of President King's administration. Because of the thoroughgoing manner in which he accomplished these reforms, he was elected President of the Republic for the next four years.

Long a Public Servant

"President Edwin Barclay has spent a life time in the public service. He was born in Monrovia, the capital city, January 5, 1882, and was educated by private tutors, there being no public schools. In 1900 he enrolled in Liberia college, from which he graduated in arts and law in 1903. From that time to 1909 he served in the Department of State, when he was entrusted with the reorganization of the public school system, which work was completed in 1911.

Due largely to his efforts, the superintendent of public instruction was made a member of the President's cabinet. In 1912 he was appointed a circuit judge, in which position he served four years, resigning after completing his duty of laying down the principles governing the application of the new Judiciary Act.

Barclay Co-operation

"In every respect President Barclay and his associates have labored earnestly and tirelessly to right the wrongs of his predecessor. Likewise, he has solicited the cooperation bent on setting up white control, re- and help of not only the foreigners fuse to cooperate because they in Liberia, but the leaders of other not wish him to succeed. countries. But these have turned him down. Those living in Liberia, times set up obstacles which

failures as examples of inabil- incompetency, and use them ther evidence in the indict- these failure do ity and inco further They even as some- ment. go further than that; they defeat certain policies, in order to cite

Race Problem – 1932

Liberia

Africa
N. Y. SUN
SEP 28 1932

Stimson States Liberian Policy

U. S. Ready to Approve League Intervention if Negro Republic Grants Cooperation.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 28 (A. P.).—The United States today was declared by Secretary Stimson "ready to approve any practicable plan" for international supervision of Liberia's administration, but feels such cooperation would be futile without "an adequate grant of authority" by the African republic.

"The view of this Government in respect to Liberia," Stimson said, "is simply that any officials sent there in behalf of the League of Nations shall have sufficient assurance of support and authority from both Liberia and the league to make it worth while sending them."

The Government's position was set forth by the Secretary of State in a telegram last night to Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and W. E. B. DuBois, editor of the Crisis, both of New York city.

Answer to Criticism.

White and DuBois contended in a telegram to Stimson yesterday that the State Department attitude "amounts to a veto" of the league plan for nine foreign officials and a league adviser to supervise Liberia. This plan was suggested after an international commission reported conditions of slavery and forced labor existed there.

"If the department does not change its attitude on a question of vital importance to colored voters in the United States we should not be able to avoid attributing its position to the hostility of the Hoover administration to the Negro race," White and DuBois said.

"The remedy suggested by the league," Stimson replied, "has been supervision of Liberian administration by non-partisan officials representing the enlightened nations of the world. We have urged only that these officials be promised in advance sufficient authority to make them useful."

Point to Haiti.

White and DuBois said the State Department policy would mean "a destructive occupation similar to that which the United States has carried out in another Negro republic, namely Haiti," and added that the same logic "would lead the present administration to embark upon a unilateral intervention in Liberia's affairs for the protection of the Firestone interests."

Stimson said, "the Firestone interests have no immediate connection with the present problem."

NEW YORK
HERALD-TRIBUNE
SEP 28 1932

American Plan To Rule Liberia Wins at Geneva

League Approves U. S. View Chief Adviser of Negro Republic Should Get Power

European May Get Post

Firestone Plantations Are Urged to Pay More Rent

By John T. Whitaker

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

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GENEVA, Sept. 27.—Samuel Reber jr. of the United States, today won general acceptance of a compromise plan for the rehabilitation of Liberia, as the European statesmen, preoccupied with Germany's withdrawal from the disarmament negotiations, buzzed about the corridors of the League of Nations while the Assembly and the Council were busy with minor matters.

Liberia accepted, with the approval of the special committee of the League Council, the American demand that broader discretionary powers be given to the chief adviser of the West African Negro republic. The Council is to start its administrative, sanitary and financial reorganization of the country as soon as the Firestone Rubber Company and the National City Bank of New York reach new agreements with the Liberian government.

American Not To Be Adviser

The State Department is expected to forgo its ambition to have an American take charge of Liberia. American business interests, on the other hand, now can negotiate their own terms for further extension of funds and increased rentals. The League plan has suggested that the Firestone plantation increase their rent payments from six cents to 52 cents an acre.

Arthur Henderson, British president of the disarmament conference, and Count Pompeo Aloisi, of Italy, took the initiative in today's resumption of efforts, futile as yet, to persuade Germany to return to the disarmament movement. They went from Premier Edouard Herriot, of France, to the German Foreign Minister, Baron Konstantin von Neurath, and back again; but neither France nor Germany was willing to take an initiative in visiting the other.

Concessions Are Not Likely

Concessions are not considered likely, with the German government facing the Reichstag election of November 6 and the French government compelled to balance its budget soon, involving almost inevitable subsequent alienation of support vital to Premier Herriot. Sir John Simon, British Foreign Secretary, has returned to London because of the British Cabinet crisis.

M. Herriot devoted his real energies today to France's allies of the Little Entente (Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Rumania). They deny, nevertheless, that there is any immediate prospect of a pact of mutual assistance with a consultative agreement, or even a regional security plan, which the Danes hope to promote. The first project is said to be paralyzed, for the moment, by the German question, and the second by the absence of internationalization of civil aviation.

Two Nations Deplore War

Some League members hope, on the other hand, to fill with "a new Locarno agreement" the empty programs of the Council and Assembly, which have refused or postponed consideration of disarmament, the Manchurian problem, and the economic depression.

The Assembly committees organized today, had before them only such questions as the co-operation of women for peace, and the plenary session of the Assembly heard China and Paraguay deplore war, with no great power willing to take the rostrum.

The Council authorized preparation for the scheduled London economic conference by its committee, upon which Norman H. Davis and Frederic M. Sackett, Ambassador to Germany, represented the United States. Then, after routine items, it went into secret session, deplored the Bolivian-Paraguayan hostilities in the Chaco as contrary to the League Covenant and approved the resignation of Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General, in November, after the Assembly will have decided whether to abolish the post of Under-Secretary-General.

THE MOTE AND THE BEAM.

In setting forth the view of the American government in respect to Liberia Secretary of State Stimson recently advised the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that the United States has no desire, or plan, to intervene in the African republic, but is seeking to cooperate with the other nations of the world "in bringing to an end conditions which have shocked the humanitarian sentiments of the whole civilized globe." These conditions are slavery and forced labor reported as existing in that country, with the active cooperation of high officials of the Liberian government.

This altruistic attitude on the part of the Secretary of State is admirably phrased, and the refusal of the Department to recognize the present government in Liberia because it has failed to carry out promised reforms, is in line with its professions for the uplift of humanity. But popular belief in the sincerity of these professions is strained when we are credibly informed that similar conditions of forced labor and brutal treatment of laborers exists in the United States, under the protection and rule of high officials of the War Department. Charges have been preferred of brutal administration, unsanitary living arrangements and other conditions amounting to virtual enslavement of Negro workers on the Mississippi flood project, an improvement carried on under the auspices of the Federal government.

Specific cases of brutality and robbery of these workers by the commissary system were given in the testimony of an investigator, who was able to question the terrified workers and had their statements confirmed by white contractors and foremen. The contract system used by the War Department was held responsible for the worst abuses, the investigator saying that at one government camp conditions were much better as to living and wages, although the men were obliged to work twelve hours a day. The exploitation of black labor in the South by a system of peonage is no new thing. It once provoked the caustic tongued Mr. Mencken to insist that slavery was not abolished by the Civil War.

Reading Secretary Stimon's reprobation of Liberian conditions, in the light of the Mississippi flood control report, recalls a sermon preached some nineteen centuries ago, in which the Preacher exhorted his hearers to "judge not, that ye be not judged." The final recommendation is still applicable: "Thou hypocrite, first cast the beam out of thine own eye; and then thou shalt see clearly to cast the mote out of thy brother's eye."

Liberia may need to reform its labor conditions, but so does the United States.

NEW YORK
HERALD-TRIBUNE
OCT 13 1932

J. S. Indorses League's Plan To Aid Liberia

State Department Approves Appointment of Adviser Responsible to Geneva

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

WASHINGTON, Oct. 12.—Pointing the way to a settlement of the international dispute over how to redeem Liberia from social and economic evils, the State Department announced its indorsement today of a compromise program for a temporary international administration in the African Negro republic.

The program, which will be accepted by Liberia, has been adopted unanimously by the committee on Liberia, working in Geneva under the auspices of the League of Nations. The State Department has recommended to the Finance Corporation of America.

creditor of the Negro nation to the extent of $2,250,000, that it carry on direct negotiations with Liberia on the basis of the principles in the adopted program.

The Finance Corporation, which is understood to be allied with the Firestone rubber plantation interests in Liberia, has agreed to negotiate a detailed plan of action, although not satisfied that the general principles "are as yet in form to afford a solution."

The international committee's proposed program, instituted primarily to end conditions of slavery in Liberia calls for appointment of a chief adviser to the republic, appointed by the Council of the League of Nations and responsible only to it. This international official would supervise the execution of the scheme of assistance. With him would be three non-Liberian specialists as commissioners of the three provinces into which the Negro republic would be divided for administrative purposes. They would be designated by the League Council, but approved and appointed by the President of Liberia and responsible to the chief of the government through the intermediary of the Secretary of the Interior.

Under the program, the Liberian government would also engage two full-time medical officers for hospital and health work, designated also by the League Council. The chief adviser would be given the task of drafting progressive details of the plan of assistance to Liberia.

The State Department, which hitherto has been at odds with other countries represented in the Liberian committee because it did not believe they were demanding sufficient authority for the international adviser, apparently is satisfied by the delegation of powers now planned. The Liberian government, under this program, would agree to follow the recommendations of the adviser, subject only to the condition that it might appeal any question to the League Council.

"Should the Council consider that the Liberian government has disregarded the undertakings given in the present scheme, it may declare that the present scheme has lapsed and that consequently the arrangements to be entered into with the finance corporation only for the execution of the plan of assistance are no longer binding on those companies," the plan states.

The plan of assistance will terminate after a period of five years from the date of nomination of the principal adviser by the Council, unless the Liberian government intimates its desire that it should continue its cooperation.

The financial details of the program are left to be worked out by the Finance Corporation of America, Liberia and the international committee. In writing to the finance corporation, the State Department transmitted the following indorsement:

"In the opinion of the department, the general principles are susceptible of use as a basis for the further development of the Liberian problem through direct negotiations between the finance corporation and Liberia. In making the text available to you the department accordingly indorses in this sense the general principles contained therein."

GLOVERSVILLE, N. Y.
LEADER-REPUBLICAN

OCT 1 1932

Responsibility in Liberia.

ONE of the oldest questions in the world is now on the plate of the State Department at Washington with reference to the situation in Liberia and the proposed action of the League of Nations there. Briefly, the issue is slavery.

Founded as the Free State of Liberia by negroes escaped from slavery in this country before the Civil War between the states, Liberia is today the only remaining country on the earth's surface where human slavery is a recognized fact. The League of Nations commission has been making a study of the matter for several years and now has a plan involving nine foreign officials and a League adviser to supervise the affairs of the negro republic.

American officials were reported opposed to the plan on the ground of impracticability, and this raised an immediate protest from two officials of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

In a sharp note to the Secretary of State they declared that "if the Department does not change its attitude on a question of vital importance to colored voters in the United States, we would not be able to avoid attributing its position to the hostility of the Hoover administration to the negro race."

Obviously this note was intended as a political threat. Mr. Stimson replied promptly that the officials suggested by the League should be promised cooperation in advance in order to make the plan practical. At the same time Mr. Stimson denied that the policy of the State Department was prompted by a desire to protect the Firestone interests—as has been cleverly suggested by some Democratic politicians in an effort to add fuel to their campaign fires.

Whatever the implications, there is no doubt of the moral obligation of the United States with respect to the Liberian slavery question. On the other hand, if the League of Nations can handle the matter without further intervention by us in the business of other peoples—a most costly operation as the records show—then it would seem that we might well kill two birds with one stone, and do our duty, at the same time interposing no objections to the first thing that has approximated action on a world scandal.

PACIFICATION IN LIBERIA.

League Envoy's Report.

GENEVA, October 14.

The Secretariat of the League of Nations has published the report of Dr. M. D. Mackenzie, of the Health Section of the League, on his visit to the Kru coast of Liberia to pacify the warring tribes.

Dr. Mackenzie arrived at Monrovia on June 26, where he was joined by Mr. F. A. K. Russell, the special representative of the Liberian Government. They went to Sasstown, in the disturbed area, on July 2, and found that general warfare was in progress, in which forty-four Kru towns had been burned, and many people killed, and that four tribes (Old Sasstown, Borroh, Dio, and Wissepo), comprising some 12,000 men, women, and children, had been driven into the bush, where they were starving.

Dr. Mackenzie, who had full powers from the Government, remained there for two months, and during this time the following practical results were obtained. All fighting was stopped and of the four tribes driven into the bush two returned to their own lands under conditions suggested to them by the League Commissioner and finally laid down by the Government. The reconstruction of houses and farms is going on over the whole area. For several reasons it was decided that the other two tribes should remain in the bush for a year. Outstanding land questions on the Kru coast were examined in detail and involved some miles of boundary cutting through high bush and swamp and the mapping of districts and rivers.

Lord Cecil said that he did not think it was too much to suggest that Dr. Mackenzie had probably saved hundreds, if not thousands, of lives.

The Council of the League yesterday examined and approved the report of the Council Committee which had been dealing with the Liberian Government's request for assistance.—"The Times."

N. Y. EVENING POST

OCT 15 1932

MANDATE FOR LIBERIA

The troubled affairs of Liberia, whose own Governments are apparently unable to carry out the reforms which the rest of the world insists that it must if it is to continue to hold its place in the family of nations, have for long been equally the concern of the United States and of the League of Nations. The quasi-protectorate over the little Negro republic which we have exercised since it was established a century ago has inevitably involved us in Geneva's efforts to suppress Liberian slavery. But this country should have no objection to the plan devised by the League to transform Liberia into a virtual mandate through the establishment of a foreign adviser to the Liberian Government with dictatorial powers and no responsibility other than to the League Council, by which he would be appointed. Experience has proved that the Negro republic cannot stand entirely on its own feet. It must have assistance which goes further than the aid rendered by the usual foreign advisers. If we are not prepared to take over the job ourselves, it is obviously one for the League to tackle. It is true that American interests are predominant in the republic, but that is no reason either for involving the United States in its affairs any more closely than is now the case or for believing that such interests will not be adequately protected under the proposed form of government.

Race Problem-1932

Liberia

Africa

RECONSTRUCTION IN LIBERIA: AIMS OF THE LEAGUE'S PLAN

The Political, Social and Financial Problems That Call for Solution And the Part Being Played by the United States

N. Y. Times 5-29-32

By RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL,
Research Director, Foreign Policy Association.

THE League of Nations Council has finally approved a draft plan for the rehabilitation of the Negro Republic of Liberia, a country dominated by a small group of American Liberians, and having an area about as large as Pennsylvania. The League plan calls for the appointment of a number of foreign advisers responsible to the League. It is proposed to give them considerable power, under a unified League authority, to remedy the following conditions: (1) a virtual state of bankruptcy, (2) the absence of adequate public health and medical facilities, which is responsible for the recrudescence of smallpox and yellow fever, and (3) the oppression of the hinterland natives by Liberian officials.

The League plan provides for a moratorium upon Liberia's debt, the reduction of the Firestone rubber concession and the development of model native villages. It is believed that, aided by such reforms, Liberia could develop into a country of small cultivators, while adequate labor could also be provided for a limited number of rubber plantations. Negotiations between Liberia and the League over the acceptance of this plan will take place in August.

A Commission Report.

These efforts at reconstruction are the outgrowth of the report of an international commission, made to the League of Nations and the State Department in January, 1931. This commission included Dr. Cuthbert Christy, representing the League; Professor Charles S. Johnson, an American Negro, representing the United States, and Arthur Barclay, ex-President of Liberia.

After an exhaustive examination, the commission unanimously reported that an appalling condition of forced labor and slavery existed in the Negro republic. It declared that high Liberian officials, including the Vice President, have used native soldiers to scour the country for laborers whom they shipped to cocoa planters on the Spanish island of Fernando Po. These planters paid the Liberian officials $45 for each boy exported, plus a bonus of $5,000 for each 1,500 boys. When the chiefs in the hinterland protested that they could not find any more boys, they were heavily fined and even flogged before their own people. As a result of this mistreatment, thousands of natives had fled from the country into adjoining French and British territory.

The commission also found that the government was conscripting labor for an inefficient and wasteful system of public works. Native chiefs were required to furnish not only boys for this purpose but food and tools as well. Natives were often required to work four months out of the year upon road construction, invariably without pay. Many of them were similarly required to labor on the private farms of government officials. According to the commission, "intimidation has apparently been and is the keyword of the government's native policy. Not only have the native villages been intimidated and terrorized by a display of force, cruelty and suppression, but the chiefs themselves, men whom the people not so many years ago looked up to, * * * have been systematically humiliated, degraded and robbed of their power * * *"

Resignation of Officials.

Following the publication of this report, which led to indignant protests from all over the world, President King and Vice President Yancy resigned. Secretary of State Edwin Barclay, a member of the same Whig group, became Acting President. His government accepted the recommendations of the Christy commission "in principle"; it stopped the export of labor to Fernando Po and enacted legislation forbidding slavery and forced labor. Nevertheless, Mr. Barclay, who was subsequently elected President over the candidacy of Thomas J. Faulkner, the Liberian who came to the United States in 1929 and demanded an investigation, has not been recognized by the American Government, and apparently will not be until he accepts the proposed reconstruction plan.

Following the receipt of the Christy report, the League established a committee to study the situation and the State Department authorized Samuel Reber Jr., formerly our chargé at Monrovia, to cooperate with this committee. As a result of the study of this group the League sent three experts to Liberia to make definite recommendations for reconstruction.

Meanwhile the Barclay government, while professing to have enacted reforms, has been indulging in retaliation against natives who testified before the League experts. According to charges presented to the League by the American, French and British Governments, 12,000 tribesmen have fled into the bush as a result of these measures. In a belated effort to stop such outrages the League Council on May 20 authorized the dispatch of a League representative to the Kru coast.

Reasons for America's Interest.

There are two reasons why the United States is especially interested in the present situation. The first is because of Liberia's historic relationship to this country—Elihu Root declared in 1910 that Liberia was "an American colony." The second is because the only large industrial enterprise in Liberia—the Firestone Plantation Company—is an American concern.

The Republic of Liberia was established in 1847 as a result of the efforts of American colonization societies who desired to form a home for freed American slaves. The descendants of these ex-slaves, called American Liberians and numbering about 10,000, are in control of the government at Monrovia. They have been confronted not only by the problem of governing themselves, but also of ruling about 1,000,000 uncivilized natives in the hinterland. The task has been almost insuperable.

The relations between the American Liberians and the hinterland natives have been recurrently strained; the economic resources of the country have become stagnant; the administration has been inefficient and at times dishonest. To escape from its difficulties the Liberian Government contracted foreign loans in 1872, 1906, 1912 and 1927, but the League experts report that "nearly all the sums derived from past loans have been used for unproductive expenditures, so that the country has obtained no lasting advantage from the various loans contracted."

Upon a number of occasions the United States has sent cruisers to Liberia to assist the Liberian Government in the suppression of native uprisings and to prevent European intervention. The most notable case was when, in 1915, the U. S. S. Chester carried 500 carbines from the War Department to the Liberian frontier force, which thereupon decimated Kroos engaged in a revolt.

Loan and Receivership.

In 1912 the United States satisfied the foreign creditors of Liberia by obtaining a 5 per cent loan of $1,700,000 for the republic. This loan was secured by an international receivership of customs under an American receiver general and three French, British and German receivers. The State Department made an effort to establish exclusive financial and administrative control over Liberia in 1921, but the effort was defeated in the United States Senate.

A new opportunity arose, however, when Harvey Firestone found that Liberia might become a source of rubber supply, which would help to free the United States from the British "monopoly." In 1926 the State Department urged the Liberian Government to grant Mr. Firestone a 1,000,000-acre rubber concession and to enter a new loan agreement in which the 1912 5 per cent loan, which would have expired in 1942, would be refunded by a 7 per cent $5,000,000 loan which will not expire until 1967. The Finance Corporation of America, a Firestone subsidiary, undertook to advance this sum, only half of which, however, was issued. The loan contract abolished the international receivership in favor of exclusive American control. This document authorized the State Department, directly or indirectly, to nominate a total of seven advisers to the Liberian Government.

The theory was that the rubber development, together with the American advisers, would bring about internal improvement of advantage not only to American rubber interests but to the Liberian people. At the time, however, the loan contract was criticized on the ground that it imposed an excessive and unproductive financial burden upon the Liberian people. It was pointed out that the million-acre rubber concession was larger than any concession which could possibly be obtained in any colony in Africa or the Philippines, and that to secure the 300,000 natives which Mr. Firestone announced would be necessary to develop this concession forced labor would sooner or later be inevitable.

In 1930 the International Commission found that Mr. Firestone had employed only 10,000 men, and that, except for an initial period, the company had not "consciously" employed any but voluntary labor. Nevertheless, the fact that conditions of forced labor and slavery existed elsewhere demonstrated that the reconstruction plan approved by the State Department in 1927 had been a failure. In fact, since the United States had defended Liberia from outside intervention, it could not avoid a degree of responsibility for the conditions now revealed in that country.

Apparently the recognition that other methods are necessary if the Liberian problem is to be solved explains why the United States is now cooperating with the League of Nations in working out a plan of reconstruction, in which the United States apparently will surrender its present exclusive position. If such a reconstruction plan is to be adopted, it is necessary to obtain the consent of Mr. Firestone and of the Liberian Government.

Native and Foreign Power.

In the report of the Liberian committee submitted to the League Council last Feb. 6, it was declared that, in the eyes of some members of the committee, "the coexistence in Liberia of a weak State and a powerful foreign undertaking gives rise to disadvantages. It is the duty of the League of Nations to use all means at its disposal in order to find a solution of the problem on a sound basis, taking account of the fact that the loan contract and the Firestone concessions form an important element in the difficulty. These members consider it to be indispensable that the rate of development of the plantations should be adopted to the economic and social conditions of Liberia."

Apparently Mr. Firestone is willing to reduce his rubber concession, and modify his financial control in any way deemed desirable by the League and the State Department.

Greater difficulties have arisen in obtaining the consent of the Liberian Government to a reconstruction plan. The Monrovia Government, still in the hands of the group responsible for the forced labor régime, is already resisting any program which means the curtailment of their prerogatives. If the indirect pressure of the League and the United States is inadequate to secure the voluntary acceptance of these reforms, the question of intervention will arise.

5/29/32

Race Problem - 1932

Liberia

Africa

RECONSTRUCTION IN LIBERIA: AIMS OF THE LEAGUE'S PLAN

The Political, Social and Financial Problems That Call for Solution And the Part Being Played by the United States

N.Y. Times

5-29-32

By RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL,
Research Director, Foreign Policy Association.

THE League of Nations Council has finally approved a draft plan for the rehabilitation of the Negro Republic of Liberia, a country dominated by a small group of American Liberians, and having an area about as large as Pennsylvania. The League plan calls for the appointment of a number of foreign advisers responsible to the League. It is proposed to give them considerable power, under a unified League authority, to remedy the following conditions: (1) a virtual state of bankruptcy, (2) the absence of adequate public health and medical facilities, which is responsible for the recrudescence of smallpox and yellow fever, and (3) the oppression of the hinterland natives by Liberian officials.

The League plan provides for a moratorium upon Liberia's debt, the reduction of the Firestone rubber concession and the development of model native villages. It is believed that, aided by such reforms, Liberia could develop into a country of small cultivators, while adequate labor could also be provided for a limited number of rubber plantations. Negotiations between Liberia and the League over the acceptance of this plan will take place in August.

A Commission Report.

These efforts at reconstruction are the outgrowth of the report of an international commission, made to the League of Nations and the State Department in January, 1931. This commission included Dr. Cuthbert Christy, representing the League; Professor Charles S. Johnson, an American Negro, representing the United States, and Arthur Barclay, ex-President of Liberia.

After an exhaustive examination, the commission unanimously reported that an appalling condition of forced labor and slavery existed in the Negro republic. It declared that high Liberian officials, including the Vice President, have used native soldiers to scour the country for laborers whom they shipped to cocoa planters on the Spanish island of Fernando Po. These planters paid the Liberian officials $45 for each boy exported, plus a bonus of $5,000 for each 1,500 boys. When the chiefs in the hinterland protested that they could not find any more boys, they were heavily fined and even flogged before their own people. As a result of this mistreatment, thousands of natives had fled from the country into adjoining French and British territory.

The commission also found that the government was conscripting labor for an inefficient and wasteful system of public works. Native chiefs were required to furnish not only boys for this purpose but food and tools as well. Natives were often required to work four months out of the year upon road construction, invariably without pay. Many of them were similarly required to labor on the private farms of government officials. According to the commission, "intimidation has apparently been and is the keyword of the government's native policy. Not only have the native villages been intimidated and terrorized by a display of force, cruelty and suppression, but the chiefs themselves, men whom the people not so many years ago looked up to, * * * have been systematically humiliated, degraded and robbed of their power * * *"

Resignation of Officials.

Following the publication of this report, which led to indignant protests from all over the world, President King and Vice President Yancy resigned. Secretary of State Edwin Barclay, a member of the same Whig group, became Acting President. His government accepted the recommendations of the Christy commission "in principle"; it stopped the export of labor to Fernando Po and enacted legislation forbidding slavery and forced labor. Nevertheless, Mr. Barclay, who was subsequently elected President over the candidacy of Thomas J. Faulkner, the Liberian who came to the United States in 1929 and demanded an investigation, has not been recognized by the American Government, and apparently will not be until he accepts the proposed reconstruction plan.

Following the receipt of the Christy report, the League established a committee to study the situation and the State Department authorized Samuel Reber Jr., formerly our chargé at Monrovia, to cooperate with this committee. As a result of the study of this group the League sent three experts to Liberia to make definite recommendations for reconstruction.

Meanwhile the Barclay government, while professing to have enacted reforms, has been indulging in retaliation against natives who testified before the League experts. According to charges presented to the League by the American, French and British Governments, 12,000 tribesmen have fled into the bush as a result of these measures. In a belated effort to stop such outrages the League Council on May 20 authorized the dispatch of a League representative to the Kru coast.

Reasons for America's Interest.

There are two reasons why the United States is especially interested in the present situation. The first is because of Liberia's historic relationship to this country—Elihu Root declared in 1910 that Liberia was "an American colony." The second is because the only large industrial enterprise in Liberia—the Firestone Plantation Company—is an American concern.

The Republic of Liberia was established in 1847 as a result of the efforts of American colonization societies who desired to form a home for freed American slaves. The descendants of these ex-slaves, called American Liberians and numbering about 10,000, are in control of the government at Monrovia. They have been confronted not only by the problem of governing themselves, but also of ruling about 1,000,000 uncivilized natives in the hinterland. The task has been almost insuperable.

The relations between the American Liberians and the hinterland natives have been recurrently strained; the economic resources of the country have become stagnant; the administration has been inefficient and at times dishonest. To escape from its difficulties the Liberian Government contracted foreign loans in 1872, 1906, 1912 and 1927, but the League experts report that "nearly all the sums derived from past loans have been used for unproductive expenditures, so that the country has obtained no lasting advantage from the various loans contracted."

Upon a number of occasions the United States has sent cruisers to Liberia to assist the Liberian Government in the suppression of native uprisings and to prevent European intervention. The most notable case was when, in 1915, the U. S. S. Chester carried 500 carbines from the War Department to the Liberian frontier force, which thereupon decimated Kroos engaged in a revolt.

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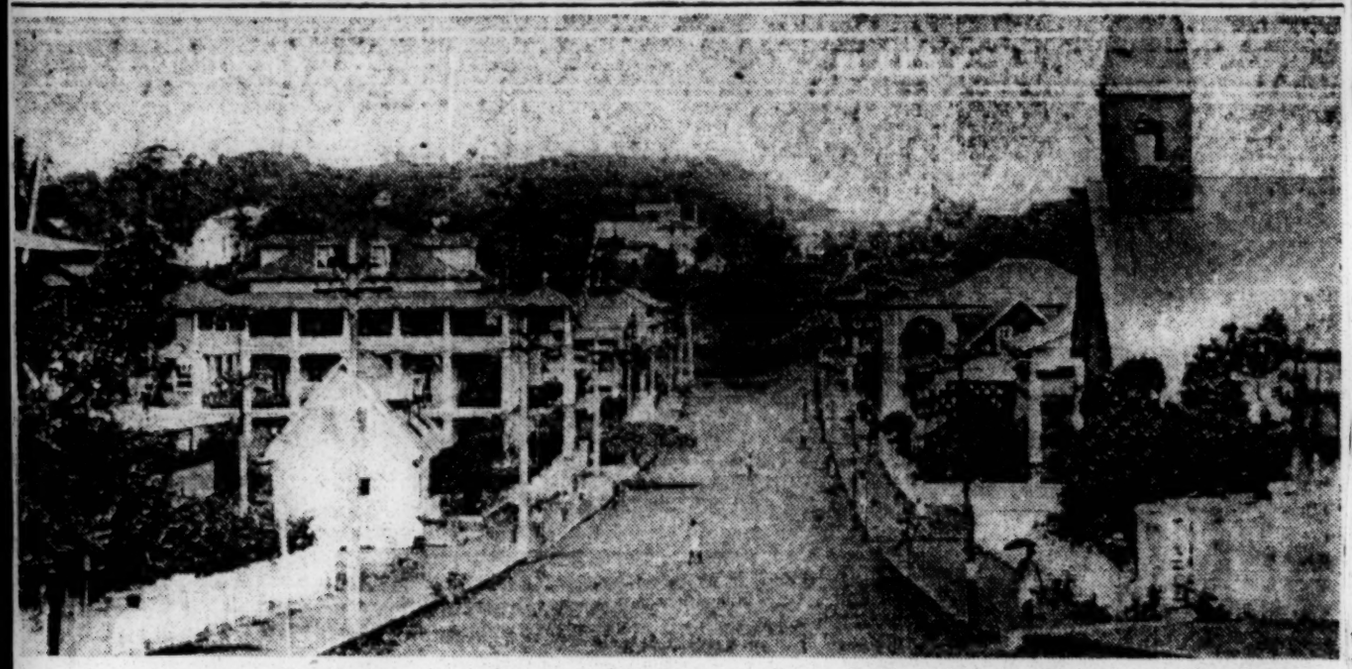
Apparently Mr. Firestone is willing to reduce his rubber concession, and modify his financial control in any way deemed desirable by the League and the State Department. Greater difficulties have arisen in obtaining the consent of the Liberian Government to a reconstruction plan. The Monrovia Government, these reforms, the League and the United States is inadequate to still in the hands of the group re- pressure of the voluntary acceptance of sponsible for the forced labor régime, which means the curtailment of their prerogatives. If the indirect

A STREET IN MONROVIA, THE CAPITAL OF LIBERIA



Courtesy Liberian Press Information Bureau.

The House on the Left, With Verandas, Is the President's Palace.

LIBERIA IS TERMED A HEALTH MENACE

League Experts Report That Nation Is Taking No Steps to Check Yellow Fever.

ITS FINANCES ARE 'CHAOTIC'

Report of Survey Says That Small Republic Is in Danger of Disintegrating.

By CLARENCE K. STREIT.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

GENEVA, May 27.—A newly published report of experts of the League of Nations shows at a glance that the recent memorandum of the United States was not overstating when it termed conditions in Liberia "so chaotic" as to threaten disintegration. Here are some random passages from the report of the experts who saw the conditions with their own eyes:

"Liberia presents a paradox, being a republic of 12,000 citizens with 1,000,000 subjects. * * * Antagonism between the two classes now has become so serious as to constitute a grave danger.

"The great majority of all mosquitos caught in Monrovia are of the species known to carry yellow fever and the climatic conditions are such as to allow these insects to breed throughout the year. Almost perfect breeding places exist in all parts of the city.

"The rat population may fatally be described as swarming. * * * The temperature at almost all periods of the year is favorable to propagation of the plague.

No Steps Taken to Check Plague.

"The absence of any attempt by the Liberian Government not only to take effective steps to control the yellow fever plague but even to arrange for notification of yellow fever as well as a complete lack of medical supervision of ships touching the Liberian coast constitute a grave international danger.

"In the whole country there are only two doctors, in Monrovia there is one medical officer, one on the Firestone plantations and three or four missionary doctors working in the interior.

"Liberia lacks means of communications. Numerous rivers are interrupted by rapids and no roads except fifty-five miles of railways have been built.

"Trade has slackened so much that it might even be said to have stopped entirely and if there is no change in the position a collapse is highly probable.

"Liberia's financial situation is tragic. She has no budget, no accounts and no money. Salaries have not been paid for months.

"Impoverishment of the populations is disturbing. * * * The population complains seriously that food products are requisitioned, taxes levied twice and no payment is made for work done. In times of depression corruption is usually at its height.

Financial Danger Imminent.

"Economically and financially Liberia is in imminent danger.

"Almost all the proceeds of loans have been devoted to non-productive expenditure, mainly to successive funding of previous loans.

"Liberia (if rubber sells at 20 cents instead of the present price of 5½ cents a pound) thus receives from the Firestone Company $43,320 a year which is not sufficient even to pay the officials responsible for service of the loan ($53,650).

"No financial group it is true would agree to lend money to Liberia at a cheaper rate (than the Firestone Finance Corporation of America), but the advantage of the loan to the lenders is undoubtedly that it secured a large concession on very favorable terms. * * * The loans proved very burdensome.

"The second instalment (this $5,000,000 loan) was only to be paid out when the customs revenues rose almost to double their present figures. Naturally such a level can only be reached when Liberia has recovered economically and it cannot do so without financial aid from abroad. The result is a vicious circle from which there is no escape except by modifying the terms of the loan agreement with the Firestone Finance Corporation of America."

The Firestone group has signified its readiness to modify the loan providing Liberia accepts a plan of rehabilitation under the League of Nations control. The Monrovias still are balking at this.

PATERSON, N. J.
CALL
MAY 21 1932

Cannibalism Exists in Liberia, Report to League Indicates

Severe Punishment Suggested for Practice Which Still Appears Among Tribes of the Hinterland in Negro Republic.

By STEWART BROWN
United Press Staff Correspondent

Geneva, May 20 (UP)—Indications that cannibalism exists in the hinterland of the Negro state of Liberia on the west African coast, were presented to the league of nations council today in the report of its Liberian committee.

The report suggested punishment for "cannibalism, which still appears to exist among tribes in the hinterland of Maryland and Sinoe counties."

In addition, the report went into other troubles of Liebria, which recently has been the center of trouble arising from enslavement of the natives and frontier police methods which led to the burning alive of native men, women and children in more than forty villages of the Kru coast.

The council adopted the report. It provided for readjustment of loans and contracts with the American Finance Corporation and the Firestone Rubber Co. The committee recommended a moratorium on Liberia's interest payments and servicing on loans made by the American Finance company, while the Firestone company will be asked to reduce the acreage of its concessions and pay about 50 cents an acre rent instead of six cents as at present.

Samuel Reber, American member of the committee, announced the attitude of the United States would be reserved until reforms have been made by the Liberian government. The council will immediately send a supervisor to aid in reconstruction of Liberian finances and a league representative to aid in pacifying the Kru country.

The Liberian financial condition was described in the report as "tragic."

"Liberia has no budget," the report said. "She has no accounts, and no money.

"Salaries have not been paid for months . . . economically and financially, Liberia is in imminent danger."

U. S. REFUSES TO FAVOR LIBERIAN PROGRAM

WASHINGTON, Sept. 12.—(UP) The state department announced today that it would accept neither the League of Nations' plan for the rehabilitation of Liberia nor the Liberian legislature's reservations thereto. It considers the plan weak and ineffectual.

Consequently, Secretary Stimson has served notice on both the League and the Liberian government that if the plan is accepted he cannot recommend its acceptance to the Finance Company of America. This company, contractor for a $5,000,000 Liberian loan, would have to agree to any changes in the present financial advisorship in Liberia, as contemplated in the League's plan.

Liberia and the League.

The Hon. Louis A. Grimes, formerly Attorney-General and now Secretary of State of Liberia, was in London this week on his way to Geneva, where, probably during the present month, the affairs of the Republic will again be discussed at the meeting of the League of Nations. Mr. Grimes will act as the chief representative of his country on this occasion.

There is no Liberian Minister in this country at the present time, because ordinary official relations between the two Governments are suspended, but I believe that informally the Republic's work with our Foreign Office is being done by Baron de Lynden, a Dutch gentleman long resident in London, whose English is as idiomatic as his Dutch. In the opinion of those who know him best, Liberia has been remarkably fortunate in securing his services.

It is curious, by the way, in view of the attitude of so many Dutch-speaking South Africans, to reflect that the last three representatives of Liberia in London have been of Dutch descent.

Race Problem—1932

Africa

Liberia

LORDS AND LIBERIA.

OUR report, in another column, of the House of Lords' discussion on Liberia indicates that the situation in that country has become an immense difficulty to the League of Nations and the United States, to say nothing of the British Colonies of the West Coast, to whose people large-scale disorder or outbreak of disease in or extensive migration from Liberia would be a most serious matter. The first point of importance that one gathers from what was said is that there is no notion among the League Powers of interfering with the Liberians' right to continue as a separate community if they so wish. Some Europeans and some people of European stocks in the United States will say: "A pity it is so. It would be better for Africa, better for the Liberians themselves, if the country were administered on the lines of one of the adjacent Colonies, and gradually attained to self-government as those Colonies will." We do not think any of the African stock, whether in Africa, Europe or the United States, will agree with that view. In any event it cannot be acted upon. And let not those who sneer at the League of Nations because it has not yet made smooth the ways of a world turned upside down by the great War lose sight of two facts—first, that it is a great thing that African communities can begin to feel that they can trust the outside world; and, secondly, that if Liberia could not rest on League membership but were exposed to the risk of annexation, non-African countries are quite capable of flying at one another's throats over Liberia. So do not let us regret the League's protection of Liberia's nationhood. Let us regret rather that even the sincere and distinguished Lord Cecil went so far as to say that "the best thing would be for some civilised country to take over the whole thing." Such remarks do not encourage Africans to repose national trust in Europeans. The Balkans countries are nearer London than Liberia is. One of them was the scene of the immediate cause of the great War. In others political murder is as common as sanitation is uncommon. We do not recollect Lord Cecil's advocacy of the annexation by "some civilised country." And they do not suffer from the appalling climatic handicap of the West Coast.

Meanwhile, high politics apart, there is the homely, practical problem of how to establish peace and order and provide roads, markets and elementary sanitation, so that the people may at least lessen their uncertainty and wretchedness and resultant poverty. Lord Lugard's advice, as might have been expected, is shrewd and direct, and will, it is to be hoped, form the basis of a remedial plan. He, it will be noticed, had little to say upon forced labour and the exportation of labour, upon which the League Commissioners reported so severely. It is as clear as anything can be that the late Government of Liberia engaged in and connived at disgraceful practices in these matters. But have the Lords' speakers read Dr. Leys's extracts from the labour laws of the British Colony of Kenya? And does any of them, does Lord Buxton, an ex-Governor-General of South Africa, in particular, innocently imagine that the vast African labour force of the Rand gold mines is free, voluntary, independent? Do they think it reaches the Rand of its own will and motion? Scarcely, we should think.

No; we are not on strong ground on high moral issues. But the people of Liberia and the British Africans of the four Colonies would, we feel sure, accept and welcome a system whereby, without entrenching upon the country's independence (of which there is no question since it is under the wing of the League) some of the lately retrenched British and African officials of the Medical, Treasury, Public Works and Posts and Telegraphs Departments of the four Colonies could be induced to serve Liberia, in establishing on a better basis the essentials of a national order, securing conditions of physical health as little unfavourable as they can be in West Africa, and holding out the hope that as the trade depression lifts the country will be able to pay its debts and give its people a livelihood. We exclude France from the scope of the suggestion not for a moment from want of respect but because France has no overplus of Colonial officials and because ex-officials of the British Colonies have worked with the neighbours of the Liberians, and know their ways and needs. Lord Cecil is to our thinking quite right in holding that no system imposed by force could do any good. In this connection it is important to note that in Lord Cecil's opinion incompetence more than any deliberate wish to reintroduce slavery led to labour exportation; and to remember, with him, that the Liberian Government itself asked for the League inquiry. There is enough good in this to justify us in believing that if it were made clear to the Liberians that there is no thought of altering the country's status a genuine co-operation could be won for a plan to put the leading official positions throughout the country into the hands of the "pick" of the Americo-Liberians, Africans born in Liberia, and sundry British and African ex-officials of the neighbouring Colonies.

LIBERIAN AFFAIRS.

President Barclay Accepts the Principle of League Assistance

WEST AFRICA last week contained a picture of the new President of Liberia, Mr. Barclay, taking the oath, but our correspondent in Liberia who sent the photograph did not state which member of the Barclay family is the new President. He is Mr. Edwin Barclay, and in an address to the people Mr. Barclay adopts the standpoint that in face of the League of Nations Special Commission's report and the views of the British, United States and German Governments, no Government composed wholly of Liberians can hope to bring about the necessary reforms. The figures quoted in the address confirm this view. The estimated revenue for the year was £220,000, but only about half this was collected; of £70,000 taxes due from the 2,000,000 Africans of the hinterland, less than £30,000 was received. The exports for three years are given as £1,100,000, or less than half the imports.

A correspondent of the "Times" contrasts the cases of Sierra Leone and Liberia. Each was founded just over a century ago, for people freed from slavery. The hinterland of each is peopled by substantially the same races. Sierra Leone has 12,000 square miles less territory than Liberia, and 400,000 fewer people, yet Sierra Leone's trade over three years averaged £3,722,000 and Liberia's only £1,100,000. "The only difference of any importance is that Liberia has been governed on purely African national lines without any help from white administrators, whereas Sierra Leone has from its foundation enjoyed the helpful co-operation of leading Natives with sympathetic white administrators. . . . This beautiful country is in a worse condition than it was 100 years ago. . . . It is without a mile of railway, with no roads to the interior, without a medical or telephone service."

THE LIBERIAN VIEWPOINT.

PRESIDENT BARCLAY'S address to the Liberian Legislature, to which reference was made in the recent debate in the House of Lords, calls for much more constructive notice than it received then, when every speaker seemed obsessed with the idea of transferring authority to a foreign Commission. Since, however, as Lord Cecil said, this is "not thinkable" at the moment, let us not think upon it, but consider the other possibilities! Apart from any question of the morality of the move, Liberia is fairly secure by international rivalry from usurpation of the government by a single foreign power, and since President Barclay emphatically re-asserts the right to national existence, there remains nothing for it, as far as outsiders are concerned, but sympathetic co-operation in a gradual betterment of conditions.

It is unfair as well as useless to judge Liberia by comparison with Colonies backed in their infancy by the financial resources and administrative experience of any of the Great Powers, or to expect of her administrators results that appear in other countries where political leaders of no greater ability are backed by an unobtrusive, efficient, properly-paid Civil Service. President Barclay says nothing of the financial millstone represented by the Firestone agreement, but one has only to read that, just as in the Gold Coast, the revenue of the country has been halved in the last two years (in 1931 it was only 551,306 dollars), to realise that there can be little available for administrative purposes, and that it is of little use urging the Republic to mend her methods, or even, as we should greatly like to see, to avail herself of the services of retrenched European and African officials from elsewhere, as well as her own fittest people, unless the financial question can first be solved. This matter is primarily largely dependent on the Firestone agreement, and it is to be hoped that the company which, Lord Cecil said, had shown itself as "very decent people" to an international League, would show itself equally "decent" in aiding an African Government in putting its house in order.

With imports and exports last year of only 1,228,102 and 838,739 dollars respectively, even though the constant adverse balance be made more comprehensible by the remembrance of such invisible exports as labour for shipping or plantations, there is room for all the improvement in quantity and quality of production proposed by President Barclay, and matters will not be helped by action adding to the unrest produced by the popular impression that the Government, if not convicted or imprisoned, is at any rate still in the dock before an international tribunal.

In view of the financial stringency, it is less surprising that progress in public health has been chiefly confined to the reorganisation of sanitary work in Monrovia than that fees in the Government Hospital have been reduced by one-third, or that a break has been made from the Treasury idea that the Department of Justice should be more or less self-supporting in fines and fees. Of the other Departments, there is naturally little to be said, but it must not be forgotten that the absence of many services in the hinterland leaves the people little worse off than they are in "bush" districts elsewhere in West Africa.

In regard to pawning, President Barclay said that this system has been completely eradicated, a statement which must be taken to mean, as it means in many another West African area, that the condition

has no legal status, rather than that it has entirely ceased to exist. Reports of its sporadic survival therefore, should not be regarded as necessarily evidence of Liberian breach of faith, since they may merely be proof of African conservatism. In any case Liberia is entitled to the charitable consideration that the "Times" recommends for Abyssinia, where, in the absence of any real public opinion, even among the slaves, against far worse forms of servitude, a progressive Emperor is unable to advance with speed. In view of what we have said regarding the financial aid that is needed in Liberia if reforms are to be expedited it is interesting to note that Lord Noel-Buxton, just back from Addis Ababa, quotes the Abyssinian Prime Minister as stating exactly the same thing. Without money, the central Government can exercise little real power, and if it is impossible by strokes of the pen however forceful they may seem, to transform conditions in North-east Africa, it is equally impossible to effect such a change in the West. where the Government has not even the military strength of a mediæval feudalism behind it.

In his references to foreign relations with Liberia President Barclay read the dispatches mentioned in the House of Lords debate, and refused to accept any surrender of sovereignty, even to a possible International Commission on which Liberia was represented. In this, his wise view that the "doctrine of an administrative personnel approved by outside authority must inevitably paralyse the nation's will to exist" is one that must have the approval of all Africans with any belief in the future of their race.

Liberia has a difficult task. Without money, and with no wide experience, she has to construct before the eyes of a critical world an administrative edifice that will answer nearer to modern needs. That she has been able to hold its site for so long without foreclosure by other nations is in itself no mean achievement, and although this has not been done single-handed, it was done in days when there was less understanding of the meaning of trusteeship. To-day, when trusteeship has become almost a catchword, Liberia offers the highest opportunity to practise its principles, for there is no direct material advantage to be gained by any one country, while any assistance given will be free from the suspicion that attaches to the possession of a Mandate. The only practicable course is that all who can will now help the Republic to struggle out of the immense difficulties with which she is beset, and so prove both their grasp of political realities and their disinterestedness in the type of problem in which Africa has often had the gravest grounds for suspicion regarding people of European origin!

The Present Position in Liberia.

A Manchester business man just returned from Liberia says in a letter to WEST AFRICA, dated April 13:—

"I am unable to state anything regarding the political situation, but, as regards business, as is well known, it has not been good for the past three years, but since last November, the financial position has improved, largely, owing to the advance in produce prices, and sales of goods have improved accordingly. I am pleased to say that the new Government, under the able guidance of President Barclay, is making every endeavour to develop the Republic and relieve the bad impression formed in other countries, which has come about during the last two or three years.

LIBERIA LOOKS TO U.S.A.

SAYS AFRICANUS SCHAACK, JUST BACK FROM AFRICA — ALL CHARGES OF SLAVERY, ETC., ARE BRITISH PROPAGANDA TO STEAL LIBERIA — TRAITOR HELPS ENEMIES — COUNTRY UNITED IN LOOKING TO HELP FROM U. S. A.

Africanus Schaack, world traveler, arrived here Friday, April 29th on the S. S. Berengaria from Europe and West Africa. He spent six months in Liberia, during which time he studied the political, social and economic condition of the country. With special permission from President Barclay and the assistance of several citizens he was able to go far into the hinterland and to obtain a general survey of conditions from every angle.

British Propaganda

"Liberia's political troubles are all British propaganda," he said. "Liberia is a thorn in the sides of England and France. These countries especially England have tried every method to remove independent Liberia from the West Coast. Lord Cecil showed his hand when he said last month that the League of Nations had no machinery to mandate any country therefore the only solution for Liberia would be for a British mandate of 21 English men who would be responsible to no one. The policy of Great Britain has been to deprive Liberia of her sovereignty and to intensify her land grabbing exploitation. The League of Nations has never made the slightest pretence in defending Liberia but rather prepared to support England in stealing the territory of a member State.

Platinum

On the M. V. Adda sailing from Liverpool enroute to the west coast he had as fellow passengers ten mining engineers from London, England, enroute to a newly discovered platinum mine in the hinterland of Sierra Leone at the boundary of Liberia. It is known that the better portion of the vein runs deep into Liberia.

Traitors to Blame

In an international sense the preservation of the political independence of the state would never have been threatened but for the unpatriotic and malicious activities of certain groups in the country who have placed their personal political ambition above the security of the state.

United Under Pres. Barclay

A citizen's mass meeting held in the city of Monrovia April 4th ended all political differences. Men and women of all parties, groups and tribes met in one common accord for the salvation of their country and the support of President Barclay. Back to America was the slogan of the meeting. They drew up several resolutions asking for a stronger tie of friendship between the governments of the U. S. A. and Liberia, for a continuance of friendship with other governments of the world and pledging their support to the present administration. Copies of the same were sent to America a Washington and other nations in Europe. Such leaders as Ex-president D Howard and C. D. King and Messrs T. J. Faulkner, M. Massaquoir, N. Dukuly, R. Sherman, D. Tue, M. Phelps D. Caranda, P. Wolo, J. Tucker and many others were signers.

Not as bad as painted

Taking everything as a whole conditions are not as bad as they have been painted. He found no starvation Although the world wide depression has hit the country there are more chances for a young Negro to make a start in life and for any Negro to make a living than any other place in the world. Merchants, traders, farmers, and mining engineers are in demand. He will return to Liberia this fall.

LIBERIANS ARE AGAIN MASSACRED

NEW YORK, May 26—(ANP) — Forty-four villages burned and 159 men, women and children burned alive are the sum and substance of Liberia's response to those natives who testified to the League of Nations commission that the Liberian government was fostering slavery and forced labor in the provinces.

The report on the destruction of villages and the burning of human beings was made to the League of Nations in behalf of the United States, British and French governments and was confirmed by the Liberian delegate to the League, according to an Associated Press story.

The atrocities were committed against tribesmen on the Kru coast and resulted in the flight of 12,000 natives into the forests.

It was stated that the government military police under the direction of the aide to President Barclay set fire to the villages because the inhabitants were "recalcitrant."

The League of Nations has a special commission which is studying the Liberian problem with about the same success that the commission investigating the Sino-Japanese question has had.

U. S. Urges League To Take Action On Liberia

GENEVA, Switzerland.—Pressure by the U. S. delegation to the League of Nations is be brought for speedy action in the program of rehabilitation for Liberia. Samuel Reber, jr., the American member of the Liberian Committee of the council of the League of Nations, declared in a memorandum last week that conditions in Liberia are so chaotic that it is doubtful that effective government still exists. To prevent Liberia's disintegration, he urged the League to appoint a sub committee instructed to remain in session until it has elaborated a workable plan for assisting the Negro republic.

The United States is ready to name its own member of this committee immediately. If the problem is left unsolved until autumn, however, it warns that it will reserve full liberty to act alone.

The text of the memorandum reads:

"The United States seeks no special advantage or position in Liberia and desires only the welfare and development of the Liberian people and the proper protection of American nationals and their investments.

"In the opinion of the American Government, conditions in Liberia have now grown so chaotic and adequate authority has become so demoralized that it is doubtful whether effective government exists in the country. Assistance must be promptly forthcoming if social disintegration is to be arrested.

"The best evidence Liberian authorities could give that they were still cognizant of their responsibility toward their country would be the prompt enactment by them of satisfactory provisions for administrative reform.

"Furthermore, it may be pointed out that the purpose of a plan of Liberian rehabilitation to be achieved through a period of assistance would be finally to provide for the benefit of the Liberian people precisely that sovereignty and independence which have been discussed in connection with the delegation of the requisite authority. This is rightly a matter of international concern which should be solved through sustained international cooperation.

"The American Government would be deeply disappointed if there were a suspension of the present negotiations looking toward the regeneration of Liberia and accordingly suggests that a subcommittee with adequate authority be appointed at the earliest possible moment which should be instructed to remain in session until it has elbaorated the basis of a workable plan.

The United States would be pleased immediately to delegate a representative to participate in the work of this subcommittee.

Africa.

N. Y. EVENING POST

JAN 30 1932

LIBERIAN CHARGES VIOLATION IN LOANS

Peoples Party Leader Says Regime Borrowed From Syrians to Attack Tribes

CITES NEW YORK PACT

George S. Schuyler, author of the following article, is a prominent Negro journalist, editor of the Negro newspaper, the Messenger, and a student of affairs in Liberia.

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

The charge that the Liberian administration has borrowed money from Syrian merchants to finance expeditions against the tribes, in violation of the agreement which binds it to float loans only through the National City Bank, is made by Thomas J. R. Faulkner, leader of the Liberian Peoples Party.

He made the accusation in connection with complaints of native chiefs that, while the League of Nations committee continues its investigation of conditions in Liberia, over the demand of the administration for delay, exactions and atrocities still continue in the country.

Peoples Party Aids in Jail

Meanwhile, latest news from Liberia indicates that members of the People's Party recently jailed because they collected funds from the Grebo people to meet the expenses of Dr. F. W. M. Morais, representative of the native tribes at Geneva, still are confined, while hearing of their case has been postponed indefinitely.

Among them is Charles B. Sancie, one of the leaders. Unable to raise $5,000 bail, the same amount furnished by Dr. H. N. Sei and Joseph S. Baker, representative-elect, who were taken into custody with him, he remains in jail. His two companions have been freed under bond, and the case after the initial hearing has progressed no further.

Mr. Faulkner's charge that the administration has floated loans contrary to its agreement was made in comment on the appeals of the tribal chiefs against the supposed continuance of the forced labor system.

Petitions Illuminating

The following two petitions are illuminating:

WISSAPOO, Kroo Coast,
December 5, 1931.

Mr. Thomas J. R. Faulkner,
Monrovia, Liberia.

Your Honourable—We have the honour most respectfully to call your attention to the letter which we sent you about four months ago and now concerning the still unsettled forced labor and war dispute between the Liberian Government and we the tribes (Kroo). Since these times we have been here in Wissepo awaiting your Honour's kind instructions in the premises.

Lately we received a message from Colonel T. Ellwood Davis saying that Edwin Barclay, the Presiden of Liberia, had ordered him to attack the whole Kroo tribes, for the purpose, that of the League of Nations and voting for you. He also produced a letter claiming that it was his orders from President Barclay.

Upon that Colonel Davis informed us that he would send down 150 soldiers which were dispatched him by President Barclay. And it was not long after that when the soldiers arrived and attacked the whole Kroo tribes at once. Well dear Honourable Mr. Faulkner in that case we attempted to reason with ourselves, but we cannot find the cause of this sudden attack upon us.

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Therefore: we are herewith sending you this letter showing that we and the Liberian Frontier Force have fought war on your account and the League of Nations. We ask here your pardon, but pray that you would send us immediately help upon the receipt of this letter if possible. We shall appreciate very kindly any consideration given us which shall bring relief to my people in whose behalf we are now pleading with you.

Thanking you in advance for your kind attention and wishing your Honour good health, we have the honour to be, Sir,

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Witness to marks and writer,
(Signed) J. B. ANDREWS.

Appeal for Protection

Kormah Section (Golah) Nov. 28, 1931.

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Sir—On behalf of the Kormah Golah, your humble servants appeal to you for protection, as we cannot get any from the Government of Liberia.

We shall not take up too much of your time at this busy moment, but shall give you some few informations re the action of Mr. A. T. Diggs, the District Commissioner and same having been approved by the Acting President, Hon. E. J. Barclay, the head of this nation, who is supposed to give justice to every man.

(1) September last the District Commissioner ordered the Section to give 109 hampers of rice. Upon the refusal of the Section they were fined three hundred ($300.00) dollars and the town Chiefs were placed in jail.

(2) One Tom Brown has been made Chief over the Section without our consent. These are the actions of the District Commission and from the ruling of the President, especially count 1 and 2, we the people of said Section take exceptions. Said matter was put before the President and investigated and going into the matter the President did not allow witnesses on our side to give evidence or statements; saying that we voted for Faulkner as he was informed by the District Commissioner, Mr. Diggs. For this information from the District Commissioner our witnesses were not permitted to testify in the case.

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(3) But taxes must be paid within seventeen days from date, if not soldiers shall be sent to collect same.

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We disagree to the counts 1, 2 and 3 and count 4, the time is too short.

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"The most pernicious action of the marauders was the destruction of towns which were a source of revenue to the Government. Hundreds of houses were destroyed merely for the purpose of distressing the people. As the soldiers approached the towns, the people fled into the woods and the soldiers plundered the towns and then set fire to them. Thus thousands were rendered homeless and the Government robbed of as many dollars annually as houses destroyed. This is burning the candle at both ends, destroying men who pay head money and houses on which the taxes are collected. Added to this is the money borrowed to send the soldiers to the Kru Coast from the Syrians who are traders in Monrovia. All others of the merchant class refused to supply the money. With the ammunition out and guns depleted, they undertook to obtain guns of the old muzzle-loading type with cap and they could only be obtained by cash purchase and thus they are not in use. . . . These people have no defender and therefore no recourse to redress. With this shortage of taxes, the proposed increase on duties, taxes, licenses, etc., without internal development of any kind and with no advance on the price of produce, will spell disaster and ruin to the Republic and annihilation of the native element."

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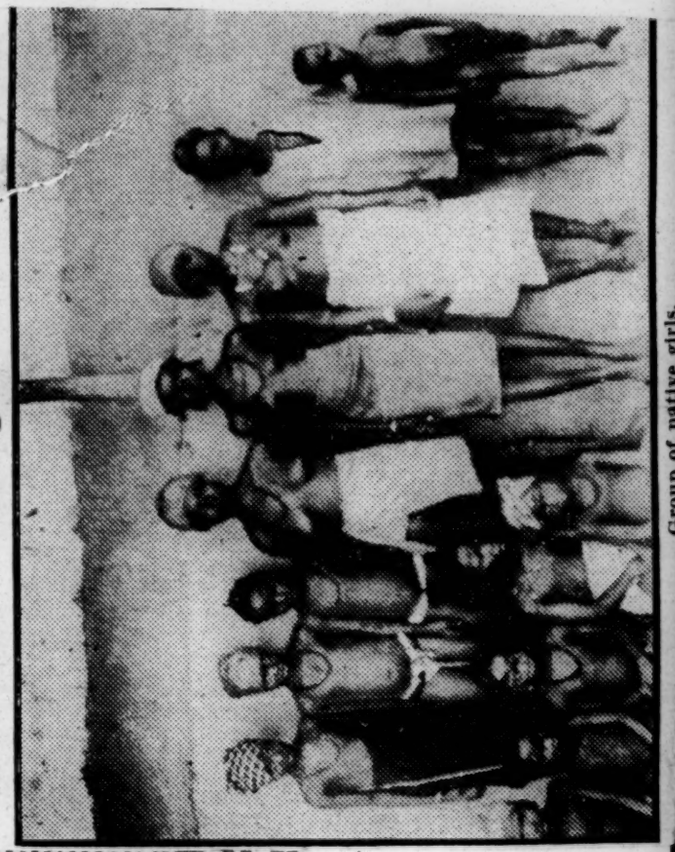
Liberia

Race Problems 1932

Liberian Younger Generation



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NEWBURGH, N. Y.
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WHITE RULE IN LIBERIA

Guardian

IS PROSPECT AS LEAGUE OF NATIONS LIKELY TO TAKE CHARGE BECAUSE OF MISRULE

1-30-32

New York, N. Y., Jan. 29, 1932—From a special dispatch to the New York Herald Tribune from its Geneva office, it is considered positive that the league of nations will swiftly move not only to "supervise," but actually rule Liberia, the little West African republic.

Boston

The circumstances are such that if the league decides to "clean house" in Liberia the authorities will have nothing to do but acquiesce. The government is at the mercy of the National City bank of New York, which has a sort of mortgage on Liberia, having an understanding that the country cannot borrow from "others." Since both the National City bank and the Firestone Rubber company, which has a huge concession in the country, could put pressure on Barclay's regime, the league's action will be ratified by Liberia. It is to be noted that the United States has not yet recognized Mr Barclay's government

The Liberian sovernment will be reorganized under the controll of the league with white personnel.

LEAGUE COUNCIL AND LIBERIA

Manchester Guardian

The Charge of Persecution

2-12-32

(From our Special Correspondent at Geneva.)

Manchester

The League Council in its public meeting on Saturday considered the report submitted by M. Zaleski, the Polish Foreign Minister, of the special committee on the financial difficulties of Liberia. The report emphasises Liberia's need of League assistance in bringing about financial and economic reform by means of loans and other foreign financial support.

After a discussion, in which Lord Cecil took part, the Council decided that the complications of the problem called for further inquiry and to that end postponed their decision until the next meeting.

Liberia Is Warned Again

Negro World

LONDON.—The Foreign Office announced today that the British Charge d'Affaires at Monrovia, Liberia, had addressed urgent representations to the Liberian government in connection with reports of persecution of members of the Kroo tribe by government forces.

3-19-32

Other foreign representatives of Monrovia joined in the communication, which was sent March 7, it was said. The result of these representations will be sent to the Liberia committee of the League of Nations Council.

SCENES IN OPPRESSION-TORN LIBERIA

Courier

Pittsburgh, Pa 3-19-32

Vivid pictures of striking scenes in Liberia are shown above. In one of the scenes the inauguration of his excellency, Edwin Barclay, is shown.

STORY INSIDE BARED

3-19-32

Correspondent Reveals Graphi Story of Nation's Oppression By Foreign Powers.

(Special to The Courier)
By Staff Correspondent

MONROVIA, Liberia, Mar 17—Liberia has suffered such castigation at the hands of her traducers and the English press in particular that the proverbial worm must one day turn, if only in self defense, hence an attempt to appeal to the intelligent and unprejudiced mind by giving an expose of certain uncontravertible facts.

Courier

England's traditional reputation for justice and fair play and her championing the cause of weaker nations has earned for her the respect of the civilized world, hence one stands surprised and chagrined to note the calumny and opprobrium hurled at the little republic by the English press in connection with the findings of the International Commission of Enquiry, more especially when one takes into consideration that all the evidence adduced in the investigation were entirely ex parte. Where in the name of justice and equity would an English jury condemn a man to death solely on evidence given in his absence and without being faced with the charge or given an opportunity to put up a defense; yet this is what really happened. Liberia was practically condemned to national extermination purely on evidence hailing from prejudiced minds and individuals on whose credibility one would not venture to hang a dog.

Years ago it was being whispered in European political circles that England had designs on Liberia. Nothing, however, eventuated at the time. Visualizing very closely the conduct of the commission and subsequent developments as an aftermath, the man in the thoroughfare is prone to conjecture and speculate as to the possible existence of ulterior motives, especially when judgment is being predicated on representations and political activities of men like Mr. Morias and similar ilk.

It would be rather interesting to know for what legitimate reason he changed his name from Morell to Morias?

All during his residence on the French Coast can he boast of untrammelled freedom of action, or was he at any time circumscribed and for what cause? In answer to his allegation that the Liberian government does not accord to the native element equal opportunities and privileges in the service, is it not a fact that the Supreme Court is composed of 50 per cent aborigines? Does not the same ratio obtain in the Circuit Courts? Does not the National Legislature consist of 25 per cent aborigines? Are not the aborigines in the cabinet to the extent of one in three? When the government adopted the policy of appointing Liberians to Consular appointments, who held the blue ribbon of the consular service in Europe, was it not an aborigine bred and born? Are there not at present quite fifty per cent aborigines employed in the different branches of the administration?

Who was vice president of this nation from 1924 to 1928? Was it not an aborigine who rose to prominence through his ability and strength of character? Apropos of the foregoing, who may I venture to enquire betrayed the honorable gentleman and caused his retirement from office as vice president ere he had completed his second term in keeping with the policies of the political party? No less an individual than the celebrated Dr. Morias, who offered a resolution retiring Vice President Wesley which was backed up and supported by a confederate of his hailing from the same tribe and town. Truly the psychology of native mentality is inexplicable. One would naturally have thought Mr. Morias justifiably proud to see one of his what surprised to know that for four ter a single protest against such tribe in such an exalted position, but consecutive years he sat in the Na- actions all durng his tenure of of- his innate proclivities preponderated. tional Legislature representing his fice? Surely he had his forum and Dr. Morias would feign impress tribe and the native interests of his could have made himself heard! the outside world of the injustice county during which time the impo- and inhumane treatment of natives sitions as alleged were being prac- by the Liberians. In connection with ticed. Did he raise a finger or regis- this the uninformed might be some-

Race Problem-1932

Africa

Liberia

NEW YORK HERALD-TRIBUNE

SEP 13 1932

Stimson Holds Liberia Delays Rehabilitation

Declares Negro Republic Obstructs Adoption of a Workable Program

He Rejects New Proposal

Disapproves Plan for Moderate International Aid

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

WASHINGTON, Sept. 12.—A public rebuke to the government of Liberia, the African Negro republic, was delivered by Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State, in a letter made public today addressed to E. H. Coit, chairman of the Foreign Missionary Board of the American Methodist Episcopal Church.

The Liberian administration, Mr. Stimson said, had "obstructed" and "delayed" the adoption of a workable program for the rehabilitation of the country.

At the same time the State Department published a memorandum which it has sent to the International Committee on Liberia, rejecting a Liberian proposal providing for a very moderate form of international aid in the correction of local conditions. The Liberian proposal, the memorandum said, would "still further and very materially weaken" a plan tentatively formulated by the International Committee, which itself had been considered by this government as insufficient in that it did not contemplate the delegation of adequate authority to proposed foreign advisers for Liberia.

Calls Situation "Deplorable"

The State Department branded the situation in the Negro republic as "deplorable." Originally created under American sponsorship as a self-governing land of liberty for Negroes, Liberia has been found in recent international investigations to be permitting slavery and oppression of other kinds. It also was pictured as in a severe economic plight.

These conditions led to the formation of the International Committee on Liberia under the auspices of the League of Nations. Represented on the committee, the United States, it was disclosed today, has been dissatisfied with the committee's proposal for foreign advisers to Liberia clothed with only moderate authority. The State Department has suggested an inexpensive international control under one executive with wide powers.

In his letter, Secretary Stimson emphasized that until the question of adequate authority is settled, this government will approve no plan for Liberian redemption. "The achievement of tangible results will depend almost entirely upon the attitude of Liberia," Mr. Stimson said.

Secretary Stimson's Letter

Secretary Stimson's letter answering questions about Liberian affairs follows in part:

With respect to the situation referred to, between Liberia and the League of Nations, it should be remembered that Liberia is a member of the League, and that it was Liberia itself which addressed the League in January, 1931, with a request for "advice and assistance" concerning reforms, the urgent desirability of which was indicated in the report of the international commission of inquiry into the existence of slavery and forced labor, which visited Liberia the previous year. It should also be recalled that this report, which constituted a shocking indictment of the Liberian administration, was unanimously presented by the three commissioners, one of whom was an ex-President of Liberia.

Following the Liberian request to the League, there was established by the Council an "International Committee on Liberia," in whose work the American government was invited to participate. A copy of a press release, dated February 4, 1931, containing the American reply is inclosed herewith. Although the American government accepted the invitation of the League and has participated in the three sessions of the International Committee held to date, it has declined to enter into formal relations with the Barclay administration in Liberia, pending some indication of a genuine willingness to adopt reforms.

Experts Visited Liberia

Under the auspices of the International Committee, three experts on administration, fiscal matters and sanitation visited Liberia in June and July, 1931, with a view to drafting a concrete program of reform for use by the League in answering the Liberian request for advice and assistence. Consideration of the report of the experts was delayed until January, 1932, largely because of the dilatory attitude of Liberia, and then again postponed for the same reason until last May, at which time a minimum program was adopted by the committee, and immediately thereafter by the Council, for formal submission to the Liberian administration.

The American government, with twenty years of experience with "adviserships" in Liberia, was of the opinion that the plan as adopted by the International Committee and the Council of the League was too weak to function effectively. This government accordingly submitted to the League last May a reservation and a memorandum in explanation of its position, copies of which are transmitted to you herewith for your information. You will note that this government stated in effect that unless and until the question of the authority of the principal official were satisfactorily settled, this government would be unable to approve a "plan" or to consent to transmit it to the interested American company to use as a basis for modification of its present rights or for the extension of further credit to Liberia.

Obstruction and Delay Charged

The American government is unable to subscribe to the view that the present administration in Liberia has co-operated in the establishment of reform measures, or that it has done other than obstruct and delay the adoption of a workable program. A further meeting of the International Committee on Liberia will probably be held in Geneva in the near future, at which time it is to be hoped that more substantial progress may be made. I should like, however, to emphasize that in the opinion of this government the achievement of tangible results will depend almost entirely upon the attitude of Liberia.

The memorandum just sent to the International Committee reasserts a reservation to the committee's previous proposal, and again advances the idea of delegation of adequate authority by Liberia to a single international official.

Another American memorandum dated May 18, now made public, stated that Liberian administration has become "so demoralized that it is doubtful whether an effective government exists." It proposed that a subcommittee of the International Committee formulate a "workable plan" for Liberia during the summer, otherwise the United States would reserve full liberty of action. The American suggestion was not followed.

NEW YORK TIMES

SEP 13 1932

STIMSON INSISTS ON LIBERIAN REFORM

Call for Action by Powers on Slavery Is Sent to League Body.

FINANCIAL AID IS BARRED

Monrovia's Emasculation of Committee Program Prompts State Department Warning.

FIXED AUTHORITY URGED

Documents Are Revealed in View of Meeting Set for Monday at Geneva.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 12.—The United States will continue to insist upon a thorough clean-up of slavery and insanitary conditions in Liberia by an international agency clothed with adequate authority, and will resist any effort of Liberia to block such a move, the State Department announced today.

The announcement took the form of the publication of a memorandum sent on Aug. 25 through the League of Nations to France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Liberia, Panama, Poland and Spain, the governments, with the United States, represented on the international committee on Liberia, and of a letter from Secretary Stimson last Friday to the Rev. E. H. Coit of New York, a Negro missionary, who is chairman of the the Foreign Missionary Board of the American Methodist Episcopal Church.

The Rev. Mr. Coit had written in behalf of his organization, as well as of missionary boards of the Baptist and other Negro Protestant churches, to inquire whether the measure contemplated in reforms for Liberia would deny free access to that country of Negro missionaries.

Obstructive Tactics Charged.

The memorandum to the governments represented on the international committee and to the Liberian Government was prompted by a resolution adopted by the Liberian Legislature on Aug. 18, which would emasculate what is considered here the already weak resolution of the international committee of last May for carrying out reforms.

The memorandum and the letter restated the American position for strong action and charged Liberia with delay and obstructive tactics. In the present circumstances, it was pointed out, the United States refuses to accord diplomatic recognition to Liberia and asserted that the American Government will not recommend financial assistance desired by Liberia under present conditions.

The documents were made public today in view of the meeting of the international committee scheduled to open at Geneva next Monday with Samuel Reber Jr., the American diplomatic officer who has attended previous meetings of the committee, again serving in that capacity.

The committee is to hear and act upon the exceptions by Liberia to the May resolution, as well as the report of M. D. Mackenzie of Great Britain, an officer of the Health Section of the League of Nations, who has investigated conditions among the Kru tribesmen of Liberia for the international committee, and has attempted to pacify them after they had been attacked by units of the Liberian Frontier Force.

Central Authority Demanded.

The position of the United States is that adequate authority must be delegated to an international agency, headed by a single officer equipped with real powers, and that short of such an arrangement the American Government will not recommend to the Finance Corporation of America the extension of any more loans to Liberia.

The Finance Corporation is reported to be affiliated with the Firestone Rubber interests, which have plantation concessions in Liberia. Its president is William P. Belden of Cleveland, Ohio, and its officers are in that city. In 1926, it underwrote a contract with Liberia to provide loans up to $5,000,000. Of this authorization, $2,250,000 has been issued, and Liberia now desires $247,000 more with which to carry out reforms.

The present attitude of the United States is a reiteration of its position as stated through a reservation to the resolution adopted by the international committee at Geneva last May. That resolution is considered by this government as very weak in that it provides for an international organization to assist Liberia in carrying out reforms but with only advisory powers.

Notwithstanding, the Liberian Legislature on Aug. 18 adopted a resolution to exempt several counties from the operation of the projected reforms, substitute several Liberians for foreigners on the advisory committee provided in the May resolution of the international committee, and specifically deny any authority to the advisory committee over the frontier force. These reservations will be pressed by Liberia at Geneva next week.

The documents made public by the State Department today consisted of the memorandum to the governments represented on the international committee and to Liberia, the reservations submitted by the United States at Geneva last May and the letter of Secretary Stimson to the Rev. Mr. Coit.

HUNT'S REMOVAL FROM LIBERIA SEEN AS COUP

Naming of Successor May Start "White Dictatorship."

SIMILAR MOVE TRIED IN 1918

Europeans also Jealous of Republic.

By DR. ERNEST LYON

The news of the transfer of William H. Hunt from his post as charge d'affaires at Monrovia, Liberia, to a desk in the U.S. Department of State in Washington, may sound good to the average person, but it is only a gesture.

This is not the first instance of a Negro occupying a desk in the State Department. The late Richard Bundy, occupying the same official rank as Hunt, was assigned a desk in the State Department, on his return to the United States from his post in Liberia as charge d'affaires. The Negro public thought that was the sign of transfer, for promotion to another diplomatic post as is done in the case of white men, enjoying the same privilege, but Bundy was disappointed.

After waiting some time for assignment to another post which never came, he finally resigned and accepted the superintendency of the industrial department of Wilberforce University, in Ohio. We sincerely trust that this "desk" in this case will mean more to Hunt than it did to Bundy.

White Dictatorship?

Is this incident of the recall of Hunt and the appointment of Harold Shantz of Hong Kong, as the charge d'affaires in Liberia, to be taken, John the Baptist-like, as the sign of the fore-runner of the "white dictator," as attributed to the "State Department" in the Nation in a previous article?

Liberia could have no just reason, to object to any American citizen, on the ground of race or color, sent by the American government, to represent it at the capital of the Liberian nation. Any American citizen, diplomatically prepared, selected from the heterogeneous mass of racial mixtures which represent its citizenry, would go to Liberia to represent the American nation and not the republic of Liberia. Liberia's only ground for objection to him would be any evidence of unfriendly attitude towards the government and people of the republic.

Suggested in 1918

Further than that, Liberia would not go. The appointment of an American white citizen to represent his government of the United States at the capital of Liberia was suggested in 1918, when the Consul-General offered the foregoing argument with this addition viz: Every foreign post, where an American citizen of color, by presidential appointment, may be given the opportunity for diplomatic practise and experience, has been closed to him by the government, which he has loyally and patriotically served in peace and in war.

The only chance for this kind of service which remains, is the Republic of Liberia. The Librarian consul-general then ventured the opinion that, under the circumstances, the administration of that period would be unwilling to bear the blame of having closed the door of diplomatic hope, in the face of the colored citizen in this high sphere of governmental service. The administration replied that the department had not viewed it in that light. No white man was appointed. That was enough.

Negroes Held Post Since 1870

From 1870, when J. Milton Turner succeeded John Seys, while as minister to the present period of 1932, a colored American has held the post of American Minister Resident and Consul-General to the Republic of Liberia. This dual office gives him the highest rank among foreign representatives in the republic and makes him the dean of the diplomatic corps.

We are quite sure that this present administration would be unwilling to venture beyond, where the administration of 1918 halted, fearing that it would be entering into the unpopular sphere of race and color prejudice.

Anyone who has lived in the Republic of Liberia, with open eyes and ears, as I have done, cannot fail to observe the attitude of Europe in relation to Liberia. Many political attempts and diplomatic subterfuges have been devised at dismemberment of the republic, by the governments of Great Britain and France, whose colonies lie contiguous to the territory of Liberia.

The presence of a Negro sovereignty on the West Coast of Africa is a menace to European colonial authority. The native African prefers a government republican in form and governed by people of his own kith and kin—contrary statements notwithstanding. The Washington State Department is too well aware of this fact, for it has had in the past to call attention to their predatory methods, resulting in the appropriation of Liberian territory rich in mineral and agricultural value.

Liberia's Task Great

Liberia has had a great task, without money and international prestige to maintain the morale of her citizenry in so close a contact with the subjects and citizens of two of the richest, most powerful and most civilized nations of Europe. The task seemed impossible. That she has been able to do as well, is a national marvel.

It is not inopportune, at this juncture to pause, in order to take a brief survey of world conditions as existing today. Europe is in the maelstrom—Reparations, war debts financial depression, unemployment starvation and insurrection like a spectre of evil stalk behind her China is depopulated by war, disease and famine. Japan is bent on territorial acquisitions, defying the mandates of the League of Nations laughing at the Kellog peace pact scoffing at the pronouncements of the Washington State Department—while Great Britain revels in India's depression and the deprivation of the freedom of her noble sons of whom, Mahatma Gandhi is chief sufferer, but whose memory will be imperishable in the annals of human history.

Lawlessness Prevails

Last but not least, our own country, finds itself in the depths from racketeering, law violation, kidnapping, burning of human beings, peonage, financial depression, unemployment, disrespect for constituted authority, the climax of which was reached in the appeal of Colonel Lindbergh to the authorities of law and order—to the government of the United States, to the detective bureaus and to the constabularies to cease their efforts to find the kidnappers and murderers of his infant son, so that he might appeal to the underworld to do what a highly civilized nation failed to do.

What a depth to which this country has fallen—and yet expects Liberia, without money and proper military and constabulary force to undertake and reform conditions in 365 days in the face of the failure of the white man's boasted superiority. Gentlemen, reflect!

HOOVER FAIR TO LIBERIA, SAYS MITCHELL

By FEROL VINCENT SMOOT (ANP)

NEW YORK—Defending the policy of President Hoover regarding Liberian and other darker countries Charles E. Mitchell, retiring Minister from Liberia, praised the President as being fair and impartial in an address before the Central Republican Club, here.

Negro Republicans in New York City flocked to hear Mr. Mitchell in the hope that he would supply them with some much-needed ammunition with which to bombard the Democrats in the coming campaign. However, the usual political fireworks were conspicuous by their absence.

Mr. Mitchell prefaced his address by informing his audience that it is a rule of the State Department that all members of the Diplomatic Corps must write their speeches. He also reminded his audience that, as a diplomat, he is forced to be guarded and conservative ni his utterances.

After these brief remarks, Mr. Mitchell read a speech which was almost entirely devoted to a record of the friendship and co-operation extended by the Federal government under the presidency of Mr Hoover to Liberia, Abyssinia and Haiti.

Mr. Mitchell also called attention to the fact that during this administration the rank and salary of the diplomatic representative to Monrovia has been raised to the level of other diplomatic representatives. Said he, "the policy of the Hoover administration toward Liberia, Abyssinia and Haiti has been consistently sympathetic, friendly and fair. Although the task has not been easy, the President has continued to carry forward a constructive, progressive policy when dealing with the Negro countries of the world."

DIPLOMAT GETS DESK AT STATE DEPARTMENT

W. H. Hunt Ordered To Return From Liberia

WASHINGTON, D. C.—William H. Hunt, one of the few Negro career men in the U. S. diplomatic service, will arrive shortly in this country from Liberia to occupy a desk in the State Department.

He has been ordered to return from the African republic, it was learned here Saturday. He is also one of the few colored diplomats who have ever been given positions in the State Department. The two or three who are in the service are stationed in Africa or tropical countries.

Mr. Hunt has had a long record in the career service, having entered it in 1899 after graduating from Williams College. He first served in the American Consulate at Tamatave, Madagascar, off the East coast of Africa, then at Gaudeloupe, in the French West Indies, then at St. Michaels in the Azores. He has also served at St. Etienne, France.

He is being transferred to the State Department partly because of his health and partly in order to give the State Department and American business interests first-hand information regarding Liberia

Race Problem-1932

Liberia

Africa

BARCLAY RAPS HIS CRITICS IN LETTER TO AFRO

Liberian President says Country will Retrieve Mistakes.

Afro-American

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1-30-32

Challenges Declaration of Dr. Chas. Johnson.

A bitter denunciation of his critics and a declaration that Liberia would retrieve its mistakes were contaned in a letter from President Edwin Barclay of Liberia, and received by the AFRO-AMERICAN this week.

The letter was written in reply to clippings and other documents sent by this paper some time ago, setting forth that Liberia was not only not doing anything to correct the slave trade, but that the practice still existed there.

Dr. Chas. S. Johnson, at the recent session of the History Association set forth that there could be no hope for Liberia as long as the present regime was in control.

President Barclay's letter follows:

December 24, 1931.

SIR:

I thank you for the clippings you were good enough to send me, and the copy of your letter to Mr. Faulkner which you thought fit to enclose.

My only comment on the "documents" is that Liberia is the victim of imperialistic designs, and that the hands of those who should defend her are being used to promote her destruction. With the continued inspired misrepresentations before you, I can attach no blame to you for registering violent indignation, nor for handing bouquets to the leader of that microscopic, but vociferous and unpatriotic minority who would appear to claim for themselves a monopoly of public virtue and decency.

Dr. Johnson left Liberia in September, 1930. It is doubtful whether he has sought to be impartially informed as to what has really transpired here during the year that has elapsed since his departure. Nevertheless, upon the basis of his partial observations of conditions as they appeared to him whilst here, he is prepared to make categorical declarations on conditions as they now exist.

Our Newspaper, too, is guilty of disseminating falsehood, because you have limited yourself to one source of information,—and that sourse polluted b political venom.

This partisan attitude renders unreliable the information with which you supply your clientele and invalidates the editorial deductions you draw. That Liberia has achieved a great work is admitted even by the late unlamented Commission of Enquiry. That she has made mistakes is admitted. But she has vitality and morale adequate to promote her future progress and the courage to retrieve her mistakes.

Sincerely yours,
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The conditions were the subject of an investigation by experts appointed by the League of Nations, but recommendations for abolition of slavery have not been complied with, it was said.

On instructions of the state department, American Minister Charles E. Mitchell, at Monrovia, has declined to recognize President Edwin Barclay, elected after the resignation of President Charles D. B. King, the latter was named in the commission's report as partially responsible for the slavery conditions.

The major powers, including the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Poland and Spain, and a Liberian representative will discuss the situation at a special meeting at Geneva Monday. Samuel Reber, former charge d'affaires at Monrovia, will represent the United States.

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Experts Defeat Republic's Wish to Put Off Report on How to Suppress Slavery.

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Then began a page-by-page examination of the report, with its three expert authors explaining what they meant and Louis Arthur Grimes, the Liberian Secretary of State, challenging many of their statements. After two hours page 3 was reached, and the committee adjourned until tomorrow.

The committee virtually agreed that before taking action it would await a statement by President Edwin Barclay of Liberia on what his government would do in the way of reform. Mr. Grimes, who requested this delay, explained that the statement would arrive on the next boat. This, however, will not delay the committee in drawing up its own plan on the basis of the present discussion so as to be ready to submit it to the Liberian Government. The experts, as previously reported, hold that a solution of the problem is possible only if eight or nine foreign advisers are voluntarily invested with effective powers by Liberia.

Mr. Grimes complained today that the experts had exceeded their powers and not worked in close consultation with the government. He strongly denied the experts damaging evidence of the ruling oligarchy having burned towns and killed natives in reprisal against those who testified regarding slavery.

This committee, which was established last May 1 by the Council, includes a representative of the United States Government—Samuel Reber of the State Department. Other governments represented are Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Poland and Panama.

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New York

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To what length the League of Nations will attempt to conduct the affairs of Liberia and at the same time recognize the nation's sovereignty is at this time a matter of speculation.

The probable action of the League of Nations will occasion but little surprise among those who have been reading in recent months the propaganda emanating from white and colored writers who have expatiated on slavery and the contract labor system in Liberia.

LIBERIA'S PREDICAMENT.

The Republic of Liberia, one of the two remaining independent governments on the African continent, stands today in a position of jeopardy. Charged with maintaining a system of forced labor which amounts to chattel slavery, which charge has been confirmed by an official investigation and corroborated by the individual observations of such a shrewd observer as George Schuyler, in syndicated newspaper articles and his latest book, entitled "Slaves Today," public sentiment has been stirred up in large measure against the present government of Liberia. The object of this extensive propaganda has been to prepare the American people, and especially the Negroes of this country, for some drastic measures in Liberia.

Recent advices from Geneva, where the Council of the League of Nations met to hold its sessions the last of January, stated that "the personal prestige of Viscount Cecil of Chelwood (Great Britain) is counted upon to assure a solution of the Liberian problem." This would indicate that British and American interests have combined to arrive at an amicable understanding as to Liberia's fate. The necessity for reorganizing the administration of the republic is admitted with the alternative of a possible revolt against the present regime, which has Barclay as President adhering to the policies pursued by President King.

Although the United States was not to be represented in the Council when it considered the Manchurian question, it was expected that Samuel Reber, former charge d'affaires at Monrovia, as an American delegate would bring to bear the strong influence of the State Department when a committee of the Council took up the consideration of Liberian affairs. It has been stated that the United States Minister at Monrovia, Charles E. Mitchell, has been instructed by the Department to refuse to recognize the election of Edwin Barclay as President, who took office after the resignation of President King as a result of the disclosures relating to forced labor. Charges have been made that re-slaves, who had fled to a foreign shore to escape the present adsecure freedom. In "Liberia—Old and Industry in Africa." This reviewer asserted that the reports prisals have been made by the present ad- James L. Sibley, as to slavery in Liberia sent by Col. ministration upon the natives who testi- and D. Westermann, fied before the commission appointed to- written by James Young, American educator, and were ignored, and added: "The investigate the conditions of slavery in Liberia was detailed a German scientist, the existence of English have been perfectly Their homes were reported to have been native tribes of the well aware of conditions, but burned and whole villages destroyed. as practiced by the natives of the said nothing because they were In all this recrimination and recital of interior. In a review of Mr. Schuyler's doing exactly the same thing existing abuses in Liberia, but little has been pseudo novel in the Crisis for February, in their own colonies, and they advanced as to the causes that con- the reviewer expressed regret that the been written, because the author tributed to bring about such an anomalous book had been written, knew that in Africa forced la- situation as the maintenance of slave "does not realize the history of Liberia bor of the blacks was the rule

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sult of the disclosures relating to forced labor. Charges have been made that re-slaves, who had fled to a foreign shore to form prisals have been made by the present administration upon the natives who testified before the commission appointed to investigate the conditions of slavery in Liberia. Their homes were reported to have been burned and whole villages destroyed.

In all this recrimination and recital of existing abuses in Liberia, but little has been advanced as to the causes that contributed to bring about such an anomalous situation as the maintenance of slave

1-30-32

New York

conditions by the descendants of present day imperialism and industry in Africa."

This reviewer asserted that the reports of L. Sibley, as to slavery in Liberia sent by Col. D. Westermann, while military attache, were ignored, and added: "The existence of slavery in English have been perfectly well aware of conditions, but said nothing because they were doing exactly the same thing in their own colonies, and they knew that in Africa forced labor of the blacks was the rule

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and not the exception." This does not excuse Liberia, of course, but according to this sane and understanding reviewer, "it explains the situation and without that explanation Liberia cannot be understood."

Another exposition of labor conditions in Liberia was given from a Communistic viewpoint in The Negro Worker, organ of the International Trade Union Comittee of Negro Workers, published at Hamburg, Germany. This article declared that since 1925 "Liberia has become an economic colony of American imperialism; and the peasantry the slaves of the government and the Firestone Co." This article is replete with personal abuse of Dr. Charles S. Johnson, a member of the commission appointed by the League of Nations and Mr. Schuyler, which lessens its value as an expression of opinion.

Undoubtedly, Liberia needs a new government strong enough to institute needed reforms in administration, but that government should be of her own choosing and made to include such outstanding citizens as Thomas Faulkner and those who have assisted in his fight against long standing abuses. Liberia should have a chance to purge her own system of evil.

Barclay Lifts Ban on American Immigrant

According to the "Liberia Express and Agricultural World," published a Monrovia, Liberia, President Barclay has let down the bars raised against the American immigrants by ex-President King. According to the report of this paper, President Barclay is quoted to have declared, "10,000 immigrants are wanted immediately They will be cheerfully welcomed 'home.'"

The editorial comment of this same paper emphasizes the need of Amer[illegible] and commends the wisdom of the president in throwing the doors of Liberia wide open to their American blood brothers.

POWERS TO END SLAVERY IN LIBERIA

Delegates From Seven Nations Meet In Geneva To Lay Plans For Stamping Out Of Evils In Negro Republic.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 28.—Reports received by the State Department here Saturday from Samuel Reber, former Charge d'Affaires at Monrovia, said drastic measures were to be taken by the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Poland and Spain to force Liberia to abolish slavery conditions. Representatives of these powers and a Liberian representative wre slated to open a discussion of the situation at special meeting at Geneva Monday. Reber will represent the United States.

Pay No Heed to Outsiders

Reports of continued forced labor in the Negro republic, exposed eighteen months ago by an international commission of inquiry, have been received by the State Department from Monrovia. The conditions were the subject of an investigation by experts appointed by the League of Nations, but recommendations for abolition of slavery have not been complied with, it was said.

On instructions of the State Department, United States Minister Charles E. Mitchell at Monrovia has declined to recognize President Barclay, elected after the resignation of President Charles D. B. King. The latter was named in the commission's report as partly responsible for the slavery conditions.

PUNISH WITNESSES

GENEVA, Jan.—Liberian natives who testified before the League of Nations commissions which inquired into reports of slavery and economic conditions in the Negro republic have been visited by severe reprisals, representatives of humanitarian organizations reported.

Homes have been burned they said and and even whole villages of those who reported to the League on the labor situation in the republic have been destroyed. They submitted the reports of these incidents to the League commission.

The commission's own report said "sensational" revelations would be submitted to the League Council, A preliminary report, given to the Council last May, said many conditions similar to slavery survive in Liberia.

NEW YORK TIMES

JAN 23 1932

PLAN TO FORCE LIBERIA TO END HER SLAVERY

Powers' Delegates Will Meet at Geneva Monday to Hear New Charges Against Republic.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22 (AP).—Drastic measures may be taken by the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Poland and Spain to force Liberia to abolish slavery conditions. Representatives of these powers and a Liberian representative will discuss the situation at a special meeting at Geneva Monday. Samuel Reber, former Chargé d'Affaires at Monrovia, will represent the United States.

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BARCLAY LIFTS BAN ON AMERICAN IMMIGRANTS

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Abolition Of Slavery In Negro Republic Is Goal Set By League

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The major powers including the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Poland and Spain, and a Liberian representative will discuss the situation at a special meeting at Geneva Monday. Samuel Reber, former charge d'affaires at Monrovia, will represent the United States.

The Black Republic

Neither the stern warnings of International Commissions nor the protests of the Great Powers have availed to check the growing chaos and misgovernment in Liberia. The facts revealed in Wednesday's debate in the House of Lords make it clear that since the visit of the League's experts last summer there has been a marked recrudescence of oppression by the 15,000 descendants of freed American slaves who form the governing class of the aboriginal natives, who number some two million, and that joint remonstrance by the Powers has been met only by a thoroughly evasive and unsatisfactory reply from President Barclay. Lord Lugard suggested that compulsory control of Liberia by an International Commission representative of the League and the United States would be the best solution. Lord Cecil replied that such a step is impossible. And no doubt for the League forcibly to impose a system of government upon a sovereign State that is one of its members would drive a coach and four through the Covenant. But there are other circumstances which may compel the Liberian Government to treat its subjects like a civilised State. Its revenue is steadily dwindling as the collection of taxes from a violently disaffected native population becomes more difficult. It will find before long that solvency depends on reform, that national existence is impossible when based upon a people aggrieved by ruthless demands for forced labour, and by denial of the medical services, the roads, and the railways that their neighbours enjoy. It may be impossible for the League to coerce Liberia, but President Barclay would do well to invite international assistance to put his State in order before it crumbles in irretrievable ruin.

Race Problem - 1932

Liberia

Africa

LIBERIAN SLAVE PRACTICE ATTRACTS NEW CRITICISM

Courier 3-26-32 Pittsburgh, Pa.

Nobleman Of Briton Pleads For Natives

NEW YORK, Mar. 24—(By ANP)—At almost the same time, official public expression was made last week in this country and in England against the continued evil effects of the slave traffic in the Republic of Liberia.

In London, Viscount Snowden arose in the House of Lords and demanded that the government do something to protect the natives from the forced labor and slavery practices imposed upon them by the Americo-Liberians, now resident in the Republic. Lord Parmoor opposed the suggestion of Snowden, for fear that the British government or the League of Nations might not be able to set Liberia to rights and, in the event, failure followed their efforts they would be held up to ridicule.

From Washington, Secretary of State Stimson was reported to have dispatched a strong note to the Liberian government censuring alleged attacks made upon natives who are said to have testified to two commissions concerning the slave trade in Liberia.

against the acts of reprisal taken against the natives for giving testimony on slavery conditions in that republic, it was learned at the State Department last Wednesday.

The British and French Governments jointed the United States in protesting. Charles E. Mitchell, the American minister, delivered the American note to President Edwin Barclay, March 7. Representatives of the other two governments also saw the Liberian president.

The protests were made following reports of beatings of members of the Kru tribes in Liberia and the burning of their villages. This campaign of cruelty and repression is said to be directed by the Americo-Liberian class against the aboriginal natives as acts of reprisal for giving testimony before the International Commission regarding slavery and forced labor in Liberia. The natives were promised protection and immunity.

Without waiting for the report of the International Committee on Liberia of the League of Nations, the American, French and British Governments agreed to cooperate and make joint representations to the Liberian Government with respect to the reprisals inflicted by the Americo-Liberians on the natives.

A report on these reprisals was made by American, French and British representatives to the League of Nations Committee on Liberia now in session at Geneva, it was stated at the State Department. Subsequently it was agreed that the nations serving on the committee should make representations to the Liberian Government.

The United States is represented on the committee by Samuel Reber, Jr., diplomatic officer, formerly charge d'affaires at Monrovia. This committee is holding its second meeting for the purpose of considering the report and recommendations of three experts who were in Liberia in June and July, 1931.

The International Commission of Inquiry into the Existence of Slavery and Forced Labor was sent to Liberia by the United States and the League of Nations following constant reports of slavery and forced labor in that republic.

During the course of the investigation, it was brought to the attention of the American Government that Liberia was endeavoring through threats and intimidation to prevent the submission of testimony. The natives came forward, nevertheless, and testified.

The commission found that what amounted to virtual slavery existed in Liberia, and following the receipt of the report Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson dispatched a note to the Liberian Government demanding that slavery and forced labor be abolished.

President King resigned. President Barclay succeeded him. His administration, however, has never been formally recognized by the American Government. Mr. Mitchell was instructed to continue informal relations with his administration.

Because the United States and the League of Nations have failed to put an end to slavery and forced labor in Liberia, it has been disclosed, the financial commission of the League of Nations has suggested that the League administer the country.

Under this proposal a number of white officials virtually would be put in control of the whole administrative machine of Liberia under one chief white official. The Firestone Company is reported to be ready to relax the conditions of its loan contract, which deprived the Liberian Government of the right to make a new loan outside, and might advance a further sum to start a new administration.

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The protests followed reports that the Liberian frontier force had been committing depredation on the Kru tribe of natives. Members of this tribe gave a League of Nations investigation committee, sent to Liberia recently, information about slavery conditions. In return protection and immunity were promised.

The first of the representations was kept secret by the State Department, but it was understood to have been very strong and plain-spoken.

Dispatch of this new note recalled the vigorous protest the State Department filed with the African republic in November, 1930. It then charged, on the basis of a League of Nations report, that former President King of Liberia and Vice-President Yancy had sanctioned virtual slavery, despite their previous promise to stamp it out.

Only a few weeks later the League made public a report on Liberian slavery that shocked the world. It told of helpless blacks being shipped as slaves to the penal colony at Fernando Poe, and of road laborers being beaten brutally, their necks being crushed under heavy baskets of stone. It told too, of children being offered in "pawn" for debts.

American interest in Liberia dates back many decades. The little republic was founded by American philanthropists as a haven for Negro slaves in the United States. The League investigation, however, has revealed that this "upper crust" of American Negroes and their descendants have inflicted on some native Africans virtually the same kind of forced servitude they themselves sought to escape.

NEW YORK HERALD-TRIBUNE MAR 17 1932

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Liberian Writer Defends Barclay Administration, and Declares That Many Wrongs Were Done to Natives

Foreign Governments Cooperating With New Administration, But British Are Seeking Control Along With Firestone

MONROVIA, LIBERIA, WEST AFRICA—I have had several talks with Hon. Charles E. Mitchell, U. S. Minister Plenipotentiary, designate to Liberia, concerning conditions of Liberia and the several newspaper articles which have been published giving one side of the picture. Mr. Mitchell has suggested that I write to you and give you the other view of conditions here.

Having this in view, I am forwarding you photographs of the inauguration ceremony of His Excellency Edwin Barclay, together with enclosures of copies of statements made by the various native chiefs of the seacoast and interior, denying the signing of the petition which it is alleged to have been forwarded to the League of Nations requesting the Republic to be mandated.

Many Wrongs to Natives

While it is true that many wrongs were done to the natives, as well as some of the so-called Americo-Liberians by the King administration, yet the true manhood of Liberia has been awakened to these injustices, and since the induction into office of President Barclay, these practices have stopped. The men of Liberia who have the interest of the State at heart are united to see that justice will be done to every man and that the perpetuity of the State will be unimpaired, notwithstanding the apparent attitude of America and Great Britain.

The foreign governments represented at this capital, viz: France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Haiti have all sensed the new awakening, and have been giving their full cooperation to the new Government. France sent out a new charge de affaires who attended, as did the other foreign representatives, all of the inauguration ceremonies. France is giving hearty cooperation to Liberia, for she sees the British and America attitude—to let Britain have control here whilst American (white) interest (Firestone) is assured.

Welcomes All Men of Color

The Government has thrown open its doors to all men of color who are willing to come and throw in their share with us. Many persons have come out within the past six months, some of whom have become adjusted to conditions. Negro doctors who have recently come have displaces many of the white doctors with their patients. The people feel secure with men of their color. One doctor— Edwards—has been appointed chief Sanitation health officer for Boarding ships, immigration, etc.

The Firestone group, with the white American fiscal officers, seem to have the sole approach to the American State Department, and the present Government has been denied the privilege of stating its attude or policy. This in itself, holds Firestone and the fiscal men to keep up the non-recognition attitude.

There are two very interesting cases which came up in February against the Firestone Plantations Company by two British subjects, a Mr. Peter Davidson, former manager, United States Trading Company, Banking Department, (Firestone's Bank), the other a Mr. Murdock, general agent of the United Africa Company, Limited.

Tried to Compromise

The Firestone men tried to effect a compromise with both of these men, as well as to appeal to their sense of duty as white men not to make a case in a Negro court. These men have already pointed out to the Liberians many irregularities of the loan officials and Firestone group, and this the Firestone group fears, for it will mean more publicity and a showing up of some of their nefarious schemes. They have influenced the American State Department to unofficially approach the Government to have the cases withdrawn and not to appear.

A Danish syndicate group of four technical men left for the hinterland on January 12. This syndicate has as its objective the economic development of Liberia, by means of a railway, timbering mining, soapery, sugar rening and the development of a modern harbor. One of the greatest engineers of Europe, Mr. Monberg, will be coming out via air in March, as soon as the men who are in the interior return to conclude agreements. Danish and Norwegian capital will be invested and the engagements will be cooperative with the farmers of Liberia.

Coming to the U. S.

I expect to attend the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Atlantic City in May, and hope that while I am in the United States I shall have the pleasure of meeting you and then I can place many more interesting incidents before you. I am well known by Dr. Ernest Lyon, of Baltimore, having lived with him prior to my attending Syracuse University, New York, in 1916. I might state further that I happen to be the Belgian Consul for Liberia, having held this position for the past eleven years, succeeding my late father, and am also the acting president of the College of West Africa, the central educational institution of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Liberia.

GABRIEL L. DENNIS

WHITE DOMINATION IN LIBERIA.

Judging from headlines appearing in the daily press, such as "Stimson Rebukes Liberia on Slavery" and Snowden Attacks Slavery in Liberia"—the stage is set for the issuance of the startling but not wholly unexpected announcement from Geneva that the League of Nations, with the consent of the United States which officially is not a member, has voted to put the little black republic under white control. Statements emanating first from Washington and the following day from London presage probable action by the leading powers within the very near future.

If Liberian officials have not abolished slavery and forced labor they should be compelled to do so. If natives are cruelly treated, as charged, immediate steps should be taken to protect them. But we see no good and valid reason why the affairs of government must be taken over by outside nations to accomplish these ends.

During discussion of the Liberian situation in the House of Lords, it was reported by Lord Cecil that serious consideration was being given the suggestion at Geneva of the appointment of white officials to be virtually in control of the whole administrative machine of Liberia under one chief white official, and that the Firestone Rubber Company, which has a large concession in the hinterland, was ready to relax the conditions of its loan contract, which deprives the government of the right to make a new loan outside. The company also is willing to advance a further loan to start a new administration under white domination, it was said.

Liberian officials are very sensitive about other nations respecting their rights and sovereignty. In all probabilities they will voice vigorous opposition against any diplomatic arrangement for them to give over the reigns of government. But how can a smaller and weaker nation frustrate the designs of America and Great Britain, backed by other powers?

In a blunt note to Monrovia, Secretary of State Stimson reminds the Liberian Government that "international public opinion will no longer tolerate the twin sources of slavery and forced labor." In the House of Lords, Viscount Snowden charges "a recrudescence of the campaign of cruelty by Americo-Liberians against aboriginal natives."

As deeply as we deplore the alleged inhumane treatment complained of, and sincerely as we wish for the stamping out of slavery and forced labor in Liberia, it is difficult to overlook the incongruous position in which the United States and Great Britain find themselves. What would Secretary Stimson say if Liberia were to remind him that "international public opinion will no longer tolerate lynching, the burning of human beings at the stake, peonage and the denial of the ballot to citizens?" "And what answer could Great Britain's Foreign Office give if reminded by Monrovia of the reign of terror, its government is conducting in India? Might seems to be right in this world of today.

Reforms Urged On Liberians

WASHINGTON. — The United States Government is ready to urge various reforms to be instituted in Liberia for the abolition of slavery and forced labor and the prevention of yellow fever, it was said at the State Department last Thursday.

These reforms have been worked out on the basis of recommendations made by the international committee which investigated slavery and forced labor conditions in Liberia and will be urged upon that republic, not only by the United States, but by other interested European powers, including the British and French governments, it was stated.

Among the recommendations is one for the reorganization of the border patrol, which formerly was under the direction of a United States army officer (colored), but which recently has been entirely under the direction of Liberians, it was said.

Although having the right under its rubber contract with the Liberian government to have only American advisors appointed to aid Liberia, the Firestone Rubber Company has waived this right and is willing that both Americans and Europeans be appointed, it was stated. The chief interest of the Firestone Rubber Company, it was explained, is to have the reforms put into effect.

Race Problem - 1932

Liberia

Africa.

NEW YORK HERALD-TRIBUNE

SEP 23 1932

U. S. Bars Plan Of League for Aid to Liberia

Urges Autocratic Intervention for Rehabilitation of African Negro Republic

H. A. McBride Mentioned

Geneva Believes America Will Ask He Be Named

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

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GENEVA, Sept. 22.—The United Stats today rejected the League of Nations plan for the rehabilitation of Liberia, West African Negro republic, prepared on the reports of two special inquiries and brought abrupt adjournment of the special committee on Liberia of the League Council, headed by Viscount Cecil of Chelwood. The British, French, Italian and Spanish members immediately declared the American counter-proposal unsatisfactory and said it required their consultation with their governments; all the other delegates informed the press individually that the committee was prepared to vote unanimously against the American plan.

Samuel Reber jr., the American spokesman, announced that the League plan for international supervisors with clearly defined powers was unsatisfactory to the United States. Washington insists that Liberia is offering inadequate powers to the chief adviser and must undertake to grant him broad powers to negotiate for details of control after taking charge at Monrovia, the Liberian capital, before Washington will recommend modification of the Firestone Rubber Company and National City Bank of New York arrangements with the Negro republic.

Ths proposal, coming after the committee had understood that the United States had accepted the League plan at the time of the May meeting of the council, lends credence, a League member said today, to the Liberian charge that the State Department will insist that the chief adviser be an American, in order to protect Amercan interests. The Liberians assert that Harry A. McBride, of the State Department, already nas been selected for the post of advser.

[Mr. McBride has been since January 1 Assistant to the Secretary of State with a salary of $8,000. He was born at Flint, Mich., and is forty-five years old. For nine months in 1918-'19 he was acting general receiver of customs and financial adviser to Liberia. He has been in the diplomatic servxice most of the time since 1911.—Ed.]

Lord Cecil objected immediately, it is understood, that the American proposal made no provision for the appointment of a supervisor. Mr. Reber then said that the American government certainly would expect to have a voice in the appointment.

Interpreting this as repudiation of the recent informal negotiations looking toward the naming of a neutral Belgian as supervisor, the French, Spaniards and Italians hurriedly echoed the British objections. Each member said that while he personally considered the counter-proposal unsatisfactory, he desired to consult his government unless the Americans accepted the league plan. Lord Cecil adjourned the committee until 5 p. m. tomorrow, and suggested that Mr. Reber offer the American position in a formal document.

One principal delegate suggested tonight that the committee's position was, unanimously, as follows: "The United States asked the League to aid in straightening out the slavery and disease problems in Liberia; we have a plan for foreign intervention, but it attempts to respect Liberia's sovereignty. Perhaps the Americans are right in asserting that autocratic control can handle the situation, but if Washington maintains this view the League must wash its hands of the problem and return the whole question to the United States."

Fear of establishing a precedent for intervention along the lines of the American proposal actuates the desire to return the problem to the United States, especially since, by the terms of the Firestone and National City contracts, Liberia cannot obtain funds elsewhere. This already gives American interests virtually dictatorial control at Monrovia, League members point out.

NEW YORK NEWS

SEP 23 1932

PLAN TO HAVE U. S. RUN LIBERIA STIRS CONFEREES' ANGER

Geneva, Sept. 22 (U.P.). — An American proposal for a "virtual dictatorship" over the Negro republic of Liberia in Africa brought a storm of indignant protests from delegates attending the League of Nations Liberian committee meeting today.

Samuel Reber Jr., United States representative on the committee virtually rejected the proposal of assistance already devised by the committee, and brought sharp criticism by suggesting that the United States would want to name the chief advisor over Liberian affairs.

NEW YORK HERALD-TRIBUNE

SEP 24 1932

U. S. Accepts League Plan to Rebuild Liberia

Asks Only That Principles Laid Down by It Figure in the Recommendations

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

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GENEVA, Sept. 23.—The United States virtually accepted today the League of Nations plan for rehabilitation of Liberia, modifying its counter-proposal to the form of a request that the special committee headed by Viscount Cecil of Chelwood embody the principles contained in the American proposal as recommendations in its report to the League Council. The committee interpreted this as indicating Washington's willingness to have a foreign neutral assume the post of chief adviser to the west African Negro republic.

Samuel Reber jr., the American representative, opened today's session of the committee—which on being canvassed had declared it would vote down unanimously the American counter-proposal—with a declaration that Washington again was prepared to accept the detailed plan which the League has worked out for the financial, administrative and health reorganization of Liberia. He promised, moreover, that Washington would try to influence the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company and the National City Bank of New York to revise their financial contracts with Liberia.

First, however, he said, the committee's report, to be drafted Monday, must recommend that the chief adviser receive "ample authority for effective execution of the program worked out" and the privilege of negotiating with the President of Liberia "upon the principles agreed to in this scheme and taking account of the draft drawn up by the experts."

The chief adviser, it is now understood, will be appointed by Sir Eric Drummond, secretary-general of the League, with the approval of the Council, after consultation with the United States and Liberia. Similarly the Americans agreed to grant to Liberia the right to appeal to the Council against the chief adviser, who moreover must make quarterly reports.

Attorney General Grimes of Liberia suggested that the plan be executed within the constitutional limits of the republic. If the report is drafted Monday despite this, the committee will be ready to report to the Council and to take charge of Liberia as soon as the United States gives notification that the National City Bank has extended a further portion of its loan to Liberia and the Firestone plantations have increased their rent payment from 6 to 52 cents an acre.

ST. PAUL, MINN. DISPATCH

SEP 19 1932

Correcting Liberia.

It is evident that the United States government has lost all patience with Liberia and the present League of Nations methods of going about the redemption of the African negro republic.

The State department in Washington has notified the International committee on Liberia, which meets at Geneva next Monday, that the United States will reject the proposals of Liberia for its own social and economic rehabilitation. This rejection by the American government was to be expected considering its dissatisfaction with the previous plan of the committee itself which this country regarded as too weak in that it did not call for adequate authority to proposed foreign advisors to Liberia. The United States realizes that foreign advisors clothed with only moderate authority can do very little for Liberia and has always advocated international control under one executive with wide powers. Holding this point of view, it is not surprising that the United States turned down Liberia's gratuitous offers of co-operation in the establishment of reform measures.

The truth is, the American government sees no sign of a genuine willingness in Liberian officialdom to end conditions of slavery and elevate the government. With this obstructionist attitude present in Liberia it is obvious that more is required than a moderate form of international aid in the correction of local conditions.

NEW YORK TIMES

SEP 28 1932

STIMSON INSISTS ON CURB ON LIBERIA

Replies to Protests on Powers of League Adviser That Shocking Conditions Must End.

UPHOLDS GENEVA'S PLAN

Previous Aides to Monrovia Accomplished Nothing, He Says, Because of Lack of Authority.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 27.—Secretary of State Stimson said flatly tonight that the United States insists that the adviser to Liberia to be appointed by the League of Nations have sufficient authority to correct conditions of slavery and forced labor reported to exist there.

He said that these conditions "have shocked the humanitarian sentiments of the whole civilized globe."

This statement by the Secretary, considered as the final disposition of the United States toward the Liberian question, was contained in a telegram sent jointly to Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and W. E. B. DuBois, editor of The Crisis. Earlier today they had telegraphed Secretary Stimson protesting sharply against what they termed the demand of the United States that the proposed Liberian adviser be clothed with "dictatorial powers."

The Liberian question is now actively before the League of Nations for settlement.

Inquiry Confirmed Peonage Reports

A committee of three investigators made a long report to the League confirming complaints originally made to this government that slavery was practiced in Liberia, and recommending that some supervision be established over the Liberian Government until conditions are corrected. The League accepted this recommendation, but a hitch developed over the authority to be granted to the adviser.

Reports from Geneva indicated a

NEW YORK HERALD-TRIBUNE

SEP 28 1932

Stimson Backs Administration Liberian Policy

Secretary Defends Request to League for Authority for Republic's Adviser

Replies to Negro Critics

Formal Statement Answer to Colored Association

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

WASHINGTON, Sept. 27.—A formal statement of the American government's position with respect to international supervision of the Liberian administration was made public tonight by the State Department, in the form of a reply by Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State, to a sharp criticism of the department's stand at Geneva by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Recalling the "shocking" conditions of "slavery and forced labor" found to have existed in the country, and that the remedy suggested by the League of Nations "has been supervision of Liberian administration by non-partisan officials representing the enlightened nations of the world," Mr. Stimson said: "We have urged only that these officials be promised in advance sufficient authority to make them useful . . . We have not proposed dictatorial powers, but we have been reluctant to see an assumption of responsibility by an international commission which has not been granted power to meet that responsibility."

Association Criticizes Plan

The criticism of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was contained in a telegram sent to Secretary Stimson and signed by Walter White, executive secretary, and W. E. B. du Bois.

Referring to Secretary Stimson's recent declaration on Liberia, contained in a letter made public on September 12 and addressed to E. H. Colt, chairman of the Foreign Missionary Board of the American Methodist Episcopal Church, the association charged that the State Department was attempting to impose "what amounts to a veto of the original League recommendation."

The proposal of the State Department, it was asserted further, would clothe the chief adviser proposed by Secretary Stimson, instead of the League committee's board, with "dictatorial powers" which would result in "a destructive occupation similar to that which the United States has carried out in Haiti."

In the letter of September 12, Secretary Stimson branded conditions in Liberia as "deplorable," picturing the country as in a severe economic plight. As the result of these conditions, the International Committee on Liberia had been formed under the auspices of the League with an American representative. The committee's proposal for foreign advisers, clothed with only moderate authority, was viewed by the State Department as merely temporizing, and a counterproposal was made for inexpensive international control in Liberia under one executive clothed with wide powers.

The telegram to Secretary Stimson read:

"Dear Mr. Secretary:

"We are writing to express our grave concern at the position taken by the American government in regard to the League plan for the reconstruction of Liberia. Without entering into the question whether the proposed amendments of the Liberian government to this plan are acceptable, we strongly believe that the State Department is unjustified in imposing what amounts to a veto upon the original League recommendation.

League Plan Favored

"In providing for the appointment of nine foreign officials and a League chief adviser, we believe the League has worked out a system which will insure the regeneration of Liberia without impairing its independence. Should the League adopt the American suggestion of imposing upon the League adviser dictatorial powers, the result would be, in our opinion, a destructive occupation similar to that which the United States has carried out in another Negro republic—namely Hayti.

"The League of Nations, in our judgment, cannot possibly adopt any such plan. If the State Department persists in its attitude the only result will be that the League will discontinue its efforts toward Liberia's regeneration. In such a case the same logic which causes the United States to oppose the League plan would lead the present administration to embark upon a unilateral intervention in Liberia's affairs for the protection of the Firestone interests.

"We are sure that the Negroes of the United States will vigorously resist such an intervention, not only because it will be utterly inconsistent with the recent opposition expressed by the United States to the intervention of Japan in Manchuria. We cannot lay down one rule for Japan and another for ourselves.

"If the League of Nations is willing to assume responsibility for the future of Liberia, the State Department has no valid ground whatever for imposing a veto on the only system whereby Liberia can be restored and its independence maintained and developed. If the department does not change its attitude on a question of vital importance to colored voters in the United States, we should not be able to avoid attributing its position to the hostility of the Hoover administration to the Negro race.

WALTER WHITE,
Executive Sercretary.
"W. E. B. DU BOIS."

Secretary Stimson's Reply

Secretary Stimson's telegram of reply follows:

"Mr. Walter White, secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and
"Mr. W. E. B. du Bois, editor, 'The Crisis,'
64 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

"The view of this government in respect to Liberia is simply that any officials sent there in behalf of the League of Nations shall have sufficient assurance of support and authority from both Liberia and the League to make it worth while sending them. The United States has no desire, or plan, to intervene in Liberia, but is seeking to co-operate with the other nations of the world in bringing to an end conditions which have shocked the humanitarian sentiments of the whole civilized globe.

"In January, 1931, an international commission of inquiry reported that conditions of slavery and forced labor existed in that country to a shocking extent and that these conditions continued with the knowledge if not the active participation of high officials in the Liberian government. It was a distressing revelation for a country founded a century ago in the name of human freedom.

"The remedy suggested by the League has been supervision of Liberian administration by non-partisan officials representing the enlightened nations of the world. We have urged only that these officials be promised, in advance, sufficient authority to make them useful. The experience of previous advisers established in Liberia has been that, without adequate authority, their presence accomplishes nothing whatever. Our government is ready to approve any practicable plan based on these principles, but, in the absence of an adequate grant of authority by Liberia, feels that international co-operation would be futile. We have not proposed dictatorial powers, but we have been reluctant to see an assumption of responsibility, by an international commission, which has not been granted power to meet that responsibility.

"The Firestone interests have no immediate connection with the present problem. Their conduct in Liberia has not been the subject of criticism by any investigating body. The present problem is not one of business interests, but of order and humanity.

"HENRY L. STIMSON,
"Secretary of State."

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regard to the League plan for the reconstruction of Liberia. Without entering into the question whether the proposed amendments of the Liberian Government to this plan are acceptable, we strongly believe that the State Department is unjustified in imposing what amounts to a veto upon the original League recommendation. In providing for the appointment of nine foreign officials and a League chief adviser we believe the League has worked out a system which will insure the regeneration of Liberia without impairing its independence. Should the League adopt the American suggestion of imposing upon the League adviser dictatorial powers the result would be, in our opinion, a destructive occupation similar to that which the United States has carried out in another Negro republic, namely, Haiti. The League of Nations, in our judgment, cannot possibly adopt any such plan. If the State Department persists in its attitude the only result will be that the League will discontinue its efforts toward Liberia's regeneration.

Intervention Seen as Result.

In such a case the same logic which causes the United States to oppose the League plan would lead the present administration to embark upon a unilateral intervention in Liberia's affairs for the protection of the Firestone interests. We are sure that the Negroes of the United States will vigorously resist such an intervention, not only because it will impose a great injustice upon the Republic of Liberia, but because it will be utterly inconsistent with the recent opposition expressed by the United States to the intervention of Japan in Manchuria.

We cannot lay down one rule for Japan and another for ourselves. If the League of Nations is willing to assume responsibility for the future of Liberia the State Department has no valid ground whatever for imposing a veto on the only system whereby Liberia can be restored and its independence maintained and developed. If the department does not change its attitude on a question of vital importance to colored voters in the United States we should not be able to avoid attributing its position to the hostility of the Hoover Administration to the Negro race

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preponderant sentiment in the League favoring granting to the adviser only the power to make suggestions to the Liberian Government.

The United States holds, in the words of Secretary Stimson, that "the experience of previous advisers established in Liberia has been that without adequate authority, their presence accomplishes nothing whatsoever." Secretary Stimson denies that this constitutes "dictatorial powers."

Text of the Telegram.

The telegram filed by Secretary Stimson, at 11:15 o'clock tonight, follows:

The view of this government in respect to Liberia is simply that any official sent there in behalf of the League of Nations shall have sufficient assurance of support and authority from both Liberia and the League to make it worth while sending them. The United States has no desire or plan to intervene in Liberia, but is seeking to cooperate with the other nations of the world in bringing to an end the conditions which have shocked the humanitarian sentiments of the whole civilized globe.

In January, 1931, an international commission of inquiry reported that conditions of slavery and forced labor existed in that country to a shocking extent with the knowledge if not the active participation of high officials in the Liberian Government. It was a distressing revelation for a country founded a century ago in the name of human freedom.

The remedy suggested by the League has been supervision of the Liberian administration by non-partisan officials representing the enlightened nations of the world. We have urged only that these officials be promised in advance sufficient authority to make them useful.

Previous Experiences Noted.

The experience of previous advisers established in Liberia has been that without adequate authority their presence accomplishes nothing whatever.

Our government is ready to approve any practicable plan based on these principles but in the absence of an adequate grant of authority by Liberia feels that international cooperation would be futile. We have not proposed dictatorial powers but we have been reluctant to see an assumption of responsibility by an international commission which has not been granted the power to meet that responsibility.

The Firestone interests have no immediate connection with the present problem. Their conduct in Liberia has not been the subject of criticism by any investigating body. The present problem is not one of business interests but of order and humanity.

The Association's Protest.

The protest of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People read as follows:

We are writing to express our grave concern at the position taken by the American Government in

Race Problem—1932

Liberia

Africa.

NEW YORK TIMES
MAY 29 1932

RECONSTRUCTION IN LIBERIA: AIMS OF THE LEAGUE'S PLA[N]

The Political, Social and Financial Problems That Call for Soluti[on] And the Part Being Played by the United States

By RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL,
Research Director, Foreign Policy Association.

THE League of Nations Council has finally approved a draft plan for the rehabilitation of the Negro Republic of Liberia, a country dominated by a small group of American Liberians, and having an area about as large as Pennsylvania. The League plan calls for the appointment of a number of foreign advisers responsible to the League. It is proposed to give them considerable power, under a unified League authority, to remedy the following conditions: (1) a virtual state of bankruptcy, (2) the absence of adequate public health and medical facilities, which is responsible for the recrudescence of smallpox and yellow fever, and (3) the oppression of the hinterland natives by Liberian officials.

The League plan provides for a moratorium upon Liberia's debt, the reduction of the Firestone rubber concession and the development of model native villages. It is believed that, aided by such reforms, Liberia could develop into a country of small cultivators, while adequate labor could also be provided for a limited number of rubber plantations. Negotiations between Liberia and the League over the acceptance of this plan will take place in August.

A Commission Report.

These efforts at reconstruction are the outgrowth of the report of an international commission, made to the League of Nations and the State Department in January, 1931. This commission included Dr. Cuthbert Christy, representing the League; Professor Charles S. Johnson, an American Negro, representing the United States, and Arthur Barclay ex-President of Liberia.

After an exhaustive examination the commission unanimously reported that an appalling condition of forced labor and slavery existed in the Negro republic. It declared that high Liberian officials, including the Vice President, have used native soldiers to scour the country for laborers whom they shipped to cocoa planters on the Spanish island of Fernando Po. These planters paid the Liberian officials $45 for each boy exported, plus a bonus of $5,000 for each 1,500 boys. When the chiefs in the hinterland protested that they could not find any more boys, they were heavily fined and even flogged before their own people. As a result of this mistreatment, thousands of natives had fled from the country into adjoining French and British territory.

The commission also found that the government was conscripting labor for an inefficient and wasteful system of public works. Native chiefs were required to furnish not only boys for this purpose but food and tools as well. Natives were often required to work four months out of the year upon road construction, invariably without pay. Many of them were similarly required to labor on the private farms of government officials. According to the commission "intimidation has apparently been and is the keyword of the government's native policy. Not only have the native villages been intimidated and terrorized by a display of force, cruelty and suppression, but the chiefs themselves, men whom the people not so many years ago looked up to, * * * have been systematically humiliated, degraded and robbed of their power * * *"

Resignation of Officials.

Following the publication of this report, which led to indignant protests from all over the world, President King and Vice President Yancy resigned. Secretary of State Edwin Barclay, a member of the same Whig group, became Acting President. His government accepted the recommendations of the Christy commission "in principle"; it stopped the export of labor to Fernando Po and enacted legislation forbidding slavery and forced labor. Nevertheless, Mr. Barclay, who was subsequently elected President over the candidacy of Thomas J. Faulkner, the Liberian who came to the United States in 1929 and demanded an investigation has not been recognized by the American Government, and apparently will not be until he accepts the proposed reconstruction plan.

Following the receipt of the Christy report, the League established a committee to study the situation and the State Department authorized Samuel Reber Jr., formerly our chargé at Monrovia, to cooperate with this committee. As a result of the study of this group the League sent three experts to Liberia to make definite recommendations for reconstruction.

Meanwhile the Barclay government, while professing to have enacted reforms, has been indulging in retaliation against natives who testified before the League experts. According to charges presented to the League by the American, French and British Governments, 12,000 tribesmen have fled into the bush as a result of these measures. In a belated effort to stop such outrages the League Council on May 20 authorized the dispatch of a League representative to the Kru coast.

Reasons for America's Interest.

There are two reasons why the United States is especially interested in the present situation. The first is because of Liberia's historic relationship to this country—Elihu Root declared in 1910 that Liberia was "an American colony." The second is because the only large industrial enterprise in Liberia—the Firestone Plantation Company—is an American concern.

The Republic of Liberia was established in 1847 as a result of the efforts of American colonization societies who desired to form a home for freed American slaves. The descendants of these ex-slaves, called American Liberians and numbering about 10,000, are in control of the government at Monrovia. They have been confronted not only by the problem of governing themselves, but also of ruling about 1,000,000 uncivilized natives in the hinterland. The task has been almost insuperable.

The relations between the American Liberians and the hinterland natives have been recurrently strained; the economic resources of the country have become stagnant; the administration has been inefficient and at times dishonest. To escape from its difficulties the Liberian Government contracted foreign loans in 1872, 1906, 1912 and 1927, but the League experts report that "nearly all the sums derived from past loans have been used for unproductive expenditures, so that the country has obtained no lasting advantage from the various loans contracted."

Upon a number of occasions the United States has sent cruisers to Liberia to assist the Liberian Government in the suppression of native uprisings and to prevent European intervention. The most notable case was when, in 1915, the U. S. S. Chester carried 500 carbines from the War Department to the Liberian frontier force, which thereupon decimated Kroos engaged in a revolt.

Loan and Receivership.

In 1912 the United States satisfied the foreign creditors of Liberia by obtaining a 5 per cent loan of $1,700,000 for the republic. This loan was secured by an international receivership of customs under an American receiver general and three French, British and German receivers. The State Department made an effort to establish exclusive financial and administrative control over Liberia in 1921, but the effort was defeated in the United States Senate.

A new opportunity arose, however, when Harvey Firestone found that Liberia might become a source of rubber supply, which would help to free the United States from the British "monopoly." In 1926 the State Department urged the Liberian Government to grant Mr. Firestone a 1,000,000-acre rubber concession and to enter a new loan agreement in which the 1912 5 per cent loan, which would have expired in 1942, would be refunded by a 7 per cent $5,000,000 loan which will not expire until 1967. The Finance Corporation of America, a Firestone subsidiary, undertook to advance this sum, only half of which, however, was issued. The loan contract abolished the international receivership in favor of

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PUBLIC PUZZLED OVER LIBERIAN HEALTH REPORTS

Afro-American

Bishop W. W. Matthews, of Zion, Okeys West African Capital

LEAGUE EXPERT SAYS HE ERRS

6-4-32

Rats Swarm and Mosquitoes Buzz.

NEW YORK CITY—The public is considerably puzzled over the health reports from Liberia, West Africa.

Bishop W. W. Matthews of the A.M.E. Zion Church stationed in Monrovia, reported to the General Conference which met recently in Pittsburgh, that he had just spent four years in Monrovia, the capital and found it one of the healthiest cities in which he had ever lived. He declared that there have been only three deaths among the 12,000 civilized Liberians in the past three months.

"If Americans would simply keep out of the hot sun during the middle of the day in West Africa, they would have no difficulty with the climate," Bishop Matthews said.

Reports by the League of Nations expert upon conditions in Liberia, however, tell a different tale. According to these reports Liberia is infested by mosquitoes carrying the yellow fever germ and the insects breeding throughout the year can be found in all parts of the city. Rats swarm in all directions and there is a complete lack of medical supervision anywhere in the country.

The capital has one medical officer and the Firestone Plantations have one. There are found missionary doctors working in the interior. Other Liberian difficulties are the growing antagonism between 12,000 Liberians of American descent and 1,000,000 natives.

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Race Problem-1932

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Reports by the League of Nations expert upon conditions in Liberia, however, tell a different tale. According to these reports Liberia is infested by mosquitoes carrying the yellow fever germ and the insects breeding throughout the year can be found in all parts of the city. Rats swarm in all directions and there is a complete lack of medical supervision anywhere in the country.

The capital has one medical officer and the Firestone Plantations have one. There are found missionary doctors working in the interior. Other Liberian difficulties are the growing antagonism between 12,000 Liberians of American descent and 1,000,000 natives.

Liberia lacks means of communication. Numerous rivers are interrupted by rapids and no roads except fifty-five miles of railways and motor roads have been built.

Trade is practically stopped. Liberia has no bank, no accounts, no budget. Official salaries have not been paid for several months. Taxes are being levied twice, no payment is being made for work done and food is being requisitioned.

Sometime ago Liberia borrowed $5,000,000 from the Firestone Company. She received half of this and used it refunding previous loans.

Its rubber sold at twenty cents instead of the present price of 5½ cents a pound. Liberia just received from the Firestone Company $43,320 for a year, which is not sufficient even to pay the officials responsible for service of the loan who have received $53,650.

It is not believed that any financial group would agree to lend money to Liberia at a cheaper rate than the Firestone Rubber Company of America, but the advantage of the loan to the lenders is undoubtedly that it secured a large concession on very favorable terms. The loans proved very burdensome to Liberia.

Liberia gets a second installment of the $5,000,000 loan when the customs revenues rise almost to double their present figures. Naturally such a level can only be reached when Liberia has recovered economically and it cannot do so without financial aid from abroad.

The Firestone Company has signified its readiness to modify the loan provided Liberia accepts a plan of rehabilitation under the League of Nations control. Liberia balked at this, but under the pressure of the United States and other countries, is compelled to kneel.

A STREET, IN MONROVIA, THE CAPITAL OF LIBERIA

Courtesy Liberian Press Information Bureau.

The House on the Left, With Verandas, Is the President's Palace.

exclusive American control. This document authorized the State Department, directly or indirectly, to nominate a total of seven advisers to the Liberian Government.

The theory was that the rubber development, together with the American advisers, would bring about internal improvement of advantage not only to American rubber interests but to the Liberian people. At the time, however, the loan contract was criticized on the ground that it imposed an excessive and unproductive financial burden upon the Liberian people. It was pointed out that the million-acre rubber concession was larger than any concession which could possibly be obtained in any colony in Africa or the Philippines, and that to secure the 300,000 natives which Mr. Firestone announced would be necessary to develop this concession forced labor would sooner or later be inevitable.

In 1930 the International Commission found that Mr. Firestone had employed only 10,000 men, and that, except for an initial period, the company had not "consciously" employed any but voluntary labor. Nevertheless, the fact that conditions of forced labor and slavery existed elsewhere demonstrated that the reconstruction plan approved by the State Department in 1927 had been a failure. In fact, since the United States had defended Liberia from outside intervention, it could not avoid a degree of responsibility for the conditions now revealed in that country.

Apparently the recognition that other methods are necessary if the Liberian problem is to be solved explains why the United States is now cooperating with the League of Nations in working out a plan of reconstruction, in which the United States apparently will surrender its present exclusive position. If such a reconstruction plan is to be adopted, it is necessary to obtain the consent of Mr. Firestone and of the Liberian Government.

Native and Foreign Power.

In the report of the Liberian committee submitted to the League Council last Feb. 6, it was declared that, in the eyes of some members of the committee, "the coexistence in Liberia of a weak State and a powerful foreign undertaking gives rise to disadvantages. It is the duty of the League of Nations to use all means at its disposal in order to find a solution of the problem on a sound basis, taking account of the fact that the loan contract and the Firestone concessions form an important element in the difficulty. These members consider it to be indispensable that the rate of development of the plantations should be adopted to the economic and social conditions of Liberia."

Apparently Mr. Firestone is willing to reduce his rubber concession, and modify his financial control in any way deemed desirable by the League and the State Department.

Greater dificulties have arisen in obtaining the consent of the Liberian Government to a reconstruction plan. The Monrovia Government, still in the hands of the group responsible for the forced labor régime, is already resisting any program which means the curtailment of their prerogatives. If the indirect pressure of the League and the United States is inadequate to secure the voluntary acceptance of these reforms, the question of intervention will arise.

UNITED STATES DEMAND LIBERIA TO CLEAN HOUSE

This Country Insists That Outrages On Natives Come To Halt

6-3-32

The United States insisted this week in a memorandum given to the Liberian commission of the League of Nations that a firm policy be followed in ending outrages on natives and bettering sanitary conditions in the African republic.

At Geneva a scheme for reorganizing the Liberian government which would provide for an international manager, to whom full authority would be delegated, was adopted, Friday, by the Council of the League of Nations.

The proposal had the full support of the United States, which has been represented at Geneva during the discussion of the plan by Samuel Reber, Jr. The Liberian representative told the Council he would present the proposal to his government.

Cannibalism Exists

Indications that cannibalism exists in the hinterland of the Liberian republic on the West African coast, were presented to the League of Nations Council.

The report suggested severe punishment for "cannibalism, which still appears to exist among tribes in the hinterland of Maryland and Sinoe Counties." The Liberian financial condition was described as "tragic." "Liberia has no budget," the report said. "She has no accounts, and no money. Salaries have not been paid for months . . . economically and financially, Liberia is in immediate danger."

Natives Burned Alive

In addition, the report went into the other troubles of Liberia, which recently has been the center of difficulty arising from enslavement of the natives and frontier police methods which led to the burning alive of native men, women and children in more than 40 villages of the Kru coast.

The council adopted the report. It provided for readjustment of loans and contracts with the American Finance Corporation and the Firestone Rubber Company. The committee recommended a moratorium on Liberia's interest payments and servicing on loans made by the American Finance Company, while the Firestone Company will be asked to reduce the acerage of its concessions and pay about 50 cents an acre rent instead of six cents as at present.

DAYTON, O.
NEWS
JUN 4 1932

Liberia stands for liberty. Thither American philanthropists sent Negroes once enslaved, to enjoy the fruits of liberty.

Those Negroes or their sons, the recent investigations have disclosed, are now drivers of slaves of their own. It requires the interference of outside nations to break up slavery in Liberia, the "free" Negro republic.

Did we expect the Negroes to be better than the white men? The white man was not too good to hold Negro slaves. Why should the black man not hold Negro slaves?

Human nature harbors a parasitic tendency hard to subdue. None of us is free from it. Some of us who would scorn to lash Negro slaves are quick to accept the benefits of other forms of parasitism equivalent to slavery—a sinecure of a government job, a tariff, any opportunity to live without useful labor.

THE LIBERIAN POSITION.

Elsewhere in this issue we publish, at the request of the Liberian Consul-General, Mr. Henry F. Cooper, a statement on the position in Liberia and the alleged atrocities committed by Liberian forces against the Kru population. In view of the very full disclosure of recent events in the Black Republic contained in the reports submitted to the League of Nations and recently summarised in our columns, it appears to us superfluous to comment in detail on the Consul-General's statements. We prefer to leave our readers to form their own judgment as to what extent the grave indictment of the Liberian administration contained in those documents has been substantiated. We would only refer to the Consul-General's main contention—that the punitive operations carried out by the Liberian Frontier Force were necessary for the establishment of Government authority and the preservation of order—which we suggest should be read in conjunction with Sir John Simon's statement in Parliament this week that the manner in which the coast natives had been driven from their ruined villages into the bush "admits of no excuse," and was done "on grounds which, taken at their strongest, are wholly inadequate." The Foreign Secretary concluded with an assurance that he would do everything in his power to ensure that the remedial measures proposed by the League Committee on Liberia should be both speedy and effective.

Race Problem—1932

Liberia

Africa.

ATROCITIES CHARGED TO LIBERIAN TROOPS

GENEVA, May 18.—(AP)—The burning alive of many men, women and children by the Liberian frontier military force was reported to the League of Nations today in a communication signed in behalf of the American, British and French governments.

These atrocities, the report asserted, were committed against tribesmen of the Kru coast.

The Liberian delegate submitted a memorandum to the League's Liberian commission confirming the burning of 44 villages and the killing of 81 men, 49 women and 29 children.

159 TRIBESMEN IN LIBERIA BURNED ALIVE, BY TROOPS

Women and Children Among Victims.

GENEVA, May 18.—(AP)—The burning alive of many men, women, and children by the Liberian frontier military force was reported to the league of nations today in a communication signed in behalf of the American, British, and French governments.

These atrocities, the report asserted, were committed against tribesmen of the Kru coast.

The Liberian delegate submitted a memorandum to the league's Liberian commission confirming the burning of forty-four villages and the killing of 81 men, 49 women, and 29 children.

The commission recommended to the league council that a representative be sent to the Kru coast to assist in pacifying the country and to bring about the return of 12,000 tribesmen who have fled their homes.

Violence by the Liberian military force followed an inquiry by the league commission, in the course of which many tribesmen accused the government of oppression.

The Liberian delegate declared to the commission that his government had taken "necessary legitimate action" against tribesmen to maintain order and to protect lives and property.

LEAGUE SETS UP NEW SCHEME TO GOVERN LIBERIA

Would Put Manager in Charge.

GENEVA, May 20.—(AP)—A scheme for reorganizing the Liberian government, which would provide for an international manager to whom full authority would be delegated, was adopted today by the council of the league of nations.

The proposal has the full support of the United States, which has been represented at Geneva during discussion of the plan by Samuel Reber, Jr. Liberia was first set up as a refuge for American slaves.

The American Finance corporation and the Firestone Plantation company, which have extensive interests in Liberia, have promised to support the reorganization providing Liberia accepts it. The Liberian representative told the council he would present the proposal to his government.

Action Follows Burnings.

The plan was adopted a few days after a report was submitted to the league declaring that many men, women, and children had been burned alive by the Liberian frontier military force.

The council's proposal, which includes reorganization of the administrative system and the departments of health and finance, was based on the findings of an international inquiry conducted at the request of Liberia.

This investigation produced a report exposing labor conditions approximating slavery and acts of violence by government soldiers against the natives, especially the Kroo tribesmen.

Financial Status "Tragic."

"Liberia's financial situation is tragic," the report said. "She has no budget, no accounts, and no money. Economically and financially Liberia is in imminent danger."

The council approved a recommendation that a representative be sent immediately to assist in pacifying the Kroo country, but trouble developed over the question of paying his expenses.

Guardian For Liberia Advocated By League

GENEVA, May 20.—(AP)—The Council of the League of Nations decided today that what Liberia needs is an international manager to whom full authority would be delegated.

This decision was reached after a League investigation which produced a report telling of labor conditions approximating slavery and of atrocities against the natives, including burning them alive.

The proposal adopted by the council has the full support of the United States Government. Samuel Reber, Jr., has acted as American representative while the scheme has been under consideration.

GENEVA CONFERENCE CONSIDERS LIBERIA

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The International Committee on Liberia is holding its third meeting at Geneva.

The session began May 6. Samuel Reber, Jr., former American charge d'affaires at Monrovia, is representing the United States.

The purpose of the meeting is to receive and consider the reply of Liberia to the proposal formulated by the experts of the International Committee, which embodies a plan of reforms with respect to the suppression of the natives. The plan has not yet been made public.

Fear Retaliation

Since the report of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Existence of Slavery and Forced Labor in Liberia in November, 1930, the American Government has insisted upon correction of the abuses which were found to exist in Liberia, but the Liberian Government has encouraged measures of retaliation against the natives, according to State Department reports.

The International Committee on Liberia held its first meeting in London in February, 1931, and the second meeting at Geneva in January and February, 1932.

WASHINGTON WARNS LEAGUE ON LIBERIA

Reserves Liberty to Act Alone if the Problem Is Left Unsolved Till Autumn.

URGES IMMEDIATE STEPS

Calls for Naming of Subcommittee to Sit Until It Has Elaborated Workable Rehabilitation Plan.

By CLARENCE K. STREIT.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

GENEVA, May 18.—The United States brought strong pressure here today to hasten the rehabilitation of Liberia. In a memorandum privately circulated to the Liberian Committee of the Council of the League of Nations by Samuel Reber Jr., the American member of the committee, the United States declares that conditions in Liberia are so chaotic that it is doubtful that effective government still exists. To prevent Liberia's disintegration, it urges the League to appoint a subcommittee instructed to remain in session until it has elaborated a workable plan for assisting the Negro republic.

The United States is ready to name its own member of this committee immediately. If the problem is left unsolved until Autumn, however, it warns that it will reserve full liberty to act alone.

To Consider Report Today.

Because Liberian legislation is threatening to delay the League's relief action until the September session of the Council by insisting on again referring the committee's plan back to Monrovia because of recent modifications, the Council will tomorrow consider the committee's report, including its urgent recommendation that a delegate be dispatched to the Kru coast to prevent further danger of atrocities there.

The memorandum therefore represents an American effort to make its voice felt at the Council table tomorrow without taking a seat.

The text of the memorandum, which has not yet been published, reads:

"The United States seeks no special advantage or position in Liberia and desires only the welfare and development of the Liberian people and the proper protection of American nationals and their investments.

"In the opinion of the American Government, conditions in Liberia have now grown so chaotic and adequate authority has become so demoralized that it is doubtful whether effective government exists in the country. Assistance must be promptly forthcoming if social disintegration is to be arrested.

"The best evidence Liberian authorities could give that they were still cognizant of their responsibility toward their country would be the prompt enactment by them of satisfactory provisions for administrative reform."

Purpose of Rehabilitation.

"Furthermore, it may be pointed out that the purpose of a plan of Liberian rehabilitation to be achieved through a period of assistance would be finally to provide for the benefit of the Liberian people precisely that sovereignty and independence which has been discussed in connection with the delegation of the requisite authority. This is rightly a matter of international concern which should be solved through sustained international cooperation.

"The American Government would be deeply disappointed if there were a suspension of the present negotiations looking toward the regeneration of Liberia and accordingly suggests that a subcommittee with adequate authority be appointed at the earliest possible moment which should be instructed to remain in session until it had elaborated the basis of a workable plan.

The United States would be pleased immediately to delegate a representative to participate in the work of his subcommittee.

"In the event, however, that the Liberian problem is left from now until next Autumn without a solution and without continuing means of international cooperation to deal with it, the American Government would find it necessary to reserve its position and its full liberty of action."

INTERNATIONAL GROUP TO TALK ON LIBERIA

WASHINGTON, May 19—The International Committee on Liberia is holding its third meeting at Geneva. The session began May 6. Samuel Reber Jr., former American charge d'affaires at Monrovia, is representing the United States.

The purpose of the meeting is to receive and consider the reply of Liberia to the proposal formulated by the experts of the International Committee, which embodies a plan of reforms with respect to the suppression of the natives. The plan has not yet been made public.

Since the report of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Existence of Slavery and Forced Labor in Liberia in Nov., 1930, the American Government has insisted upon correction of the abuses which were found to exist in Liberia, but the Liberian Government has encouraged measures of retaliation against the natives, according to State Department reports.

The International Committee on Liberia held its first meeting in London in Feb., 1931, and the second meeting at Geneva in January and February, 1932.

LEAGUE INQUIRY IN LIBERIA

Investigator for the Kru Region

(From our Special Correspondent.)

The League Council at Geneva on Friday adopted the report of its committee on assistance to Liberia, which recommends, among other things, the dispatch of a representative of the League to the Kru region. The Liberian representative accepted the plan as a draft to be submitted to his Government. The committee of the Council will meet again when the Liberian Government has replied, and in any case not later than August.

The Secretary General urged that the Liberian Government should pay at least the trivial expenses of the delegate dispatched to the Kru region. No doubt he wished to avoid further complaints from the British Government about increases in the expenditure of the League.

POLICE BRUTALITIES IN LIBERIA

Task for League of Nations

Brutalities alleged to have been inflicted by the Liberian Frontier Force—including the reported killing of over 150 men, women, and children, natives of the Kroo Coast—were brought to the attention of the League Council's Committee on Liberia on Wednesday by Lord Cecil, the chairman. The Governments of Great Britain, the United States, and France are said to regard the reports on the condition of the native with the utmost gravity.

As many as 81 men, 49 women, and 29 children were said to have been killed and many of them burnt to death in the firing of 44 villages, according to a memorandum embodying the result of an inquiry by the Liberian Government submitted on Wednesday by the Liberian Delegation. The report added that there was no doubt that the actions of the civil and military officials and forces in the past had done much to undermine the confidence of the natives in the Liberian Government and had brought about a feeling of mistrust.

The Committee of the Council unanimously agreed that the League Council should be recommended urgently to dispatch a representative to the Kroo Coast to assist in the pacification of the country and to encourage the tribes to return to their villages under conditions of security.—Reuter.

Liberia and the League Again.

Liberian affairs have been again under discussion at the League meeting at Geneva this week, especially upon the report of Mr. Rydings, who is to Liberia representing the British, French and U.S.A. Governments (an arrangement which strikes one as entirely unsatisfactory). This report states that during the recent suppression of what is I suppose a local rebellion troops from Monrovia destroyed about 40 villages and killed about 150 people. Mr. Rydings's main statement is not denied, in fact, it is confirmed by Mr. Travoll, a special commissioner sent to investigate by the new Liberian Government. The League has decided to send a representative to the area concerned, in the hope that he will be able to help in the work of pacification and persuade several thousands of the people, who have fled to the bush, to return to their homes.

Possibly this is all that can be done at the moment, but one hopes rather than expects that it will do anything to improve the position as a whole.

The Black Republic

The misgovernment of Liberia is so familiar to the rest of the world that any steps to end it will be welcome. The Committee of the League Council which has been considering Liberian affairs now recommends that a representative of the League should be sent out, even though his function is merely "to assist in the pacification" of the country." Some "pacification" is badly needed. The recent record of the Black Republic has been black indeed, and the details of the barbarities committed by the Liberian frontier force on the natives of the interior which have been given by Lord Cecil only confirm a long-drawn tale of cruelty and oppression. The capacity of the League Commissioner can only be advisory; Liberia is a sovereign State. But the presence of a representative of the League should be a useful persuasive to necessary reforms. It will be a surety to the American-African oligarchy who are responsible for the welfare of the aboriginal inhabitants that world opinion is keeping a local eye upon them. But even a League witness may not be so strong an inducement to reform as lack of cash. Liberia, like other places, is hard-up and would like a loan. Whoever makes her one—whether the League or an individual country—may well demand as a condition that she should first set her own house in order.

LIBERIA
STILL IN THE LIMELIGHT.

VI.—(Final).

THROUGH a printer's error we have been represented to state that the deficit last year was 150,000,000 dollars instead of 150,000. When we have given full weight to the effect of foreign interference in the administration of the affairs of the Negro Republic, we are free to state that the greatest trouble which has so materially brought such disaster on the people, is their own internal disunion. It has been literally the members of the same body fighting against themselves; and because of this it has been very easy for the attack from without to be very effective.

This conviction has been strengthened by the President when he says, speaking of the preservation of the political independence of the State:—

> "It would never have been threatened but for the unpatriotic and malicious activities of certain groups in our population who have placed their personal political ambition above the security of the State, and have been indifferent to the claims which their country has upon their loyalty."

It shows indeed a poor and anæmic state of political manhood when a people is unable to draw the line at which personal consideration should not be allowed to interfere with its patriotic instinct. A beautiful illustration of the sane temper, was lately given by the Leaders of the British People on the emergence of the Financial dead-lock; how, as if by magic, all sense of party spirit or personal ambition disappeared when it was thought that in the National interest, the whole manhood of the Nation should be mobilised into a potential unity to save the country from bankruptcy.

This is a lesson which should be given heed to by the people of Liberia. Stability and progress would be impossible, so long as the patriotic conscience of the leaders and people remain stereotyped, unable to adjust itself according to the circumstances of the hour.

It would be sheer foolhardiness if the impression is entertained that by changing their support from the present administration to that of the late administration, the safety of the Republic could be in any way assured. The allegation is not that one particular administration has failed, but that the whole people have by a series of egregious blunders and palpable exhibition of incompetence come under the condemnation of being unable to fulfil their trust of looking after the well-being of their indigenous tribes; that by wanton acts of cruelty and mismanagement of their financial trust they have failed to prove themselves equal to their sacred obligation. This is a serious indictment and any attitude of any section of the people to justify the allegation, would add momentum to the suggestion of relieving Liberia of her independence, unless that it is not the prerogative of any other State to interfere with matters affecting the internal administration of another. But there is no reason why such a State should not be brought under the unrestricted and unvarnished condemnation of the civilised opinion of the world.

We insist that our position in this matter should be made plain. We have not undertaken to defend Liberia in any stroke of policy which does not answer a faithful and conscientious discharge of her duty to her people, particularly those representing the inarticulate section; nor have we said that because others who now pose to be her judges and presume to tell her what her duty should be, when they have neglected theirs, have no justification for their presumption, therefore Liberia should be justified in such conduct, if the allegations are correct.

Our purpose in these series is just to tell the civilised Nations that their interference in the direction they have indicated, is against the cardinals of their own International Code; that they should approach the question and forget that Liberia is a Black Republic; they should deal with the matter as they would have done, had it been connected with any other European State; and that the presumption that Liberia is unable to manage her own affairs would in no way give them the right to appoint themselves as rulers of the Black Republic. But with such a clear understanding, we wish to inform the people of Liberia of our misgivings and earnest hope that they would without any delay begin to set their house in order.

The policy marked out by President BARCLAY in his Inaugural Address of January last, is admirable, if it could be backed up with practical following. His proposals about the improvement of the economic situation are worth credit. It ought to be evident to the people themselves how disappointing the situation is, when, up to the present, Liberia has not been able to produce any of the food supplies on which so much has been spent to be imported from foreign countries. To continue to import such supplies for local needs, as rice, beans or peas, pork and its products, beef, milk, sugar, fish, fruit, groundnuts, coffee, etc., is to reveal a state of helplessness very much akin to the situation when TANTALUS was reported to be seeking for water in water.

On the authority of the President, such commodities could be easily produced in Liberia and thus they could have saved the large sum with which they are imported, and this could have been circulated in the country and the people would have been all the better for it.

Lastly, we fully appreciate the policy on which the Republic from being "the dumping ground" of ne'er-do-wells, agitators, and mental cedented crisis in her history would be made to prevent the rough handling our kith and kin in incompetents," some encouragements should be her to *know herself*, the efforts of all her immigration, but we make fit type to help to friends and supporters in the direction of whilst every effort should be given to others of the fit and proper person is not been in vain.

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We insist that our position in this matter should be made plain. We have not undertaken to defend Liberia in any stroke of policy which does not answer a faithful and conscientious discharge of her duty to her people, particularly those representing the inarticulate section; nor have we said that because others who now pose to be her judges and presume to tell her what her duty should be, when they have ever neglected theirs, have no justification for their presumption, therefore Liberia should be justified in such conduct, if the allegations are correct.

Our purpose in these series is just to tell the civilised Nations that their interference in the direction they have indicated, is against the cardinals of their own International Code; that they should approach the question and forget that Liberia is a Black Republic; they should deal with the matter as they would have done, had it been connected with any other European State; and that the presumption that Liberia is unable to manage her own affairs would in no way give them the right to appoint themselves as rulers of the Black Republic. But with such a clear understanding, we wish to inform the people of Liberia of our misgivings and earnest hope that they would without any delay begin to set their house in order.

The policy marked out by President BARCLAY in his Inaugural Address of January last, is admirable, if it could be backed up with practical following. His proposals about the improvement of the economic situation are worth credit. It ought to be evident to the people themselves how disappointing the situation is, when, up to the present, Liberia has not been able to produce any of the food supplies on which so much has been spent to be imported from foreign countries. To continue to import such supplies for local needs, as rice, beans or peas, pork and its products, beef, milk, sugar, fish, fruit, groundnuts, coffee, etc., is to reveal a state of helplessness very much akin to the situation when TANTALUS was reported to be seeking for water in water.

On the authority of the President, such commodities could be easily produced in Liberia and thus they could have saved the large sum with which they are imported, and this could have been circulated in the country and the people would have been all the better for it.

Lastly, we fully appreciate the policy on which the Republic from being "the dumping grounds for ne'er-do-wells, agitators, and mental incompetents," should be helped to keep progress back, and if her to *know herself*, the efforts of all her friends and supporters in the direction of putting a word on her behalf, would not have been in vain.

Race Problem-1932

Liberia

Africa

LEAGUE OF NATIONS VOTES FOR WHITE DICTATORSHIP IN LIBERIA

U. S. BRINGS PRESSURE TO BEAR TO SPEED NEW PROGRAM

WASHINGTON, May 26—Strong pressure has been brought by the United States to hasten rehabilitation of Liberia.

In a memorandum given to the Liberian committee of the Council of the League of Nations, the United States Government urged that immediate steps be taken to end outrages on natives and to better sanitary conditions in that republic.

The memorandum was circulated by Samuel Reber Jr., the American member of the International Committee on Liberia. Its unoffical text is as follows:

"The United States seeks no special advantage or position in Liberia and desires only the welfare and development of the Liberian people and the proper protection of American nations and their investments.

"In the opinion of the American Government, conditions in Liberia have now grown so chaotic and adequate authority has become so demoralized that it is doubtful whether effective government exists in the country. Assistance must be promptly forthcoming if social disintegration is to be arrested.

"The best evidence Liberian authorities give that they were still cognizant of their responsibility toward their country would be the prompt enactment by them of satisfactory provisions for administrative reform.

"Furthermore, it may be pointed out that the purpose of a plan of Liberian rehabilitation to be achieved through a period of assistance would be finally to provide for the benefit of the Liberian people precisely that sovereignty and independence which have been discussed in connection with the delegation of the requisite authority. This is rightly a matter of international concern which should be solved through sustained international co-operation.

"The American Government would be deeply disappointed if there were a suspension of the present negotiations looking toward the regeneration of Liberia and accordingly suggests that a sub-committee with adequate authority be appointed at the earliest possible moment, which should be instructed to remain in session until it has elaborated the basis of a workable plan.

"The United States would be pleased immediately to delegate a representative to participate in the work of this sub-committee.

"In the event ,however, that the Liberian problem is left from now until next Autumn without a solution and without continuing means of international co-operation to deal with it, the American Government would find it necessary to reserve its position and its full liberty of action."

According to advices received here, the Council of the League of Nations has approved the draft plan for the rehabilitation of Liberia, which will serve as the basis of negotiations which the council desires to begin in August with the Liberian government, the American Finance Corporation and the Firestone Plantations Company.

No action was reported as having been taken on the United States Government's memorandum, but the council is said to have agreed with Washington in demanding action before Autumn.

The Liberian Mess

WHEN ONE CONSIDERS that the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company pays Liberia only six cents per acre for the use of her land and that the American Finance Company, an affiliate of the National City Bank, already controls the West African republic's credit, the recent move of the Council of the League of Nations to plan for the administrative, financial and social rehabilitation of the country is not such a revolutionary one. "Liberia's financial situation is tragic," the league report states. "She has no budget, no accounts and no money. Economically and financially, Liberia is in imminent danger." The report did not add that where there is no money, budgets and accounts are not necessary.

THE PRESENT SCHEME of the League of Nations provides for the appointment of an international manager to whom full authority would be given to stamp out slave conditions, increase the rental of the rubber company to fifty cents per acre, improve health conditions in the republic and take such other measures as would be necessary to rehabilitate the country and arrest the social disintegration. This program has the support of the United States, which, ostensibly, "seeks no special advantage or position in Liberia and desires only the welfare and development of the Liberian people and the proper protection of American nationals and their investments." The rubber company and the finance company are American corporations.

BUT AS IMPERIALISTIC as the League of Nations' proposals appear, Liberia's ruling class—the 20,000 Americo-Liberians whose ancestors settled in the country in 1822—have shown a glaring incapacity to govern the country. In reprisals against natives who testified as to slavery and forced labor, the league has been told that 159 men, women and children have been burned alive in forty-four villages, and that such brutal atrocities were visited upon those who remained on the Kru coast that 12,000 natives have fled into the forest.

WHAT AMERICANS forget and what Americo-Liberians forget is that there are between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000 natives in Liberia who would get along just about as well without either of their so-called civilizing influences, and which have resulted so far for them in economic oppression and slavery, atrocities and death. Why not drive out the Americo-Liberians and return this strip of West Coast Africa to the natives? They could not possibly make a bigger mess out of it than has been made out of it already.

ROME, N. Y.
SENTINEL
MAY 24 1932

Chaos in Liberia

Liberia, a little country on the west coast of Africa, was set up a century ago through the good offices of President Monroe to constitute a refuge for free Negroes from the United States, and our government long treated it as a protectorate. Quite recently, however, we have been abandoning that position to a considerable degree, and for some months have been not only conceding the right of the League of Nations to meddle in the affairs of the black republic, but at the present moment we may be said to be a-pushing and a-shoving of the League with the aim of getting immediate action from its commission respecting Liberia.

Precisely how a government that has failed to join the League of Nations and which for so long refused to recognize its existence in any way, came to desire the League's services respecting a little nation it kept in swaddling clothes nearly a hundred years, will some day make interesting reading. The Liberian government has frequently been in trouble financially—just as so many governments have been when run by the white and yellow races. But what has chiefly aroused the nations is the attitude of the Liberians with respect to slavery.

Descended as the Liberians are from Africans stolen from their native jungles and carried in chains to North America, they might have been expected to abhor the very name of slavery; yet as a matter of fact they have more than connived at its practice upon the tribes of the interior. They are accused of having laid waste over forty villages and burned alive scores of men, women and children in revenge for the complaints that were lodged with a commission, representing jointly the League of Nations and the United States, which went to the spot to inquire into the charges of slavery.

That commission has recently reported back to Geneva, but the prospect that the League would take no further action until next autumn seems to have aroused Washington to urge immediate procedure to bring order out of chaos in Liberia. It is proposed that a single representative of the joint commission be assigned to "assist" the Liberian government as to its future conduct. The term "assist" would seem to be employed in this instance much as "advise" is sometimes employed in diplomacy — as the British representative so long directed Egypt from behind the throne of the then khedive and as the Japanese are now running what the world knows as Manchuria through the puppet Chinese government so recently created.

THERE can be few unhappier spots on the face of the globe than Liberia, the Negro republic on the west coast of Africa which was first established, a century ago, as a refuge for former slaves from the United States. The Liberian government consists of a little handful of American Negroes, who rule the native population in the back country with the same cruelty and injustice which are practised by the white Europeans in other parts of Africa. The situation has repeatedly been brought to the attention of the League of Nations, but thus far, no improvement has been made. Now, the League has approved a scheme drawn up by the Cecil committee, looking toward an international conference in the near future. One of the parties at the conference will be the Firestone rubber interests, which by reason of their concession obtained some years ago, virtually control the Liberian finances. Yellow fever and smallpox are prevalent in Liberia today, and money is badly needed for sanitary measures. Meantime, the Liberian "militia" continue to ravage the countryside, slaughtering the natives wholesale.

NEW YORK HERALD-TRIBUNE
MAY 2 1 1932

White Dictator Over Liberia Is Voted at Geneva

League Council Adopts Plan for Alien Adviser to Rule Black Republic

Would End Slave Traffic

Gives to Interests Involved Until August to Accept

By John T. Whitaker

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

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GENEVA, May 20.—The Council of the League of Nations today adopted a plan for the administrative, financial and social rehabilitation of Liberia which is tantamount to a white dictatorship of the West African Negro republic.

Samuel Reber jr., representing the United States on the League's Liberian commission, asked that the program be undertaken immediately, but the Council gave Liberia and the American financial interests involved there until August to accept the terms.

The program of the League's commission requires the 12,000 Americo-Liberians who have the right to vote—the country was settled by freed American slaves in 1821—to end the slave traffic among and the atrocities against the 1,000,000 Afro-Liberians whom, according to recent charges, they treat as subjects.

This program would be enforced by placing the whole country under a foreign adviser appointed by and responsible to the League.

Affects Firestone Interests

The League's program would require the Firestone Plantation Company, a subsidiary of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, to reduce the area of its plantation and increase its annual rental from 6 cents to 50 cents an acre, thus increasing the government's annual revenue from that source from $3,000 to $3,000.

New York financial interests will be asked to grant a temporary moratorium on the service of the government's loan and to extend $240,000 additional credit.

America's demand for prompt Liberian acceptance of the program, announced in a communication circulated by the Secretariat General of the League, was considered to be pressure similar to that exerted earlier in the week by Viscount Cecil, the League commission's chairman. Cecil disclosed that reports long in possession of the League Council described the burning of villages of the Kroo tribesmen, slaughter of the natives and a general campaign of terroristic reprisals against chieftains who testified before an earlier League committee which investigated the slave traffic.

Sees Business Jeopardized

In the memorandum Mr. Reber, who formerly was the American Charge d'Affaires at Monrovia, the Liberian capital, said that the United States would be forced to reserve its position and full liberty of action if the Liberian problem were left over until next autumn by the League.

"Conditions in Liberia have grown so chaotic and authority has become so demoralized that it is doubtful whether an effective government exists in the country," the memorandum said.

This development led the Liberian representatives to accept the program provisionally and recommend it as a "draft" subject to the final acceptance of the Monrovian government.

It is believed here that American business interests will agree to the League program, for, as the committee report informed the Council, "if general conditions in Liberia do not improve the fate of the first block of the loan granted by the American Finance Company might well be compromised, and even the future of the important Firestone Plantations Company might be jeopardized."

Cannibalism Is Reported

GENEVA, May 20 (UP).—Indications that cannibalism exists in the hinterland of Liberia were presented to the League Council in the report of its Liberian committee. The report suggested severe punishment for "cannibalism, which still appears to exist among tribes in the hinterland of Maryland and Sinoe Counties."

U. S. Attitude Is Set Forth

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

WASHINGTON, May 20. — The American decision to act at Geneva for one-man international control of Liberia, it was understood here today, arose out of dissatisfaction by the United States with other proposals for the creation of a committee of advisers for the Negro republic. Samuel Reber jr., the American representative in Geneva on Liberian affairs, was instructed to lay a reservation to the advisership plan before the League Council.

This reservation, now made the basis for united international action, expressed the view that the delegation of adequate authority by Liberia to a single official of an international agency would be the most practical solution of the problem.

The American government added, however, that it would be prepared to study a proposal involving more changes in Liberian organization and greater expense provided it was clearly understood that there would be the requisite delegation of authority by Liberia as an indispensable preliminary to any adjustment of the financial situation.

The American memorandum also stated in its reservation that its position was based on many years of experience in endeavoring to induce the governing elements in Liberia to improve the condition of the country through "advisers."

League May Send Agent

The League Council, it was disclosed today, is considering the immediate dispatch of a representative to look into the situation on the Kroo coast irrespective of general Liberian rehabilitation. It was on this coast that massacres of native Negro tribesmen were perpetrated by Liberian guards after the natives had given testimony to League commissions as to slavery and other cruelties inflicted by Liberian authorities. While the United States is not expressing any great enthusiasm over this proposal, the State Department has instructed Mr. Reber to agree to it.

The instructions sent to Mr. Reber from Washington set forth that the advisership plan did not go far enough. Delegation of wide authority by Liberia to an international office was held to be necessary to further action. The State Department feared that otherwise there might be simply a repetition of what has gone on in the past, with the Liberian government refusing to accept the advice of the advisers.

Once having obtained the necessary authority for a real executive adviser, the detailed plans for his staff and its work could be set up later, the State Department contended. It also opposed an elaborate advisory commission on the score that it would saddle Liberia with unnecessary and burdensome expense.

Liberian Gov. Favors League Investigation

WASHINGTON, D. C.—A survey of conditions among the natives of the Kru coast of Africa by Dr. Melville D. MacKenzie, of Great Britain, has been agreed to by the Monrovia Government on the condition that he be accompanied by an official of the Liberian Government.

This arrangement and agreement is the result of a proposal of the international committee of the League of Nations that has been studying slavery and sanitary conditions among the natives of the Kru coast.

Samuel Reber, Jr., the American represnetative on the international committee, informed the State Department of this agreement He also stated that reports of brutalities against the Kru natives recently occupied the attention of the committee and led to demands that the situation be corrected and the tribesmen assured against further outrages.

In Africa

KISMET IN KENYA. By Florence Riddell. J. P. Lippincott Co. $2.

By ELOISE H. ALEXANDER

Strange that the slender cord of James Stanhope's love for his bamboo home and coffee plantation should draw nine of his relatives to South Africa and completely change the course of their lives. Yet he loved his adopted home so greatly and he desired so much that some of the Stanhopes should go on living there that when he made his will he left his property to only those of his relatives who would live there for two years.

So, they arrive, helter-skelter and a more varied group of individuals bearing the same name could scarcely be imagined. A roll-call of the household with a classification as to species would be as follows: Aunt Rebecca, a domineering old maid, Susan, her sister, whom she bosses; Rena, who Christopher Carey at once realizes is "blue tulle and romance" to him; Virginia, capable and splendid; Edward, as lazy as Rip Van Winkle himself; Jack and Betty, whose romance begins anew in Africa; Nona and her two mischievous children; and Corientia, whose beautiful face is her chief interest. A story which tells of their sojourn together in a comparatively small bamboo house for two years could scarcely be dull or hardly lack humor, pathos, thrills and at times, tragedy.

A Kind Goddess

The book is full of unusual situations which could occur only in Africa. A rhinocerous breaks up a picnic party, a lion robs Corienta of her beauty with his cruel claws, but she gains womanliness by the experience. The story also has a satisfactory climax; Christopher Carey, the manager of the plantation and Virginia, the best of the Stanhopes, drawn together by their love for each other and their love for Africa decide to buy out the other relatives interests in the farm and thus James Stanhope's fondest hope for his beloved plantation is realized. Kismet in Kenya is a kind goddess, after all.

Despite the important role the Stanhopes play in the book, Kismet in Kenya is primarily a story of Africa and it is permeated with the author's love for the dark continent. The local color introduced through good descriptions of the natural beauty of the country and the peculiarities and dialects of the natives is a very interesting feature of the book.

Race Problem - 1932

Liberia

Africa

NEW YORK TIMES

OCT 13 1932

FOREIGN 'DICTATOR' IN PLAN FOR LIBERIA

League Council Would Name Adviser Under Project of Geneva Committee.

OUR APPROVAL IS SEEN

Establishment of 3 Provinces Under 'Foreign Specialists' Is Among Proposals.

FINANCING NOW PROBLEM

Firestone Subsidiary, Which Is to Put Up Money, Insists on Further Negotiations.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 12.—Virtually dictatorial powers could be conferred upon a foreign "adviser" to Liberia, a republic established a century ago as a sanctuary for Negroes, under a plan drawn by a League of Nations committee and made public today at the State Department.

The plan has been approved by the State Department to the extent that it has been referred to the Finance Corporation of America, understood to be a subsidiary of the Firestone Rubber Company, operator of rubber plantations in Liberia, which would be called upon to finance the new plan.

Our Approval Is Seen.

This action by the State Department is interpreted here as meaning that the United States finally is satisfied that the plan, already accepted by Liberia, contains broad enough authority to permit the foreign adviser to eliminate alleged conditions of slavery in the Negro republic and otherwise put the country on a stable basis. The plan makes no mention of the nationality of the proposed adviser.

The Firestone subsidiary occupies a large place in the project as the Finance Corporation holds a contract undertaken in 1926 to finance the government of Liberia. That contract called for advances of $5,000,000, presumably in return for the rubber concession, of which $2,250,000 has been lent, according to information available here.

Another $250,000 is estimated as needed to put the plan into effect, and William P. Belden, president of the Finance Corporation, notified the Secretary of State in a telegram filed yesterday that his company had studied the plan and was willing to send a representative to Geneva to discuss the new Liberian advance with League officials.

The plan under consideration was drawn on Sept. 27 by the International Committee on Liberia, on which the United States is represented by Samuel Reber Jr. Liberia is represented on this committee, as well as Great Britain and France. The plan, which also was made public in Geneva today, will be laid before the Council of the League tomorrow.

There is at present a foreign adviser in Liberia, but the new plan provides that the foreign adviser receive from the Liberian Government virtually full authority to administer the government, and if a dispute should arise his judgment would prevail pending an appeal to the League.

Under this plan, which is a considerably stronger revision of a plan published last Spring, the foreign adviser is to be appointed by the Council of the League of Nations and will be responsible alone to the Council.

Three Provinces Planned.

For purposes of administration Liberia is to be divided into three provinces, each to be administered by a Provincial Commissioner, assisted by a deputy commissioner. The Provincial Commissioners will be "foreign specialists," who, the plan indicates, will have wide powers in the preservation of peace and order. They will be designated by the League Council but shall be "approved by the President of the Republic of Liberia and appointed by him."

The three provincial deputy commissioners may, with the approval of the chief adviser, be Liberians.

The plan also provides for the establishment of a "corps of messengers" to maintain public order, this group to be set up through consultation between the chief adviser and the Liberian Government. The corps will be in effect the local police, the term "messenger" being applied to police forces in many of the States on the African West Coast.

Impatience Shown at Geneva.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

GENEVA, Oct. 12.—Samuel Reber Jr., the United States' State Department's representative on the League Council's Liberian committee, told that group today the United States considered that the League's plan for Liberian construction allowed a basis for direct negotiations between Liberia and the Finance Corporation of America. The latter's consent is needed for the funds the plan requires.

Mr. Reber added that the finance corporation would be ready to begin negotiations next month. The committee met in the apparent belief that the negotiations had already been finished, and the prospect of further delay caused expressions of impatience from several sides. The Liberian representative recalled that the United States previously had blamed Monrovia for the delay.

The League expert, Dr. M. D. Mackenzie, who has just returned from Liberia, emphasized the need of haste, and Lord Cecil, who presided, remarked:

"Members of the League, together with the United States, are entitled to expect that prompt consideration be given to their proposals by all the parties concerned."

The finance corporation's representative has been in Europe for several weeks waiting for instructions. The delay until November is unofficially ascribed here to a desire to await the results of the election in the United States.

DICTATOR NOOSE TIGHTENS ABOUT LIBERIA'S NECK

"Plan Of Assistance" To Be Financed By Firestone Co.

WASHINGTON—(ANP)—A plan for foreign supervision of Liberia during a period of five years devised by the League of Nations committee which has been studying the Liberian problem, was made known here Wednesday, October 12, through the State Department.

This plan is reported to have been agreed to by Liberia, the United States, and the League of Nations, and only requires for its operation the approval of the Finance Corporation of America, a subsidiary of the Firestone Rubber Company.

The Firestone Company controls grants of land in Liberia. The American government is understood to have persuaded the Firestone Company that if it would advance Liberia a loan of $1,000,000, Liberia would be induced to enter into an agreement which would protect the investment, see that its purpose was achieved, and guarantee its repayment. This role is somewhat akin to that which the United States is playing in Haiti in connection with a private loan of $24,000,000 to that government.

Would Divide Country Up

The League of Nations plan proposes to divide Liberia into three provinces. Over each province a foreign advisor would be placed with practically complete power to order development and to maintain peace and order. At Monrovia, the capital, a chief advisor would be placed. These four men would be selected by the League of Nations Council and appointed by the President of Liberia. The chief advisor will probably be an American.

In case of a disagreement between the President of the republic and the foreign advisor, where constitutional irregularities might be suspected, the President might refer the question to the International Permanent Court of Justice for adjudication, but in the meantime, the recommendation made by the foreign advisor is to stand. The advisor is openly given dictatorial powers that the President agrees to submit to.

Minor Posts to Liberians

In each province, the foreign advisor to be known as provincial commissioner, is to have a deputy. Any or all of these deputies may be Liberians.

The provincial commissioner is required to organize a sufficient "corps of messengers" (police force) and the Liberian Frontier Force, the national army, is to keep hands off unless called upon.

"Messenger Corps" is the term applied to police forces in many of the states on the African West Coast. How abject is Liberia's submission under pressure, is thus seen. Its own army cannot act within its own borders without orders from foreign dictators.

The salary of the chief advisor is to be not more than $12,000 a year.

The salary of the others, of experts and medical authorities, is to be based upon salaries paid similar officers in surrounding colonies.

Impatience is said to have been expressed at Geneva when it was learned that it might be a month before the Finance Corporation of America could signify its acceptance of the plan. This delay is thought to be caused by the election in the United States.

Liberian Sovereignity Imperiled

Virtually dictatorial powers would be delegated to the foreign advisor under the "plan of assistance" ostensibly to root out slavery and insanitary conditions in Liberia, a republic established a century ago as a sanctuary for Negroes in Africa.

The plan, after revision to meet the previous objections of the United States, was adopted unanimously by the international committee and approved by the State Department as the framework within which it may be possible for the Finance Corporation of America to reach an agreement through direct negotiations with Liberia.

William P. Belden, white, president of the Finance Corporation, in a telegram Oct. 11, advised Henry L. Stimson, the Secretary of State, that although his company is not satisfied that the general principles of the plan are yet in form to afford a solution, it is willing to send a representative to Geneva for directing negotians with Liberia. The Finance Corporation would be called upon to finance the plan.

Five-Year Plan

The plan is to terminate after a period of five years unless the Liberian Government desires it to be continued. In that case the League will determine whether it wishes to continue its cooperation and under what conditions.

Liberia was founded in 1822. The first settlement was made at Monrovia by freedmen from the United States with the assistance of American colonization societies. It was declared a free and independent republic, July 26, 1847.

Slavery Probe

An international commission investigated for five months in 1930 the existence of slavery in Liberia. Its report was characterized by Secretary Stimson as "a shocking indictment." The Liberian Government later advised the League that all slaves had been declared free and forced labor recruiting ended.

President Charles D. B. King, resigned, together with other high officials, and Edwin Barclay, the Secretary of State, was made President. The League appointed a new commission to be supervisory to initiate reforms, in which the United States joined, naming Samuel Reber, Jr., white, as its representative.

Firestone Co. Blamed

The Firestone subsidiary occupies a large place in the project as the Finance Corporation holds a contract undertaken in 1926 to finance the government of Liberia. That contract called for advances of $5,000,000, presumably in return for the rubber concession, of which $2,250,000 has been lent, according to information available here.

Another $250,000 is estimated as needed to put the plan into effect.

The plan under consideration was drawn on September 27, by the International Committee on Liberia, on which the United States is represented by Reber. Liberia is represented on this committee, as well as Great Britain and France.

There is at present a foreign adviser in Liberia, but the new plan provides that the foreign adviser receive from the Liberian Government virtually full authority to administer the government.

Trickery Suspected

It was when the League's Liberian committee was informed by Reber that the Finance Corporation would not be ready to begin negotiations until next month, that it expressed impatience at the delay to throttle Liberia's independent aspirations. The committee thought that negotiations had already been finished.

The finance corporation's representative has been in Europe for several weeks waiting for instructions. The delay until November is unofficially ascribed here to a desire to await the results of the election in the United States.

The Liberian representative on the body recalled that the United States had previously blamed Monrovia for the delay. All of this simply tends to give substance to the charge made by opponents of the plan that the United States and other foreign countries have jockeyed Liberia into a diplomatically weak position by charging to it delay for which it was not responsible, expressing "shock" at slavery conditions now reliably said to be practically non-existent, and accusing Liberia of inactivity in eradicating slavery when they themselves have obstructed reforms as part of the scheme to get control of the country for financial interests.

OUR LOCAL INDUSTRIES.

THERE are no two opinions that if the people of this land are to see better days they should get out of the rut of depending on some institutions for the earning of monthly salaries, or the maintaining of their lives from such pittance which may be expected from doles out of the monthly salary. The discovery of some fresh source of earning money has long been over-due yet speculation has not travelled far to the attainment of any concrete benefit amid all the loud professional and optimistic prognostications to which we have been treated. The publication by the Agricultural Department in our last issue of the report of the several attempts to ship Jamaica bananas as a test to the prospect of a remunerative venture has not given that assurance that in any direction that industrial problem has been solved. And yet there are many who had been looking hopefully in that direction for the solution in some way of our economic problem. If with Government having all the facilities at its disposal, there is yet so much to overcome, how will people of rather limited resources fare?

The odds are still great. Hence we have been filled with admiration for the pluck and stamina which Mr. COLE, the Proprietor and Sole Manager of the Ice Cream Factory at the old Cotton Tree Station, has shown, in being able to put in the market such delicious drinks, including Mango Squash, and thus arriving at a solution of some more profitable use of this valuable fruit. It is certain that with the pace Mr. COLE has set a more extensive use of the mango and other fruits will soon be introduced, especially as these fruits would not need that stiff and severe scrutiny which the banana is having in foreign markets.

We have come across an account of the use of the cassava plant, published by our Gold Coast Contemporary *The Times of West Africa* which will interest our readers. We think the industry was only begun on the 12th instant, by a Mr. SAM W. P. DUNCAN, who with a grating machine has been able to turn out in thirty minutes work which hitherto had been done in five hours,—one hundred weight of cassava had been grated in thirty minutes. Further, the resultant pulp was next mixed with water and expressed in a bag and the water after a few minutes was poured out and fine starch was the result.

Thus in less than an hour a cwt of foofoo and a quantity of starch were produced out of the cassava by means of the use of improved machinery. But this is not the whole story of the possibility of this industry. There are also the possibilities of obtaining tapioca, dextrine or British gum, used in the cloth making industry, also, glucoso, a sort of natural sugar, powder, alcohol and even powder for the women's faces. Then there is also arrowroot, apart from flour, from which bread and biscuit could be made.

We have never ceased to point out that the time has come when we should no longer be satisfied just to supply the raw materials for foreign manufactories and to be always at the mercy of the fluctuation in the foreign market prices. Why should it not have been possible that some one who had spent some time in America should have been able to do some thing with our kola nut which has become a thing of no value in a market in which it once controlled the fortunes of its trade devotees?

And why should it not have been possible that some improved use had been made of the palm product, in view of the variety of uses modern science had been putting it to in civilised countries? Since our people gave up the making of crude black soap, such as our grand mothers were so skilful in making, should not that industry have gone further to a stage of efficiency that would reduce the risk of the destruction of the family linen by the excessive use of soda in making the kind of soap now in vogue? The people of Wellington are skilful in making tasty cassada bread and great is the demand for this convenient substitute for a morning meal by travellers on the train: but should not some further improvement have been registered to this knowledge which has been brought down from the days of our forebears? Hastings and York are known for their excellent farina; but should not the industry have been carried to some stage of development further so as to command some improved out-put and better prices than the present?

Then take the bamboo thatch with which the people cover their houses. How stationary has been the progress of this useful article in house building and yet there has been no sign of any improvement; it is the same way of making it during the last hundred years. There is certainly the need of some restless discontent in the life of the people—*that something*, which will not leave them satisfied to remain where they have been the last fifty years, just going over the same routine and travelling over the old primitive ways not an inch stirred by any fresh vision, not the sound of a new message pass across our ears, of a discovery of some new ground, some higher path, some uplifting balmy regions from whence we may breathe some new atmosphere of new pastures and see the light of the sun on a higher elevation entrancing and vivifying.

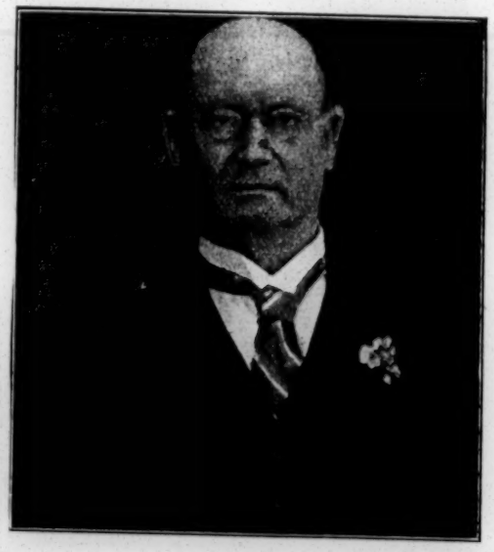
We need some fresh impulse to stir our dormant energies and awake our sleeping geniuses if we must take our place in the march of progress.

THE NATIVE QUESTION.

STELLENBOSCH, October 10.

Doctor D. F. Malan, Minister of the Interior in the Union Cabinet, addressing the Nationalist Congress, said that the country was becoming impatient, if not despairing, owing to the impossibility of settling the native question on account of the two-thirds majority clause in the Act of Union.

It might become necessary, he suggested, to pass legislation to enable the question to



(Photo, "Rand Daily Mail."
HON. DR. D. F. MALAN.

be dealt with without the requisite two-thirds majority. He hinted that the time had come for the incorporation of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, Basutoland, and Swaziland in the Union. It was an anomaly that within the borders of a sovereign and independent State there should be these large territories administered by another country, and the greatest anomaly of all was that the Union was responsible for their protection. If the Union was to protect these territories, she ought, in the very nature of things, to be responsible for their administration as well.—Reuter.

The West African Students' Union.

At the annual general meeting of the West African Students' Union, held in London recently, the following officers were elected for 1932-1933:—President, Mr. O. A. Alakija, senior, B.A., B.C.L.; vice-president, Mr. J. D. K. Gwira; hon. treasurer, Mr. J. E. Taylor; general secretary, Mr. L. Solanke, M.A., B.C.L., LL.B.; hon. secretary, Mr. A. H. Ansah Koi; hon. assistant secretary, Mr. J. T. Sackeyfio; auditor, Mr. A. Majekodunmi; editor, Mr. C. Kessie; sub-editors, Mr. O. Moore and Mr. J. T. Sackeyfio.

Messrs. J. George and J. T. Sackeyfio were elected non-official members of the committee.

At a fully-attended general meeting of the Union, held on October 6, Mr. Solanke gave an account of his mission to West Africa. The Union expressed satisfaction with the account.

The financial details of Mr. Solanke's mission will be submitted to the public of West Africa at an early date.

Race Problem - 1932

Africa

Liberia.

The Future of Liberia.

Views of a Former Educational Adviser.

West Africa

In a statement to the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People in New York recently, Mr. H. W. Oxley, who succeeded the late Mr. Sibley as educational adviser to the Liberian Government, questions, as ourselves and others have done, the American claim that the Firestone interests have no immediate connection with the present problem.

Mr. Oxley says that the determination of the United States to set up a dictatorship in Liberia is a thrust at African self-government, and is not justified by the conditions. 10-29-32

He expressed great surprise that the State Department should deny the connection of the Firestone Company with recent events, for it has put more pressure behind the movement for reforms in Liberia than any other organisation.

London Standard

In spite of the campaign to discredit Liberia, President Barclay was making heroic efforts to bring about administrative, economic, and social reforms. American and other interests, Mr. Oxley said, block these efforts so that excuse may be found to set up a dictatorship in the Republic. Among these interests he specifically named the Firestone Rubber Co.

After Mr. Barclay was elected President in May, Mr. Oxley had conferences with him concerning education, and these frequently touched on such problems as health and sanitation, Native administration, finance, and general economic development.

The President showed a comprehensive and thorough grasp of his country's problems and, in making an honest effort to find the solution, welcomed the co-operation of the best elements, but was often handicapped by antagonistic interests.

The President and Reforms.

It was untrue, Mr. Oxley said, that President Barclay was opposed to reforms. On the contrary, he has been extremely anxious to carry out the suggestions of the League of Nations, but these are practically impossible in the present grave financial situation. However, he has made great progress in reorganising the interior administrative machinery, but an earnest attempt to make Monrovia safe from yellow fever and malaria had to be practically abandoned through lack of funds.

The slavery issue is dead, Mr. Oxley added. Pawning and domestic slavery cannot be eliminated by law, but by education alone.

Liberia needs an international loan of long term, with low interest, and a financial adviser capable of investing the fund in self-liquidating enterprises. It is a land of small farmers, and these should be taught how to produce and market their crops. In a few years Liberia would become self-supporting, and remain under her own leadership.

Mr. Oxley praised the development of the Firestone Rubber Plantations, but contends that they must not be allowed to destroy local self-government. "Some officials seem to have had no proper understanding of the reasons for the founding of the Republic."

The charge, Mr. Oxley added, that Liberia lacks leadership and that her people are incapable of self-government cannot be supported by facts. She possesses more educated people to-day than at any period in her history. They have clearer ideas of self-government than their forefathers, and many of them have had practical experience in Liberia. What is needed most of all is friendly co-operation and help.

The Case of the Kru Tribes.

Further interesting details in connection with the Republic are contained in Dr. M. D. Mackenzie's report (Allen & Unwin, 40, Museum Street, W.C.1, 9d.) on his mission of pacification to the Kru tribes, who, having come into conflict with the Government and with each other, had fled into the bush. Forty-four towns had been burned, and at least 12,000 men, women and children were in a state of advanced starvation.

Dr. Mackenzie, in collaboration with his Liberian colleague, Dr. F. A. K. Russell, succeeded in stopping all fighting, and in disarming the people; he settled tribal quarrels about land, women, canoes, and palm trees; he set the people on to the work of boundary-marking and house-building, and carried out the first local land survey.

The settlements are provisional for one year, and the British Government, which was especially interested in the mission, owing to the danger of the unrest spreading from the Kru tribes in Liberia to those in Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast, granted him special facilities.

The Report shows clearly that the difficulties were tribal in origin rather than, as had previously been suggested, due to Government reprisals in respect of complaints to the Christy Commission.

THE SITUATION IN LIBERIA.

U.S. DISSATISFACTION.

Geneva, September 19.

The League Council Committee on the situation in Liberia, of which Lord Cecil of Chelwood is president, meets here to-day.

Christian Science Monitor

The Committee will have before it a firmly worded memorandum from the United States Government, dated August 25. This memorandum, after recalling the attitude of the United States, as expressed last May, which was that the deplorable conditions prevailing in Liberia were only capable of solution by sustained international co-operation, and further that there must be a requisite delegation of authority by Liberia as "an indispensable preliminary" to any adjustment in the financial situation, says:—

"The American Government understands that a joint resolution with regard to the plan of the International Committee was passed by the Liberian Legislature in special session on August 18, 1932. It appears that this instrument would still further and very materially weaken the plan, which was unacceptable to the American Government in its original form because of its basic weakness in regard to the delegation of authority. Should this resolution be presented by Liberia at the next meeting of the International Committee, the American Government would manifestly be unable either to approve the plan or to consent to transmit its terms to the Finance Corporation of America as the basis for any relinquishment of its present rights in Liberia."—*The Times*, Sept. 20.

MILFORD, MASS.
NEWS

OCT 31 1932

LIBERIA'S CONDITION

The American government's insistent proposal that the international advisory commission dealing with affairs in Liberia be reconstructed as a commission with virtual authority under one head has been accepted by Liberia and adopted substantially by the League of Nations special committee. The new plan will be put into effect as soon as the Firestone Rubber company and the National City Bank of New York agree with the Liberian government on terms for further financial assistance. The plan includes a proposal that the rental of rubber lands to the Firestone company shall be increased from six cents to 52 cents an acre. The American state department is expected to agree to the selection of a chief commissioner who is not an American. The plan, or something like it, to judge from frequent and detailed accounts in Liberia, has been made imperative if the country is not to lapse into barbarism and if slave labor in the hinterland and dangerous sanitary conditions in the centers of population are not to go from bad to worse.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in a telegram signed by its secretary Walter White, and W. E. DuBois, editor of the Crisis, and addressed to Secretary of State Stimson, has protested against the American proposals as impairing the independence of Liberia and threatening a discontinuance of efforts by the League of Nations to regenerate the Negro republic. It likens the proposal to the action of Japan with respect to Manchuria. The parallel is not at all convincing; nor is it apparent that the League is losing interest in the situation. The association's concern for the maintenance of Liberia's sovereignty is praiseworthy, but there is also at issue, and more critically so, Liberia's very existence. It is a condition and not a theory that confronts the League, and the United States as virtually Liberia's next friend.

Inasmuch as America held onto the enslavement of the Negro race to the last ditch until the Civil war put it to an end it becomes this country to take hold of the Liberian government with a firm hand and civilizing policy.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
PEL 42

Liberia and the "Open Door" Trade Policy.

The Onerous Terms of a Reported Concession.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Graham White asked the following question:—

Mr. Graham White: To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether his Majesty's Government is aware of a proposed Danish-German agreement for large monopoly concessions for roadways, public works, forests, lands, and minerals in the Republic of Liberia: whether he can say if, under this agreement, an obligation is placed upon the Liberian legislature to render illegal the commerce of British merchants in certain parts of the territory; and what action, if any, he proposes to take in the matter.

The reply on behalf of the Foreign Secretary was the following:—

His Majesty's Government are aware that negotiations for a concession have been proceeding for some time between the Liberian Government and a Danish-German group, and have seen a draft of the concession. My latest information is to the effect that this draft has undergone considerable modifications, and in particular that those provisions which would be calculated to produce the situation referred to in the second part of the question have been, or will be, deleted. At the same time, I shall continue to watch the situation closely and shall not hesitate to invoke, if necessary, the Anglo-Liberian Treaty of Friendship and Commerce of 1848, which provides for the liberty of British subjects to trade in Liberia.

A correspondent informs WEST AFRICA that he has seen a copy of the proposed concession, but does not know whether or not the copy he saw has been modified as the above reply suggests. The representative of Liberia in the matter was Mr. Buchanan, whose office is not stated and who, apparently, is not one of the Liberian representatives at the present session of the League of Nations. The proposed *concessionnaires* are Mr. A. Monberg, civil engineer, and Mr. M. Franck-Rasmussen, both of Copenhagen, and Mr. H. J. Resch, of Hamburg, who are described as directors of the Danish-Liberian Syndicate. The date of the preliminary agreement is November 24, 1931. The agreement states that the syndicate is to send an expedition to Liberia to examine the possibility of building a road from the French boundary to Monrovia, and of building a pier at Monrovia. The syndicate is to have for 99 years sole concession for building a road for motor truck traffic from Monrovia to the French-Liberian boundary, with the right to extend this road, and to connect it with a road to the British boundary. The Government gives an option for ten years to build a road from Baffu Bay to the French-Liberian boundary, and to build a harbour or pier at Baffu Bay. The syndicate is to have the use of any existing roads free of charge.

The syndicate has for 99 years the right to build and work a harbour, wharf, or pier at Monrovia, the syndicate agreeing to begin this work during November, 1932. The Government agrees to pay half of the expense of building a Custom house and to set aside for this 75 per cent. of harbour dues as received. The syndicate is to have an area at the Government wharf free of cost.

The Government is to give an area not over four acres to the syndicate for its administrative quarters; also land inside and outside Monrovia for use for garages, waiting sheds, etc.

If goods are transported along the roads granted to the syndicate except by the vehicles of the syndicate and on payment of the rates charged by the syndicate, such goods may be confiscated and sold, two-thirds of the proceeds going to the syndicate and one-third to the Government. Private cars can use the roads only by special licence, and may carry only the licence-holder and his family; Government cars may go free but may not transport trade goods. Of the amounts received for the carriage of goods and passengers, 2 per cent. and 5 per cent. respectively are to be paid to the Liberian Treasury.

The Government is to rent to the syndicate for 99 years at 50 cents per acre up to 40,000 acres of land "within" the area of the roads already referred to; and further 10,000 acres on the coast between Baffu Bay and Bassa for the purposes of a plantation, etc. No traders will be allowed within a mile of the syndicate's stations without the syndicate's expressed consent. The syndicate is to act under Danish law.

The syndicate is to import, tax free, all materials, etc., for its own enterprise. The syndicate is to pay the Government an export tax of not over 2 per cent. of the market value of goods exported by the syndicate, except Liberian wood. The Government undertakes to prevent competition with the syndicate in its operations.

Finally, the syndicate authorises the Liberian Government to "participate financially in the different undertakings for an amount of 25 per cent. of the value, which is to be fixed by a mutual understanding between the syndicate and the Government." The meaning of this is not clear.

THE RAPE OF LIBERIA

AT LAST Liberia has actually become the object of greedy eyes. The American government, the League of Nations and the Firestone Rubber Company have all turned their gazes toward the rich resources ond the robbery is on.

The League of Nations says that in Liberia there is a practice much akin to slavery; that all of the Liberian officials are slaveholders and that all the others are slaves. This condition so worried the United States--where all people are free and privileged--that it at once turned its attention toward correcting "this evil that should not be allowed to exist anywhere on the earth." At least that is what the Government said.

But what is the whole story?

Surely, no thinking person can be blinded by the lie that the federal government and the League of Nations pretend to be acting upon, for slavery has existed in the United States against the highest law of the land for seventy years and nobody has done anything about it. Peonage, robbery and murder have been called to the attention of even the present outgoing Administration by actual photographs on projects sponsored and paid for by the United States Government and the only thing done about it was the appointment of a commission that was left without any money with which to act.

Surely the United States cannot be interested these Liberian blacks from a standpoint of mere altruism:

The truth of the matter is that when the present President of the United States was Secretary of Commerce he became seriously alarmed over the shortage of rubber sources under United States control. He saw plainly that in case of a war most of the rubber would be in the hands of other nations. Even at that time he set out to do something about it.

The result has been that since he has been President, his personal friend, Harvey Firestone and his huge interests have been allowed to figuratively put Liberia in their pockets. Liberia is rich in rubber and the United States needs control of rubber country. That is the story.

And since that is the situation, then Liberia must have a dictator; and of course that dictator must not only be white, but he must be handpicked by the Firestone Company which has entered into one of the most diabolical contracts with Liberia that humanity has ever heard of. Under its provisions the rubber interests pay about two cents per acre yearly for a million acres---and moreover, they have the right to select whatever lands they wish.

And how did Liberia come to make such a contract?

Liberia needed money. There was nowhere to get the money except from American big business. The Firestone Company loaned five millions--and then proceeded to take the country with the aid of the United States Government.as parties to what the world is bound to look upon as the actual and illegal re-enslavement of a people once free. The shame of it is the most prominent civilization and marks reaches high heaven and Negroes in America should send up their voices against it.

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This rape of Liberia is the most prominent re-enslavement of a people once free. The shame of it reaches high heaven and where to get the money except from American outrage against modern civilization and marks the Firestone Company loaned both the League of Nations and the United big business. five millions--and then proceeded to take the States Government as parties to what the world country with the aid of the United States Gov- is bound to look upon as the actual and illegal ernment's State Department.

Race Problem—1932. I. Liberia

Africa.

REPORTS REFUTE CLAIM OF BRUTAL LIBERIAN TACTICS

By ROBERT A. CRUMP

Pittsburgh Courier 8/6/32

NEW YORK, Aug. 4—(ANP)—Perhaps the most convincing argument in favor of the Liberian government anent the supposedly ill treatment of the natives, as against the British propaganda concerning the free and easy life they would be allowed to live if the British government took over the reins of Liberia, had its full fruition a few days ago when as a result of the riot in the southern province of Sierra Leona, a British colony, adjacent to Liberia, more than 200 British subjects who rebelled against the iron rule of British colonial officials and the tyranny of the paramount chiefs there, crossed the border and went over into Liberian territory for safety and protection under the Liberian government.

As recently as June 10 it was reported that between 500 and 600 more refugees were hiding in the brush along the Mano River, trying to effect a crossing. Men made rafts from banana stumps to ferry their wives and babies across to safety. Many in destitute circumstances have been furnished food, clothing and bedding by A. Dondo Ware, district commissioner of the Tavor district, to whom the petition was made for protection. The only requirement of the Liberian government is that dutiable goods that might be brought over must be reported to the collector of customs at the Liberian port of Gene Wonday. And while Liberian soldiers have been stationed along the border to see to the safe crossing of these British subjects, it is reported that British troops are also stationed at the ports and ferries to prevent their escape. Signed copies of the petitions of the refugees were immediately dispatched the district commissioner, to the superintendent of Grand Cape Count Colony, one to the secretary of the interior, to the president of Liberia, as well as to the British legation near Monrovia.

Trouble Caused by High Taxes and Forced Labor

The trouble had its inception over the election of a paramount chief in the Soro chiefdom after the death of Chief Momo Varwah, according to the statement of the natives. It being the British custom to allow the natives to elect their own chief, but through the chicanery of Provincial Commissioner Ross, all of the native candidates were eliminated and one Sulimana Lusine, Ross' hand-picked candidate, was elected. Immediately after his election, Lusine taxed each of his opposers one cow and 20 pounds cash. Later he made the whole province apologize for opposing him by a tax of 20 pounds and boasted that he would get further revenge. Forced labor was brought into effect by forcing the natives and even their wives to work on farms without any compensation. Besides brutally treating the men, the paramount chief is said to have free sexual intercourse with their wives. When the husbands objected they were fined the sum of six pounds.

Many of the women were forced to go into town away from their husbands and work as domestics. While the task system was worked on those who labored on the farms such as a fine of one pound for failure to cut, say, 100 bunches of rice a day. This brutal treatment and forced labor, sometimes without sufficient food, became burdensome particularly when it was learned by the natives that the paramount chief was backed in this extortion of money and labor by the provincial commissioner of the southern province; as a consequence they put their claim before the British government for relief. The government investigation found the complaints to be just and ordered the chief to return the 150 pounds which he had collected illegally from the natives back to them, but he made claim to hut taxes to that amount.

When an appeal was made by the natives to the governor of Freetown by three clan chiefs elected by them these chiefs were thrown into prison and others beaten severely. Paramount Chief Lusine wrote to the district commissioner at Pujehun saying the natives were preparing for war against the government, whereupon soldiers were sent who began to plunder the towns of Marlima, Gohn, Suhmu, Konoma and Farnima. These natives, not being able to resist the soldiers' attack, sought refuge in Liberia.

LOUISVILLE, KY.
COURIER JOURNAL
AUG 9 1932

NEW LIGHT ON LIBERIA

The question of slavery in Liberia about which Secretary Stimson recently inveighed in a vigorous note to the little African republic, takes on a slightly different aspect with disclosures by the Foreign Policy Association. Mr. Stimson's protest was based largely on allegations that the Liberian Government had slaughtered some 600 innocent Kru natives who had testified before a joint international investigating Committee about conditions in the country. The inference was that the Government had acted ruthlessly in reprisal against their testimony.

"Three subsequent inquiries," declares the latest report of the case "proved that the Liberian Government had not engaged in any reprisals, but after exhausting pacific means, had finally been compelled to suppress a revolution among the natives who refused to pay any taxes on the ground that the white man was going to take over the country."

The fear of the natives was based on a proposal made before the League of Nations and approved by the United States that the League or an international commission take charge of the republic. Partly as the result of the slaughter of the Kru tribesmen it was argued that the American Negroes who govern Liberia have cruelly oppressed the natives and cannot be trusted to administer the country fairly.

The Foreign Policy Association points out that to a certain extent conditions in Liberia are due "to the attitude of foreign powers which have been unsympathetic to the idea of an independent Negro republic." The little country is hedged in between powerful imperialistic interests. It could not exist at all except for the guardianship of the United States. It needs commerce and financial aid and these are denied it. Since the agitation about slavery the United States has withheld recognition of the Government. Liberia's economic condition has always been somewhat precarious It is worse now.

This, however, does not mitigate the charges against social and sanitary conditions. Slavery has been widespread. Smallpox has swept almost unchecked throughout the nation. Liberia needs help, whether it is to come through a governing commission or from friendly co-operation. Whatever action is taken, however, should be based on proved facts, not on reports of cruelty that are now declared to be misrepresentations.

NOT THE TIME TO APOLOGIZE FOR LIBERIA

Son of Liberian Chief Disagrees with Dr. Lyon.

VISITED NATIVE HOME IN 1930

Soldiers Ravage Native Women, Jail Men.

By CHARLES G. BLOOAH

Native Liberian, son of a Grebo chieftain, now studying at Fisk University.

Afro-American Baltimore Md 8/27/32

FISK UNIVERSITY, Nashville Tenn.—I have been reading with interest Dr. Lyon's remarks in the Afro on Liberia, under the headlines: "Foes Overlook Liberia's Good Side." I am not trying to answer Dr. Lyon on this question, but I simply feel that this is not the time to apologize for Liberia's trickeries and stubborn insistence upon wrong doing against the natives.

I myself am a native. My father was one of the powerful Grebo chiefs and today one of his sons, who is now chieftain, has suffered cruelties and imprisonment time and again under the present Liberian atrocities.

It may be true that Liberia — a good side and it may be true that in these present day dealings with the republic people do overlook these good characteristics of the administrators of the republic, but the question is one which deals strictly with what has been done and what might have been done.

Liberia Mistreated Natives

Liberia, as you know, has done a great deal of injustice to the natives and since 1910, up to the time the League of Nations Commission was sent, the natives received no help from sufferings and even their burden of suffering has been increased after the League Commission cautioned Liberia and left her to adjust those conditions to the satisfaction of both the natives and administrators of the state.

Of course, the cries of the natives for relief were not anything to the Liberian authorities because she knew the natives could not fly to America for help because they are not civilized.

Should be Punished

It seems to me what we need to do now is to leave aside the fact that we are all Negroes and that we should hold under cover the wrongs of Negro administrators, but be frank and face what is right. We are not interested in covering up wrongs in order to appear beautiful outside. We will simply be deceived ourselves.

It is true that governments are not perfect because they are built upon human nature and by human beings, but when a ruler is informed of his wrongs and is appealed to kindly to improve his acts and gives no heed to all the advice of people who know and continues to do wrong, then there is no need for us to sympathize with human nature. That kind of human nature should be punished because the act is deliberate.

Turned Dead Ear

The same thing is true in the Liberian case. Liberia had been repeatedly warned and she repeatedly turned a dead-ear to all the advice of outside governments. I feel that evil should not be praised and if there is wrong doing, it should be adjusted with stern appeals.

I love Liberia and I think it has a right to exist as an independent Negro republic and should never be placed under any kind of mandatory power, but if Liberia continues to treat helpless individuals unfairly, as she does the natives, just because they have no submarines and men-of-war or armies to defend them and to battle against any unbearable power, she should be taken over by the League of Nations as a mandatory power.

I believe that Dr. Lyon himself knows that Liberia is almost as old as the United States, but because of inefficient administrative power she is probably the least of self-governing powers today.

What I am trying to say here is that Liberia needs no apologies and sympathies. What she needs is to be dealt with sternly for her wrong doing and will not be corrected, the doing and will not be corected, the government should be taken away from the present administrators, for the weak must be defended.

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REPORTS REFUTE CLAIM OF BRUTAL LIBERIAN TACTICS

By ROBERT A. CRUMP

NEW YORK, Aug. 4—(ANP)—Perhaps the most convincing argument in favor of the Liberian government anent the supposedly ill treatment of the natives, as against the British propaganda concerning the free and easy life they would be allowed to live if the British government took over the reins of Liberia, had its full fruition a few days ago when, as a result of the riot in the southern province of Sierra Leona, a British colony, adjacent to Liberia, more than 200 British subjects who rebelled against the iron rule of British colonial officials and the tyranny of the paramount chiefs there, crossed the border and went over into Liberian territory for safety and protection under the Liberian government.

As recently as June 10 it was reported that between 500 and 600 more refugees were hiding in the brush along the Mano River, trying to effect a crossing. Men made rafts from banana stumps to ferry their wives and babies across to safety. Many in destitute circumstances have been furnished food, clothing and bedding by A. Dondo Ware, district commissioner of the Tavor district, to whom the petition was made for protection. The only requirement of the Liberian government is that dutiable goods that might be brought over must be reported to the collector of customs at the Liberian port of Gene Wonday. And while Liberian soldiers have been stationed along the border to see to the safe crossing of these British subjects, it is reported that British troops are also stationed at the ports and ferries to prevent their escape. Signed copies of the petitions of the refugees were immediately dispatched the district commissioner, to the superintendent of Grand Cape Count Colony, one to the secretary of the interior, to the president of Liberia, as well as to the British legation near Monrovia.

Trouble Caused by High Taxes and Forced Labor

The trouble had its inception over the election of a paramount chief in the Soro chiefdom after the death of Chief Momo Varwah, according to the statement of the natives. It being the British custom to allow the natives to elect their own chief, but through the chicanery of Provincial Commissioner Ross, all of the native candidates were eliminated and one Sulimana Lusine, Ross' hand-picked candidate, was elected. Immediately after his election, Lusine taxed each of his opposers one cow and 20 pounds cash. Later he made the whole province apologize for opposing him by a tax of 20 pounds and boasted that he would get further revenge. Forced labor was brought into effect by forcing the natives and even their wives to work on farms without any compensation. Besides brutally treating the men, the paramount chief is said to have free sexual intercourse with their wives. When the husbands objected they were fined the sum of six pounds.

Many of the women were forced to go into town away from their husbands and work as domestics. While the task system was worked on those who labored on the farms such as a fine of one pound for failure to cut, say, 100 bunches of rice a day. This brutal treatment and forced labor, sometimes without sufficient food, became burdensome particularly when it was learned by the natives that the paramount chief was backed in this extortion of money and labor by the provincial commissioner of the southern province; as a consequence they put their claim before the British government for relief. The government investigation found the complaints to be just and ordered the chief to return the 150 pounds which he had collected illegally from the natives back to them, but he made claim to hut taxes to that amount.

When an appeal was made by the natives to the governor of Freetown by three clan chiefs elected by them these chiefs were thrown into prison and others beaten severely. Paramount Chief Lusine wrote to the district commissioner at Pujehun saying the natives were preparing for war against the government, whereupon soldiers were sent who began to plunder the towns of Marlima, Gohn, Suhmu, Konoma and Farnima. These natives, not being able to resist the soldiers' attack, sought refuge in Liberia.

LOUISVILLE, KY.
COURIER JOURNAL
AUG 9 1932

NEW LIGHT ON LIBERIA

The question of slavery in Liberia about which Secretary Stimson recently inveighed in a vigorous note to the little African republic, takes on a slightly different aspect with disclosures by the Foreign Policy Association. Mr. Stimson's protest was based largely on allegations that the Liberian Government had slaughtered some 600 innocent Kru natives who had testified before a joint international investigating Committee about conditions in the country. The inference was that the Government had acted ruthlessly in reprisal against their testimony.

"Three subsequent inquiries," declares the latest report of the case "proved that the Liberian Government had not engaged in any reprisals, but after exhausting pacific means, had finally been compelled to suppress a revolution among the natives who refused to pay any taxes on the ground that the white man was going to take over the country."

The fear of the natives was based on a proposal made before the League of Nations and approved by the United States that the League or an international commission take charge of the republic. Partly as the result of the slaughter of the Kru tribesmen it was argued that the American Negroes who govern Liberia have cruelly oppressed the natives and cannot be trusted to administer the country fairly.

The Foreign Policy Association points out that to a certain extent conditions in Liberia are due "to the attitude of foreign powers which have been unsympathetic to the idea of an independent Negro republic." The little country is ~~hedged~~ in between powerful imperialistic interests. It could not exist at all except for the guardianship of the United States. It needs commerce and financial aid and these are denied it. Since the agitation about slavery the United States has withheld recognition of the Government. Liberia's economic condition has always been somewhat precarious It is worse now.

This, however, does not mitigate the charges against social and sanitary conditions. Slavery has been widespread. Smallpox has swept almost unchecked throughout the nation. Liberia needs help, whether it is to come through a governing commission or from friendly co-operation. Whatever action is taken, however, should be based on proved facts, not on reports of cruelty that are now declared to be misrepresentations.

NOT THE TIME TO APOLOGIZE FOR LIBERIA

Son of Liberian Chief Disagrees with Dr. Lyon.

VISITED NATIVE HOME IN 1930

Soldiers Ravage Native Women, Jail Men.

By CHARLES G. BLOOAH

Native Liberian, son of a Grebo chieftain, now studying at Fisk University.

FISK UNIVERSITY, Nashville Tenn.—I have been reading with interest Dr. Lyon's remarks in the issue of Liberia, under the headlines: "Foes Overlook Liberia's Good Side." I am not trying to answer Dr. Lyon on this question, but I simply feel that this is not the time to apologize for Liberia's trickeries and stubborn insistence upon wrong doing against the natives.

I myself am a native. My father was one of the powerful Grebo chiefs and today one of his sons, who is now chieftain, has suffered cruelties and imprisonment time and again under the present Liberian atrocities.

It may be true that Liberia has a good side and it may be true that in these present day dealings with the republic people do overlook these good characteristics of the administrators of the republic, but the question is one which deals strictly with what has been done and what might have been done.

Liberia Mistreated Natives

Liberia, as you know, has done a great deal of injustice to the natives and since 1910, up to the time the League of Nations Commission was sent, the natives received no help from sufferings and even their burden of suffering has been increased after the League Commission cautioned Liberia and left her to adjust those conditions to the satisfaction of both the natives and administrators of the state.

Of course, the cries of the natives for relief were not anything to the Liberian authorities because she knew the natives could not fly to America for help because they are not civilized.

Should be Punished

It seems to me what we need to do now is to leave aside the fact that we are all Negroes and that we should hold under cover the wrongs of Negro administrators, but be frank and face what is right. We are not interested in covering up wrongs in order to appear beautiful outside. We will simply be deceived ourselves.

It is true that governments are not perfect because they are built upon human nature and by human beings, but when a ruler is informed of his wrongs and is appealed to kindly to improve his acts and gives no heed to all the advice of people who know and continues to do wrong, then there is no need for us to sympathize with human nature. That kind of human nature should be punished because the act is deliberate.

Turned Dead Ear

The same thing is true in the Liberian case. Liberia had been repeatedly warned and she repeatedly turned a dead-ear to all the advice of outside governments. I feel that evil should not be praised and if there is wrong doing, it should be adjusted with stern appeals.

I love Liberia and I think it has a right to exist as an independent Negro republic and should never be placed under any kind of mandatory power, but if Liberia continues to treat helpless individuals unfairly, as she does the natives, just because they have no submarines and men-of-war or armies to defend them and to battle against any unbearable power, she should be taken over by the League of Nations as a mandatory power.

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matter.

No Sympathy

I wish to say further that it is not time now for us to be sympathetic with Liberia. Truth is greater than sentimentality. Here is a black government that has practiced among the natives the same type of thing that was practiced in America against Negroes here. Trying to cover our bad deeds will not help us. The evil that Liberia has practiced so far in that country has put the progress that the Negro has made in this country as far back as three hundred years.

Not a child

I feel that it is now time that Liberia should lay aside childish appeals and those who try to sympathize with her should make up their minds that Liberia is no longer a child but a grown person and as a government we feel that it should become a part of the great world brotherhood of nations. Motherly pity and sympathies and patting upon the head or shoulders or back are a detriment to Liberia. This has helped Liberia in no way. Instead of helping her, it has made her officials mere bluffers.

I feel, then, that Liberia can only be truly developed by sincere work. Permanent governments are never built on a foundation of illusionment. The state of Liberia and its people can only be given their full, fair share of permanent development in the highest that civilization can give when the Americo-Liberian ceases his pursuit of follies and turns his attention directly and sincerely to the things which are of intrinsic value.

The cheating of natives and plundering of villages is not a healthful sign of a developed government, nor is it a clever sign that the administrators are intelligent.

I love Liberia as my own government. That is why I am jealous of it. I am personally tired of going around through the American states with head down, ashamed to look up in the face of the American world because of the sins of Liberia.

THE LAST OF FREE AFRICA

WITH Liberia on its last financial legs, Africa becomes almost solidly white in theory as well as in fact.

The League of Nations decrees and Liberia accepts a white dictator.

Dark Africa, bloody Africa with its immense wealth and deep mystery is to be civilized and christianized for the benefit of its own soul. At least so say the missionaries and rulers of the world. But for a long time thoughtful men have known that Africa's soul does not matter half as much as the riches which lay in its bowels.

The rulers of the world have gutted Africa. Her riches have been distributed among the so-called civilized nations. Her territory has been split up and divided. Her bosom is red with blood as civilization battles for more of her resources. Americans ride on tires made from the sweat of Africa's underpaid workers.

Liberia, the step-child of America, is broke. It is unable to meet the demands of New York bankers who are demanding their pound of flesh. The officials of Liberia are accused of permitting slavery to exist within its borders. These are the reasons given by the League of Nations for issuing its mandate that Liberia accept a white dictator.

STIMSON INSISTS ON LIBERIAN REFORM

Call for Action by Powers on Slavery Is Sent to League Body.

FINANCIAL AID IS BARRED

Monrovia's Emasculation of Committee Program Prompts State Department Warning.

The text of Secretary Stimson's memorandum is on Page 15.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 12. — The United States will continue to insist upon a thorough clean-up of slavery and insanitary conditions in Liberia by an international agency clothed with adequate authority, and will resist any effort of Liberia to block such a move, the State Department announced today.

The announcement took the form of the publication of a memorandum sent on Aug. 25 through the League of Nations to France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Liberia, Panama, Poland and Spain, the governments, with the United States, represented on the international committee on Liberia, and of a letter from Secretary Stimson last Friday to the Rev. E. H. Coit of New York, a Negro missionary, who is chairman of the Foreign Missionary Board of African Methodist Episcopal Church.

The Rev. Mr. Coit had written in behalf of his organization, as well as of missionary boards of the Baptist and other Negro Protestan churches, to inquire whether the measure contemplated in Reforms for Liberia would deny free access to that country of Negro missionaries.

Obstructive Tactics Charged.

The memorandum to the governments represented on the international committee and to the Liberian Government was prompted by a resolution adopted by the Liberian Legislature on Aug. 18, which would emasculate what is considered here the already weak resolution of the international committee of last May for carrying out reforms.

The memorandum and the letter restated the American position for strong action and charged Liberia with delay and obstructive tactics. In the present circumstances, it was pointed out, the United States refuses to accord diplomatic recognition to Liberia and asserted that the American Government will not recommend financial assistance desired by Liberia under present conditions.

The documents were made public today in view of the meeting of the international committee scheduled to open at Geneva next Monday with Samuel Reber Jr., the American diplomatic officer who has attended previous meetings of the committee, again serving in that capacity.

The committee is to hear and act upon the exceptions by Liberia to the May resolution, as well as the report of M. D. Mackenzie of Great Britain, an officer of the Health Section of the League of Nations, who has investigated conditions among the Kru tribesmen of Liberia for the international committee, and has attempted to pacify them after they had been attacked by units of the Liberian Frontier Force.

Central Authority Demanded.

The position of the United States is that adequate authority must be delegated to an international agency, headed by a single officer equipped with real powers, and that short of such an arrangement the American Government will not recommend to the Finance Corporation of America the extension of any more loans to Liberia.

The Finance Corporation is reported to be affiliated with the Firestone Rubber interests, which have plantation concessions in Liberia. Its president is William P. Belden of Cleveland, Ohio, and its officers are in that city. In 1926, it underwrote a contract with Liberia to provide loans up to $5,000,000. Of this authorization $2,250,000 has been issued, and Liberia now desires $247,000 more with which to carry out reforms.

The present attitude of the United States is a reiteration of its position as stated through a reservation to the resolution adopted by the international committee at Geneva last May. That resolution is considered by this government as very weak in that it provides for an international organization to assist Liberia in carrying out reforms but with only advisory powers.

Notwithstanding, the Liberian Legislature on Aug. 18, adopted a resolution to exempt several counties from the operation of the projected reforms, substitute several Liberians for foreigners on the advisory committee provided in the May resolution of the international committee, and specifically deny any authority to the advisory committee over the frontier force. These reservations will be pressed by Liberia at Geneva next week.

The documents made public by the State Department today consisted of the memorandum to the governments represented on the international committee and to Liberia; the reservations submitted by the United States at Geneva last May, and the letter of Secretary Stimson to Mr Coit.

U.S. Minister to Liberia Virtually a "Spy"

Dr. Lyons Hits U.S. for Failure to Recognize West Africa Republic. U.S. Estimate of Liberia Changed Since War.

By DR. ERNEST LYON
Liberian Consul-General

It is very assuring, comparing the past, which these appended documents will reveal, with the present attitude of the Washington government toward the republic of Liberia, which seems to be under the heels of the Big Powers.

The period in the history of nations or individuals when the aid of friends, if they have any, is needed, is in the hour of affliction, no matter from what source the affliction comes.

Admitting that Liberia was guilty of national transgressions, it would have been in keeping with the principle of that friendly relation, often expressed by the American government for Liberia, if the American minister, himself a man of color, had been sent to exercise the functions of his office, as the diplomatic representative of his government.

In that capacity he would have been, not only a great help to the Liberian nation, but he could have rendered invaluable service when the invectives of her international enemies were falling thick and fast. But the American government instead, served abruptly diplomatic relationship with this wounded member of the sisterhood of nations, and thus rendered helpless this able and experienced officer.

This act of the American government, once the great and good friend of the republic gave Britain and France the opportunity long desired to follow suit in the withdrawal of diplomatic correspondence.

For nearly one year and a half, the American minister occupied the unofficial position of what can scarcely be anything else than a spy or watchman. It is doubtful whether any other nation except Liberia, weak and helpless, would have tolerated such an anomalous situation. Nevertheless, the Liberian authorities treated the minister and his suite with the utmost deference and respect, not as a plenipotentiary of a foreign government who had failed to present his letters of credence, but as a distinguished visitor irresponsible for the embarrassing situation.

Settlement of Debt

Some five years ago, the Liberian consul-general, commissioned as a special financial representative of Liberia, presented to the Honorable Ogden L. Mills, Acting Secretary of the Treasury in the absence of Mr. Mellon, a draft drawn by the National Bank of Washington, D.C., in full payment of Liberian indebtedness to the United States of America. In making the payment, the consul-general, by suggestion of the department, made the following appropriate remarks:

"This monetary obligation which the Liberian government settles today with the American government carries our memories back to the great World War period. Liberia at the breaking out of the war had no grievances against the Central Powers then in war with the rest of Europe.

"She had elected, for various reasons, to remain neutral, notwithstanding political and other pressure to force her into taking sides with the allied forces. But when the American government, after the tragic incident of the sinking of the Lusitania, severed diplomatic relations with the Imperial German government, and war was declared against the Central Powers. Liberia followed the example of her good and great friend.

Gave Seamen

"In the struggle she supplied mariners from her seaport population which made maritime communication possible up and down the West Coast of Africa, after the Europeans had withdrawn in response to the call of their respective nationalities.

"Her men served as links of communication on the battlefield rendering such other service, which brought down upon her national pate the ire of a German submarine, because the president of the republic, refused at the biding of the commander to authorize the destruction of the wireless stations and other useful institutions in the service of the allies.

"Liberia, as an ally, was to share in the loan measure, which authorized the President of the United

Race Problem - 1932 I

Liberia

...s to make loans to members of the allied compact to enable them to carry on the war to a successful finish.

"The armistice, however, was declared before Liberia secured her full quota allotted. She did, however, secure a portion of the five million dollar allotment.

"I come today, under official instructions, to settle that obligation covered by the fact of this draft, issued through one of the most powerful and repubtable financial institutions of the world. I refer to the National City Bank of New York.

"By this act Liberia not only sets a good example to the nations of the earth, but she emphasizes the fact that the respect which one nation entertains for another nation is based upon the integrity and promptness in the settlement of obligations, monetary and otherwise.

"You will be pleased to know that the republic is entering upon a prosperous career, that her economic conditions have been wonderfully improved since the close of the war, that the opening up of the country to American capitalists marks a new day for the government and the people of the republic.

"It is with great pleasure, therefore, that I present to you this draft cancelling Liberia's war obligation, and in doing so I beg to convey to His Excellency, the President of the United States, through your good offices, the distinguished consideration and high appreciation of His Excellency, the President of the Republic of Liberia, and to express the hope that the relations of comity and good will will not only continue but will increase as the years of national life are prolonged."

The Secretary responded by note as follows:

MY DEAR MR. CONSUL-GENERAL:

In accepting from your hands as Special Financial Representative of His Excellency, C. D. B. King, payment in full of Liberia's indebtedness to the United States, permit me to congratulate your government on the loyal and prompt manner in which it has met its engagements.

There is but one other nation among those whose obligations have been held by this government that has made payment of its indebtedness without recourse to funding agreements.

The blow dealt to the economic system of Liberia by the war was severe in the extreme. That Liberia has been able to re-establish and strengthen her economic system, to regain her financial position, and to meet her public and private obligations in full constitutes an achievement that bears glowing tribute to the ability of her statesmen and to the industry of her people as a whole.

I trust that you will convey to His Excellency, President King, and to your government an expression of the admiration felt here for a nation that has been able to accomplish such things, together with the hope of this government that a future of peace and prosperity lies before Liberia in which the traditional friendship between the two nations may find frequent and cordial reaffirmation.

I am, my dear Dr. Lyon,
Very sincerely yours,
(Signed) A. W. MELLON,
Secretary of the Treasury.

This fine compliment coming from so high and distinguished a represntative of the American government—the Honorable A. W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury of the United States and now ambassador of the government of the United States to the court of Saint James, comes as a fitting tribute to the character of the Republic of Liberia.

Calvin Coolidge was then President of the United States.

TROY, N. Y.
RECORD

SEP 14 1932

LIBERIA MUST REFOR

Secretary Stimson has assumed the attitude in regard to the conduct of the little African republic of Liberia. That country early had the good will of the United States. It was expected to serve as a refuge of thousands of Negroes after the Civil War. It really enabled many former Americans of African blood to build up a government which, if wisdom had ruled its affairs, might have become prosperous and progressive.

But the Liberians have not met expectations. They become indolent; permitted their affairs to be handled by selfish, incompetent and even dishonest men, and went from bad to worse. Some time ago an international committee on the country made an investigation in regard to statements that slavery existed among the natives. Gross indignities were practiced upon the tribesmen who could not resist the impositions of the republic's soldiers. Sanitation was neglected to an alarming extent. In fact Liberia was becoming a threat morally and physically to the western coast of Africa.

Secretary Stimson has published a memorandum which insists that the United States will insist upon a thorough clean-up of slavery and insanitary conditions in Liberia by an international agency, "clothed with adequate authority." He also firmly announces that our government will resist any effort of Liberia to block such a move.

There is some doubt about the population of Liberia. It has more than 1,500,000 inhabitants and probably 2,100,000. Of this number 12,000 or more are descendants of ancestors freed from slavery in the United States. This minority controls the country. It has a government supposed to be similar to that of America. Unfortunately the different departments are mismanaged in the interests of the few. The hundreds of thousands of tribesmen are enduring pitiable conditions. Mothers and children have been torn from their homes and subjected to conditions which are equal to slavery.

The international efforts to compel the Monrovian government to be good was started with some indifference. There was a half-hearted suggestion that the offenders try and do better. There was no hint that they would be punished. All that was wanted of them was conduct which would not outrage decency and arouse worldwide indignation. It is said that the Liberians not only have paid little or no attention to appeals but have gone so far as threaten to deny free access to Negro missionaries.

Secretary Stimson is determined that Liberia shall clean house without further delay. He insists that adequate authority must be delegated to an international agency, headed by a single officer equipped with real powers. More, he has sent out word that the Monrovian government will not receive further financial loans from this part of the world until there is evidence of reforms which shall end existing evils for all time. To raise the big stick above the head of Liberia seems to be justified.

MANCHESTER, N. H.
UNION

SEP 19 1932

CLEANING UP LIBERIA.

No better illustration of the difficulty of maintaining the balance between profession and practice has ever been given than in the case of Liberia. This republic was established by the United States as a home where colored freedmen in this country might have an opportunity to work out their own destiny. Today it is one of the chief stamping-grounds of slavery in all the world.

This situation has occupied the attention of an international commission appointed by the League of Nations, in whose work the United States has cooperated, which last May adopted a program of reforms. Since then the Liberian government has employed every subterfuge to render this program innocuous.

The State Department at Washington expressed the opinion last May that the machinery set up by the League of Nations to assist Liberia in making a thorough cleanup lacked adequate authority for its task. This opinion has proven correct. But in his memorandum of September 9, Secretary Stimson has let it be known that the United States will insist that the program be carried through, and resist any effort of Liberia to block its progress. This may seem to some an unwarranted meddling with an affair that is none of our business, but the United States has a very definite responsibility in Liberia that should not be evaded.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.
EAGLE

SEP 17 1932

Stimson on Liberia.

United States philanthropists made Liberia possible. The free Negro colonists came exclusively from this country. In name, we have not had a protectorate; but the moral force of this nation has been understood by all the powers to be behind Liberia's rights, and Liberia's autonomy.

Now Secretary of State Stimson in a formal statement comes close to handing over the future of Liberia to the tender mercies of the League of Nations, and we are not inclined to blame him for so doing. For the evidence seems clear enough that the descendants of former slaves have themselves gone into the slave-trading business, and that the vast numbers of natives within the technical jurisdiction of this Black Republic have been ruthlessly exploited. Furthermore it seems undeniable that the natives of the Kru Coast have had their villages burned, and have been slaughtered in considerable numbers by orders from Monrovia, for the offence of telling the truth to the Geneva Commission.

Whether the League is in a position to take over the government of even a little country may be fairly doubted. But that the United States is in no position to coerce the wrongdoers in Liberia is the common judgment of Americans.

Geneva is not likely to interfere with any American enterprise in Liberia, least of all with the great Harvey Firestone investment in rubber development and port development, though some modifications of the Monrovia agreement with Mr. Firestone may be desirable. The American investor has indignantly denied that his concern ever profited by slavery, and we have no doubt that the denial is in good faith

N. Y. SUN

SEP 19 1932

LIBERIAN FATE BEFORE PARLEY

Nations Meet on Political Condition of Republic.

HEALTH STATUS A MENACE

Last Effort to Solve Problem Proved Ineffective.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 19 (A. P.).—Liberia's future hinges largely on what attitude the Liberian Government takes toward plans for reform to be considered by the International Committee on Liberia, meeting today at Geneva in another attempt to put the Negro Republic on a civilized footing.

The United States again will participate in the work of the international committee. Secretary Stimson, however, has made it clear this Government will have nothing to do with any plan under which Liberia fails to grant absolute authority to a foreign chief adviser entrusted with restoring order and protecting the native tribes against exploitation by the Americo-Africans.

These Americo-Africans live, for the most part, along the coast of the African Republic, which was established eighty-seven years ago by freed men from the United States.

Effective Government Doubted.

Political, social, economic and health conditions in Liberia are so deplorable, Secretary Stimson pointed out in his note of August 25 to the League of Nations, that it is doubtful whether any effective Government exists in the black Republic.

He charged the present officials there with blame for the chaotic state of affairs, and said the lack of cooperation on the part of Liberian officials with international agencies that have tried to help them is responsible for the sad state into which the republic has fallen.

The American Government has strived for twenty years to better affairs in Liberia without success. In 1929 Liberia appealed to the League of Nations to investigate charges of slavery and forced labor. Dr. Charles S. Johnson served as American member of an investigating committee whose report was so shocking that several members of the Government were forced to resign and Secretary Stimson sent such a stinging rebuke to Monrovia that even President C. D. D. King resigned.

U. S. Withholds Recognition.

President Edwin Barclay, now chief executive of Liberia, heads a Government which the United States refuses to recognize because of the opposition it has offered to reforms suggested by members of the International Committee in Liberia.

Liberia has a population of approximately 2,000,000. Of this number 20,000 are the descendants of American freedmen, living along the coast. From this group come the officials whose treatment of the native tribesmen has brought the country to grief.

The republic is about the size of New York State and lies on the west coast of Africa, just north of the equator, between British Sierra Leone and French African territory.

Disorders in Liberia, the failure of Liberian officials to clean up their country and free their ports from yellow fever and other tropical diseases of a contagious nature, have made the republic such a nuisance to its neighbors that there have been frequent suggestions that the French and British may be compelled to take it over and police it in self-defense.

Plan Made Ineffective.

A plan for reforming conditions in Liberia, prepared by the international committee last spring, was revised by the Liberian Legislature in such a manner that it withheld from the proposed chief foreign adviser the authority that Secretary Stimson believes is essential.

This plan provided for a chief adviser, responsible only to the League of Nations, a foreign commissioner and assistant commissioner for each of the three provinces and two foreign medical officers. The present foreign financial adviser and his four assistants are also to be continued under this plan.

The Liberians desire to alter the plan by keeping the armed defense force of 600 men under the control of President Barclay and the Minister of the Interior. Secretary Stimson is opposed to any such arrangement.

Dr. M. D. MacKenzie, a Scotch physician connected with the health sesion of the League of Nations, recently made a trip to Liberia and will report to the international committee on efforts he made to induce 12,000 Kru tribesmen to return to their homes o nthe coast.

These natives charge they were attacked by the Liberian border guards and their homes burned because they testified against officials engaged in selling natives into bondage in the Spanish Island of Fernando Po.

The Krus fled into the interior, where many of them starved, but refused to return to their homes because of fear of further persecution.

Samuel Reber Jr., former American charge d'affaires at Monrovia, the capital of Liberia, will represent the United States at the meeting opening today. Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Liberia, Panama, Poland and Spain each will have one representative.

Sails to Study in Liberia for Three Months

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 16.—Henry L. West, former commissioner of the District of Columbia and president of the American Colonization society, last week sailed abroad for three months' study of problems affecting the Liberian republic. He will first visit Geneva, Switzerland, to confer with the League of Nations international committee on Liberia, and then proceed to Monrovia, the Liberian capital, where he will hold several conferences with President Edwin Barclay.

Mr. West is president of the society which originally deeded the African territory now occupied by the republic to a group of American slaves and freed men many years ago when the removal of all members of the Race to this territory was considered a popular solution of the Race problem in America. Since that time the organization has kept in constant touch with the progress of that early plan. At present Mr. West is vice chairman of the advisory committee on Liberian education.

LIBERIA A... LEAGUE AGREE

WASHINGTON, D.C.—An agreement has been reached respecting the authority that is to be delegated to an international agency to be appointed to eradicate slavery and insanitary conditions in Liberia, the State Department announced last Wed...

The international committee on Liberia of the League of Nations, with which the United States is cooperating in instituting reforms in Liberia, has agreed to the American plan, which called for the delegation of sufficient authority to a single official of an international agency to enable him to remedy conditions in Liberia, it was said.

The plan is acceptable to Liberia, it was also stated.

The next step will be for the international committee to submit its plan to the Council of the League of Nations for acceptance, it was said.

League Shocked by U. S. Proposal For Dictatorship in Liberia

BY STEWART BROWN.

GENEVA, Sept. 22.—(UP)—An American proposal for a "virtual dictatorship" over the negro republic of Liberia brought a storm of indignant protests from delegates attending the League of Nations Liberian committee meeting today.

Samuel Reber Jr., United States representative on the committee, virtually rejected the plan of assistance already devised by the committee, and brought sharp criticism by suggesting that the United States would want to name the "chief advisor" who should be placed over Liberian affairs.

The present plan of assistance, ready for submission to the League council as assembly for final approval, provides for a rigid plan of supervision under a chief advisor, whose powers would be limited.

Reber said that the advisor should have practically dictatorial powers in devising his own program of assistance in case of differences with the Liberian government. His opinion should prevail in case of dispute, Reber said, although Liberia should have the right to appeal to the League council.

This proposition thoroughly shocked the other delegates, who immediately asked for an adjournment, that they might have time to consult their respective governments.

Another meeting was called for late Friday, though it was indicated the United States plan would be rejected.

The delegates were thoroughly angry at Rober's "bombshell" once the meeting was over. They seemed especially provoked at his statement that the United States might want to say who shall be appointed advisor to Liberia.

Certain of the delegates told the United Press that the conditions proposed by Reber virtually served to wreck the League's work in attempting to assist the negro republic. One delegate said "the United States put this negro baby on our doorstep and we will be glad to give it back if the United States is unwilling to accept our methods."

LIBERIA WANTS TO BE LET ALONE; SAY NATIVES

MONROVIA, Liberia.—Dissatisfaction with the proposal by the League of Nations of a white dictatorship for Liberia, and expression of satisfaction with the rule of their own "kith and kin" were contained in a petition sent by paramount chiefs and natives of the hinterland to Lord Cecil at the league headquarters in Geneva.

The petition, representing 370,000 aborigines expressed disavowal of the belief in the "altruism" of self-styled sponsors and suspicion of the advocacy of white control as the only means to save them from exploitation by their fellow countrymen.

The petition further requested that the natives be left alone to work out their own salvation as a national entity. Accompanying the petition were kola nuts, representing the aboriginal mode of attestation to an oath.

Nation - N.Y.

OCT 12 1932

SEVERELY CRITICIZING the State Department for holding up the League of Nations plan for Liberia, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People charged in a telegram to Secretary Stimson that "should the League adopt the American suggestion of imposing upon the League adviser dictatorial powers, the result would be, in our opinion, a destructive occupation similar to that which the United States has carried out in another Negro republic—namely, Haiti." It expressed the fear that if the League plan failed, the State Department would undertake a unilateral intervention for the protection of the Firestone interests. In a remarkably courteous and good-tempered reply Mr. Stimson declared that the United States "has no desire or plan to intervene in Liberia," but that it did not feel that the League plan bestowed adequate authority upon the proposed international commission to Liberia. The Firestone interests had, he added, no immediate connection with this problem, which was one of "order and humanity." This statement as to the disinterestedness of the United States is reassuring, but we repeat what we said last week—that if Geneva is willing to take responsibility for Liberia's reconstruction, the United States would be ill-advised to block the League's effort at regeneration. It is more than ever necessary for the facts to be known concerning the present negotiations. We urge that the sessions of the Liberia committee in Geneva be thrown open to the public.

Race Problem - 1932

Asia

NEW LAW BENEFITS CITIZENS OF TURKEY

Provides That Only Nationals May Follow Certain Trades and Professions.

FEW AMERICANS AFFECTED

Statute Regarded as Last Move in Long Evolution of the Foreigner's Status.

Jumo

By J. W. KERNICK.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ANKARA, July 15.—The Grand National Assembly has passed a law reserving certain trades and professions to Turkish citizens. These include barbers, bootmakers, builders, chauffeurs, chemists, dancers, hairdressers, porters, hatmakers, interpreters, musicians, music hall performers, photographers, printers, stevedores, stockbrokers, waiters and waitresses, watchmen and veterinary surgeons. Foreigners following any of these callings have been granted one year's delay in which to abandon them, but the Council of Ministers reserves the right to make special exceptions and to list any other trades or professions should the interests of the country demand.

New York City
New York
7/17/32.

Foreign doctors and lawyers, although not included in the new list, are already prohibited from practicing in Turkey except in the case of those enjoying acquired rights.

Countries whose subjects are particularly affected by the new law are Greece, Italy and France. Many families of Italian and French artisans have lived in Turkey for several generations, and domestic service and shopkeeping are largely in the hands of Greeks who have not acquired Turkish nationality. In a year's time, therefore, hotels, clubs and restaurants will be much exercised to find porters and waiters.

Few Americans Affected.

Except for a few Negro orchestras and music hall artists the new law does not affect American citizens, of whom about 400 are resident in Turkey. They are mainly engaged in teaching and missionary work, although a few are employed by tobacco-buying firms and distributing organizations. The Negro musicians will be greatly missed and it is not unlikely that the Petits Champs and Maxim Cabaret will eventually be forced to close.

The enactment of this law marks the last stage in the evolution of the status of foreigners in Turkey, which has been going on for several centuries. Until the great war and between its end and the signing of the Lausanne Treaty, foreigners living here enjoyed the privileges of extra-territorial jurisdiction known as capitulations. Their origin dates from earlier days of the Ottoman Empire, when Suleiman the Magnificent was Sultan and the privileges were originally accorded to French merchants. Actually these capitulations were concessions made in a spirit of contemptuous indifference by a warrior race at the height of its power to infidel merchants whose petty interests were deemed unworthy of the attention of the Turkish courts. The privileges were extended gradually to other foreign residents and the 1830 treaty of commerce and navigation signed with the Sublime Porte granted most favored nation treatment to Americans, which meant that they, too, benefited by the capitulations.

Conferred Many Advantages.

Some idea of the scope and importance of these may be obtained when it is remembered that the special privileges thus accorded to foreigners included immunity from arrest and trial by Turkish authorities. Offenses committed by foreigners were tried before their own consular courts, and lawsuits between foreign residents and Turkish subjects could be heard by local courts only in the presence of the dragoman from the consulate of the foreigner. Judgments against a foreigner could only be enforced with the consent of his consul. Foreigners, moreover, were free of all taxation and the merchandise they imported could be subjected only to a specified rate of duty, which until 1910 was 8 per cent ad valorem. Some European powers actually had their own postoffices, sold their own stamps and handled their own incoming and outgoing mails.

Turkish resentment grew slowly against this system, which not only diverted revenue from the State but also removed all chance of competition in business against foreigners immune from taxation. It was not surprising therefore that in 1908, when the Young Turk revolution led to Constitutional changes that the foremost desire was to rid the country of the capitulations. Early efforts, however, were successful only to the extent that customs duties were increased from 8 to 11 per cent and the foreign postoffices were suppressed. All other privileges enjoyed by foreign residents remained and were only abolished on Turkey's entrance into the World War. The war over and Istanbul occupied by allied forces, the capitulations were reintroduced only to be removed immediately after Kemal's defeat of the Greeks in Anatolia in 1922.

When finally the allies and the representatives on the new national government met at Lausanne the question whether the capitulations should be revived was one of the most difficult which confronted the conference. The Turks gained their point, however, and ever since the foreigner has been gradually ousted from the enviable position he once held in Turkey. Today the Turk in fact receives more favorable treatment, but although the foreigners may suffer somewhat they cannot legitimately complain, for all are treated alike and after all charity does begin at home.

Race Problem—1932

Mahatma Gandhi.

Asia

HINDUS SIGN ACCORD; GANDHI GIVES ASSENT

Truce Abandoning Separate Vote for "Untouchables" Is Rushed to London.

CRISIS IN HIS FAST TODAY

Weak From 108 Hours Without Food, Mahatma Smiles His Approval of Plan.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BOMBAY, Sept. 24.—Leaders of the "untouchables" and caste Hindus today signed a historic agreement settling their political differences and foreshadowing a speedy abandonment of Mahatma Gandhi's "fast unto the death."

The "untouchables," who hitherto have demanded separate electorates now agree to throw their lot in with the caste Hindus. In return, they will receive a guarantee of 148 seats in the Indian provincial Legislatures, three times as many as the British Government's award gave them. The caste Hindus further give assurances they will take practical steps toward lifting the "untouchables" from their degraded social position of thousands of years.

A specific pledge is given that the caste Hindus will try to obtain "a fair share of representation" for the depressed classes in the public services, although for centuries the latter have been shunned as the ditch-diggers and scavengers of India. There is also a promise that "adequate sums" will be set aside for educating the "untouchables" and raising them from the squalor in which they have been compelled to live.

Gandhi Smiles His Assent.

Faint and emaciated after 108 hours without food, Mahatma Gandhi approved the settlement at Yerovda jail in Poona today. He was too weak to say anything, but he indicated his assent by raising his head an inch or two from his cot and smiling wanly. By means of his hunger strike he had won his fight to prevent, as he put it, "the disruption of Hinduism" and "the perpetual segregation" of the depressed classes.

Cablegrams were rushed off to Prime Minister MacDonald, Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India, and other members of the British Government by the leaders of the caste Hindus and "untouchables," begging the London officials to lose no time considering their decision, as the Mahatma's strength was ebbing rapidly. Before the Nationalist leader ends his hunger strike, today's settlement must be approved by the British Government, whose recent communal award attempted to protect the "untouchables" by giving them separate electorates.

The British Government's assent is regarded as highly probable, provided the new agreement does not affect the rights of the Moslems and other religious minorities in India. Whether it will come in time to save the Mahatma's life is another question, as his physician said today the crisis in his fast might be expected tomorrow.

Accord Reached After Struggle.

The agreement between the quarrelling Hindu groups was not reached without a stiff fight. The discussion dragged on for hours, and at one point it seemed all the past five days' negotiations would collapse.

As soon as a verbal agreement was reached, however, emissaries hurried to Yerovda jail for the Mahatma's approval. They found him prostrate on a cot in the open air within the prison grounds, covered by jail blankets and surrounded by a group of followers and Mrs. Gandhi, who has been caring for him for the past two days.

By his side was a table with water and Soda, which he takes regularly. His face looked shrunken and he was wearing sun goggles, which he has asked for so as to be in the open air constantly. Near him were a number of Hindu religious books and a copy of "The Imitation of Christ" by Thomas A. Kempis in English.

The Mahatma was too weak to give his approval of the accord in writing, but he left the deputation in no doubt he was glad of the settlement. A formal agreement was quickly signed at Poona, and a summary of its terms was cabled in personal messages from Siri Tej Bahadur Sapru and M. R. Jayakar to Prime Minister MacDonald; Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India, and Lord Irwin, the former Viceroy, at London, and to the Earl of Willingdon, the Viceroy, at Simla.

Details of Plan Given Out.

POONA, India, Sept. 24 (AP).—The agreement reached here today by leaders of the caste Hindus and "untouchables" and approved by Mahatma Gandhi provides that 148 seats in Provincial Legislatures be allotted to the depressed classes, for whom a per centage of the seats in the Central Legislature, to be decided by General Electorates, also would be reserved.

The selection of Representatives would be by a system of primary elections. This system of reserved seats and primary elections would cease at the end of ten years. The plan also includes provision for representation of the depressed classes in the public services.

Mr. Gandhi's objection to the plan drawn up by the British Cabinet was that its provision for separate Electorates would make permanent the gulf between the caste Hindus and the "untouchables." Under the Cabinet's plan, the separate Electorates would exist twenty years.

Delay in London Inevitable.

LONDON, Sept. 24 (AP).—Several days may elapse before Prime Minister MacDonald approves the electoral agreement reached today among the Hindu leaders at Poona, India. His decision is understood to necessitate negotiations and an agreement involving the British Government and the Government of India.

Numerous telegrams from the leaders of the caste Hindus and the depressed classes, urging action, tonight prompted a long telephone conversation between Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary for India, and Mr. MacDonald. The Secretary spoke from Cromer, Norfolk watering place. None the less it was said here was no possibility that Mr. MacDonald would answer these appeals tonight.

The Prime Minister received news of the Poona peace just before going to attend the funeral of his 84-year-old aunt, Miss Isabella Ramsay, who died on Joan MacDonald's wedding day.

It is expected that Mr. MacDonald will confer tomorrow with Sir Samuel Hoare, and, while it is the unofficial opinion that the British Government will approve the Poona eace and cut all red tae to clear the way for a speedy settlement, certain delays may be unavoidable in complying with the routine of communications with the Indian Government.

"Delay would be dangerous to the Mahatma's life and would affect the public mind greatly," the Indian leaders declared in their message to Mr. MacDonald. They also described how the peace was arrived at in the following words:

"Pursuant to the wishes of all India, a conference consisting of caste Hindus and depressed classes has been held at Bombay. We have come to a mutual settlement regarding representation of the depressed classes in the legislatures and are furnishing a full copy to the Bombay government for transmission to the government of India and yourself.

"We have seen the Mahatma Gandhi in jail during the last four days. Today is the fifth day of his fast, his condition is steadily getting worse, and his vitality is ebbing.

"His doctors advise us the danger point may be reached in forty-eight hours. We are most anxious to prevent disaster, not merely for his sake but in the national interest, and we would urge it on you to withdraw your decision providing for separate electorates for the depressed classes and so enable him to break his fast."

GANDHI'S FAST

Will Untouchability be Ended by It?

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir,—Events in India, culminating in Mr. Gandhi's tragic resolve, under certain conditions, to "fast unto death" have suddenly come to a climax. If a fatal issue is reached, owing to a failure of negotiations within Hinduism itself, the consequences might be overwhelming in disaster both for India and Great Britain. The slender bridge of friendship between the two countries might be shattered at a single blow. For it is literally true, as I have often witnessed, that the hearts of the villagers of India have been wholly given to this one heroic figure, who has been ready to sacrifice life itself on their behalf. They will regard this fast as such a sacrifice.

When the news first reached me in Manchester that Mahatma Gandhi had taken this irrevocable step, it seemed so incredibly grave in its consequences that I would start immediately for India. He replied to me that he regarded this fast as a call from God in answer to prayer, and that only the withdrawal of separate electorates for the depressed classes would now warrant postponement. He also urged me to stay in England, instead of hastening out to India as I had intended.

Since then there has been but little time to think out things at leisure. But here, in the Deanery at Canterbury, during the quiet of Sunday morning, under the shadow of the great cathedral, a truer perspective may be gained. Let me try to interpret, however imperfectly, things as I see them at the moment.

The very gravest evils cry to Heaven in India for remedy to-day. Constitutional reform has become long overdue. Among the younger generation, therefore, the galling sense of weak dependence on Great Britain has become an obsession. Secondly, the evil of untouchability has eaten like a deadly cancer into the body-politic. A third evil, no less deadly, is that of communal strife. Obviously the spread of separate electorates will tend to increase this at every stage.

In what way could Mr. Gandhi, from his prison, hasten reform in all these three directions at once? He seized upon the vital point where his own moral appeal was greatest. He saw how, under the Prime Minister's award, however impartially given, the principle of separate electorates would get a new and fatal hold. A fresh communal tension might grow up between the depressed classes and the caste Hindus. At the time of the Round-table Conference last year he had sought by every means in his power to prevent this. He had quite openly declared that he was ready to resist it with his life. He had even refused to accept the Prime Minister's arbitration on this communal issue, when others had consented.

How great the danger was may be seen from the Simon Report, which says: "A separate electorate for the depressed classes . . . means stigmatising each individual voter on the list and militates against the process of helping those who are depressed to rise in the social and economic scale."

It may be said that the Prime Minister's arbitration counterbalances separate electorates, by giving the depressed classes a second vote in the general body of voters. But to Mr. Gandhi this does not remove the poison. He is intransigent.

It does not seem to me that his fast will be directed against Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's award as such. For the Prime Minister has plainly declared his own dislike of communalism and of separate electorates. The door is still left open for the Hindu community to come to a final decision about its own internal affairs. If that decision is unanimous the Prime Minister will gladly substitute if for his own award. Already it is being made evident that the struggle will rather turn on the difficulty of caste Hindus being ready to absorb into their own fold the depressed classes so that they remain no longer untouchable. Here Mr. Gandhi will win.

Already the first signs of victory are apparent. The opening of Kalighat Temple in Calcutta to the depressed classes is a most significant act. The rapid gathering of Hindu leaders in Bombay points to further action being speedily taken. It may now be inevitable that the fast will be begun and great suffering ensue, but the whole of India will be roused, as it has never been stirred before, to put an end once for all to untouchability itself.—Yours, &c.,

C. F. ANDREWS.

The Deanery, Canterbury,
September 19.

Gandhi Succeeds

Nation 10-5-33

A LITTLE brown naked man lies in a bare prison yard, and by his simple refusal to eat brings two warring classes of his countrymen together and the proud Empire to terms. It seems incredible, but it is true. Gandhi's readiness to die of starvation has achieved this result on the sixth day of his fast, and the British government, whose India office worked Sunday and Sunday night lest Gandhi die suddenly, has agreed to revise that portion of its recent communal plan which provided for separate electorates for the depressed classes. When ever before did a political prisoner behind the bars achieve anything like this by a simple readiness to die rather than to accept what he considered an intolerable award? What clearer example have we ever had of the ability of a great spirit to make the imprisonment of his body seem supremely ridiculous?

Beginning with his adoption many years ago of an "untouchable" child, Gandhi has steadily fought to wipe out what he considers the greatest blot on Hinduism, and his fast was but the logical continuation of his battle against the principle of "untouchability." He and the Congress Party have favored the democratic ideal of one electorate with suffrage extended to all adult Indians regardless of sex, race, occupation, and faith, but with legislative seats reserved for minorities. The British award, contrary to the advice of three separate British commissions in India, established for provincial elections twelve separate electorates based on religion, race, and occupation. But worst of all to Gandhi was the setting apart of the "untouchables" into a separate electorate. Gandhi is not opposed, as MacDonald has accused him of being, to representation for the "untouchables." On the contrary, the new compromise, providing for a joint electorate for all Hindus, reserves 148 seats for depressed-class representatives instead of the 71 designated in the British award. What he does oppose, "unto death" if necessary, is the setting apart of "untouchables," thereby, in his opinion, freezing into permanence social and racial prejudices which are at last beginning to break down after years of propaganda.

Gandhi's protest was directed not only against the British government but against certain sections of Indian opinion who accepted the award—including Dr. Ambedkar, himself an "untouchable," who has now, however, agreed to the new compromise. The communal problem in India, not only as it affects the "untouchables" but as it touches the Hindu-Moslem situation, goes as deep as our own Negro problem. It is probable that only a gesture as deeply significant to all Indians as the possibility of Gandhi's death could have brought about, for instance, the resolution just adopted by a conference of high-caste Hindu leaders that henceforth "untouchables" will receive their full rights and be permitted to enter all temples, schools, and other public places. It is very probable that his actual martyrdom would bring the Hindu and the Moslem to terms with each other. But the surge of emotion that would bring that about would also sweep the British out of India. It was the part of imperial wisdom for the government to agree to the new compromise in its essentials and end the hunger strike which threatened Gandhi's life.

Race Problem - 1932

Mahatma Gandhi.

Asia

THE GANDHI LETTERS

Mr. MacDonald on the Government's Policy

As announced on page 224, Mr. Gandhi has threatened that, if the Government's decision on the representation of the depressed classes of India in the proposed new Legislature is not amended, he will enter upon "fast unto death." Below are given extracts from the letters which have passed between him and the Prime Minister and Sir Samuel Hoare.

In the course of his letter to Sir Samuel Hoare, dated March 11, from Yeravda Central Prison, Mr. Gandhi says:—

I need hardly reiterate all the objections I have to the erection of separate electorates for the depressed classes. I feel as if I was one of them. Their case stands on a wholly different footing from that of the others. I am not against their representation in the Legislatures. I should favour everyone of their adults male or female being registered as voters irrespective of education or property qualifications and that even though the franchise test may be stricter for the others. But I hold that a separate electorate is harmful for them and for Hinduism, whatever it may be from a purely political standpoint.

I therefore respectfully inform his Majesty's Government that in the event of their decision creating separate electorate for the depressed classes I must fast unto death.

I am painfully conscious of the fact that such a step whilst I am a prisoner must cause grave embarrassment to his Majesty's Government, and that it will be regarded by many as highly improper on the part of one holding my position to introduce into the political field methods which they would describe as hysterical if not much worse. All I can urge in defence is that for me the contemplated step is not a method: it is part of my being. It is a call of conscience which I dare not disobey, even though it may cost whatever reputation for sanity I may possess. So far as I can see now my discharge from imprisonment would not make the duty of fasting any the less imperative.

I am hoping, however, that all my fears are wholly unjustified and that the British Government have no intention whatever of creating separate electorate for the depressed classes.

It is perhaps as well for me to refer to another matter that is agitating me and may also enforce a similar fast. It is the way repression is going. I have no notion when I may receive a shock that would compel the sacrifice.

Repression appears to me to be crossing what might be called the legitimate limit. A Governmental terrorism is spreading through the land. Both English and Indian officials are being brutalised. The latter, high and low, are becoming demoralised by reason of the Government rewarding as meritorious disloyalty to the people and inhuman conduct towards their own kith and kin. The latter are being cowed down.

Free speech has been stifled. Goondaism is being practised in the name of law and order. [Goondas are professional bullies and blackmailers.] Women who have come out for public service stand in fear of their honour being insulted.

And all this as it seems to me is being done in order to crush the spirit of freedom which the Congress represents. Repression is not confined to punishing civil breaches of the common law. It goads people to break newly made orders of autocracy designed for the most part to humiliate them.

Sir Samuel Hoare to Mr. Gandhi

India Office, April 13, 1932.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,—I write in answer to your letter of March 11, and I say at once that I realise fully the strength of your feeling upon the question of separate electorates for the depressed classes. I can only say that we intend to give any decision that may be necessary solely and only upon the merits of the case. As you are aware, Lord Lothian's committee has not yet completed its tour, and it must be some weeks before we can receive any conclusions at which it may have arrived. When we receive the report we shall have to give the most careful consideration to its recommendations, and we shall not give any decision until we have taken into account in addition to the views expressed by the committee the views that you and those who think with you have so forcibly expressed.

I feel sure that if you were in our position you would be taking exactly the same action that we intend to take. You would await the committee's report, you would then give it your fullest consideration, and before arriving at a final decision you would take into account the views that have been expressed on both sides of the controversy. More than this I cannot say. Indeed, I do not imagine that you would expect me to say more.

As to the ordinances, I can only repeat what I have already said both publicly and privately. I am convinced that it was essential to impose them in face of the deliberate attack upon the very foundations of ordered government. I am also convinced that both the Government of India and the local governments are not abusing their extensive powers and are doing everything possible to prevent excessive or vindictive action. We shall not keep the emergency measures in force any longer than we are obliged to for the purpose of maintaining the essentials of law and order and protecting our officials and other classes of the community against terrorist outrages.—Yours truly,

SAMUEL HOARE.

Mr. Gandhi to the Prime Minister

Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Prime Minister, dated August 18, is in substance a repetition of his letter to Sir Samuel Hoare, with a request for publication of the correspondence.

Prime Minister to Mr. Gandhi

10, Downing Street, September 8, 1932.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,—I have received your letter with much surprise and, let me add, with very sincere regret. Moreover, I cannot help thinking that you have written it under a misunderstanding as to what the decision of his Majesty's Government as regards the depressed classes really implies. We have always understood that you were irrevocably opposed to the permanent segregation of the depressed classes from the Hindu community. You made your position very clear on the Minority Committee of the Round-table Conference and you expressed it again in the letter that you wrote to Sir Samuel Hoare on March 11. We also knew that your view was shared by a great body of Hindu opinion, and we therefore took it into most careful account when we were considering the question of the representation of the depressed classes. While in view of the numerous appeals we have received from depressed-class organisations and the generally admitted social disabilities under which they labour, and which you have often recognised, we felt it our duty to safeguard what we believed to be the right of the depressed classes to a fair proportion of representation in the Legislatures, we were equally careful to do nothing that would split off their community from the Hindu world. You yourself stated in your letter of March 11 that you were not against their representation in the Legislatures. Under the Government's scheme the depressed classes will remain a part of the Hindu community and will vote with the Hindu electorate on an equal footing, but for the first twenty years, while still remaining electorally part of the Hindu community, they will receive through a limited number of special constituencies the means of safeguarding their rights and interests. That, we are convinced, is necessary under present conditions.

Where these constituencies are created members of the depressed classes will not be deprived of their vote in the general Hindu constituencies but will have two votes in order that their membership of the Hindu community should remain unimpaired. We deliberately decided against the creation of what you describe as a communal electorate for the depressed classes and included all depressed-class voters in the general or Hindu constituencies, so that higher caste candidates should have to solicit their votes or depressed-class candidates should have to solicit the votes of the higher castes at the elections. Thus in every way was the unity of Hindu society preserved.

We felt, however, that during the early period of responsible Government when power in the provinces would pass to whoever possessed a majority in the Legislatures it was essential that the depressed classes, whom you have yourself described in your letter to Sir Samuel Hoare as having been consigned by caste Hindus to calculated degradation for centuries, should return a certain number of members of their own choosing to the Legislatures of seven of the nine provinces to voice their grievances and their ideals and prevent decisions going against them without the Legislature and the Government listening to their case—in a word, to place them in the position to speak for themselves, which every fair-minded person must agree to be necessary. We did not consider that the method of electing the special representatives by reservation of seats in joint electorates would secure to the depressed classes in existing conditions under any system of franchise which is practicable members who could genuinely represent them and be responsible to them, because in practically all cases such members would be elected by a majority consisting of the higher caste Hindus.

The special advantage initially given under our scheme to the depressed classes by a limited number of special constituencies in addition to their normal electoral rights in the general Hindu constituencies is wholly different in conception and effect from the method of representation adopted for minority communities such as the Moslems by means of separate communal electorates. For example, a Moslem cannot vote or be a candidate in a general constituency, whereas any electorally qualified member of the depressed classes can vote in a general constituency. The number of territorial seats allotted to Moslems is naturally conditioned by the fact that it is impossible for them to gain any further territorial seats in most provinces they enjoy weightage in excess of their population ratio. The number of special seats to be filled from special depressed-class constituencies will be seen to be small, and has been fixed not to provide a quota numerically appropriate for the total representation of the whole of the depressed class population, but solely to secure a minimum number of spokesmen for the depressed classes in the Legislature who are chosen exclusively by the depressed classes. The proportion of their special seats is everywhere much below the population percentage of the depressed classes.

As I understand your attitude, you propose to adopt the extreme course of starving yourself to death not in order to secure that the depressed classes should have joint electorates with other Hindus, because that is already provided for, nor to maintain the unity of Hinduism, which is also provided for, but solely to prevent the depressed classes—who, admittedly, suffer from terrible disabilities to-day—from being able to secure a limited number of representatives of their own choosing to speak on their behalf in Legislatures which will have a dominating influence over their future.

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You ask that this correspondence, including your letter to Sir Samuel Hoare of the 11th March, should be published. As it would seem to me that, no matter how sympathetic you may be, you cannot come to a correct decision on such a matter of such vital and religious importance to the parties concerned, in a word, to place them in the position to speak for themselves, which every fair-minded person must agree to be necessary. We did not consider that the method of electing the special representatives by reservation of seats in joint electorates would secure to the depressed classes in existing conditions under any system of franchise which is practicable members who could genuinely represent them and be responsible to them, because in practically all cases such members would be elected by a majority consisting of the higher caste Hindus.

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Mr. Gandhi to Premier

Yeravda Central Prison,
September 9, 1932.

Dear Friend,—I have to thank you for your frank and full letter telegraphed a

Race Problem—1932

Asia

Mahatma Gandhi.

Manchester Guardian 9-12-32

THE GANDHI LETTERS

Mr. MacDonald on the Government's Policy

As announced on page 224, Mr. Gandhi has threatened that, if the Government's decision on the representation of the depressed classes of India in the proposed new Legislature is not amended, he will enter upon a "fast unto death." Below are given extracts from the letters which have passed between him and the Prime Minister and Sir Samuel Hoare.

In the course of his letter to Sir Samuel Hoare, dated March 11, from Yeravda Central Prison, Mr. Gandhi says:—

I need hardly reiterate all the objections I have to the erection of separate electorates for the depressed classes. I feel as if I was one of them. Their case stands on a wholly different footing from that of the others. I am not against their representation in the Legislatures. I should favour everyone of their adults, male or female, being registered as voters, irrespective of education or property qualifications and that even though the franchise test may be stricter for the others. But I hold that a separate electorate is harmful for them and for Hinduism, whatever it may be from a purely political standpoint.

I therefore respectfully inform His Majesty's Government that in the event of their decision creating separate electorate for the depressed classes I must fast unto death.

I am painfully conscious of the fact that such a step whilst I am a prisoner must cause grave embarrassment to His Majesty's Government, and that it will be regarded by many as highly improper on the part of one holding my position to introduce into the political field methods which they would describe as hysterical if not much worse. All I can urge in defence is that for me the contemplated step is not a method; it is part of my being. It is a call of conscience which I dare not disobey, even though it may cost whatever reputation for sanity I may possess. So far as I can see now my discharge from imprisonment would not make the duty of fasting any the less imperative.

I am hoping, however, that all my fears are wholly unjustified and that the British Government have no intention whatever of creating separate electorate for the depressed classes.

It is perhaps as well for me to refer to another matter that is agitating me and may also enforce a similar fast. It is the way repression is going. I have no notion when I may receive a shock that would compel the sacrifice.

Repression appears to me to be crossing what might be called the legitimate limit. A Governmental terrorism is spreading through the land. Both English and Indian officials are being brutalised. The latter, high and low, are becoming demoralised by reason of the Government rewarding as meritorious disloyalty to the people and inhuman conduct towards their own kith and kin. The latter are being cowed down.

Free speech has been stifled. Goondaism is being practised in the name of law and order. [Goondas are professional bullies and blackmailers.] Women who have come out for public service stand in fear of their honour being insulted.

And all this as it seems to me is being done in order to crush the spirit of freedom which the Congress represents. Repression is not confined to punishing civil breaches of the common law. It goads people to break newly made orders of autocracy designed for the most part to humiliate them.

Sir Samuel Hoare to Mr. Gandhi

India Office, April 13, 1932.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,—I write in answer to your letter of March 11, and I say at once that I realise fully the strength of your feeling upon the question of separate electorates for the depressed classes. I can only say that we intend to give any decision that may be necessary solely and only upon the merits of the case. As you are aware, Lord Lothian's committee has not yet completed its tour, and it must be some weeks before we can receive any conclusions at which it may have arrived. When we receive the report we shall have to give the most careful consideration to its recommendations, and we shall not give any decision until we have taken into account in addition to the views expressed by the committee the views that you and those who think with you have so forcibly expressed.

I feel sure that if you were in our position you would be taking exactly the same action that we intend to take. You would await the committee's report, you would then give it your fullest consideration, and before arriving at a final decision you would take into account the views that have been expressed on both sides of the controversy. More than this I cannot say. Indeed, I do not imagine that you would expect me to say more.

As to the ordinances, I can only repeat what I have already said both publicly and privately. I am convinced that it was essential to impose them in face of the deliberate attack upon the very foundations of ordered government. I am also convinced that both the Government of India and the local governments are not abusing their extensive powers and are doing everything possible to prevent excessive or vindictive action. We shall not keep the emergency measures in force any longer than we are obliged to for the purpose of maintaining the essentials of law and order and protecting our officials and other classes of the community against terrorist outrages.—Yours truly,

SAMUEL HOARE.

Mr. Gandhi to the Prime Minister

Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Prime Minister, dated August 18, is in substance a repetition of his letter to Sir Samuel Hoare, with a request for publication of the correspondence.

Prime Minister to Mr. Gandhi

10, Downing Street, September 8, 1932.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,—I have received your letter with much surprise and, let me add, with very sincere regret. Moreover, I cannot help thinking that you have written it under a misunderstanding as to what the decision of His Majesty's Government as regards the depressed classes really implies. We have always understood that you were irrevocably opposed to the permanent segregation of the depressed classes from the Hindu community. You made your position very clear on the Minority Committee of the Round-table Conference and you expressed it again in the letter that you wrote to Sir Samuel Hoare on March 11. We also knew that your view was shared by a great body of Hindu opinion, and we therefore took it into most careful account when we were considering the question of the representation of the depressed classes. While in view of the numerous appeals we have received from depressed-class organisations and the generally admitted social disabilities under which they labour, and which you have often recognised, we felt it our duty to safeguard what we believed to be the right of the depressed classes to a fair proportion of representation in the Legislatures, we were equally careful to do nothing that would split off their community from the Hindu world. You yourself stated in your letter of March 11 that you were not against their representation in the Legislatures.

Under the Government's scheme the depressed classes will remain a part of the Hindu community and will vote with the Hindu electorate on an equal footing, but for the first twenty years, while still remaining electorally part of the Hindu community, they will receive through a limited number of special constituencies the means of safeguarding their rights and interests. That, we are convinced, is necessary under present conditions.

Where these constituencies are created members of the depressed classes will not be deprived of their vote in the general Hindu constituencies but will have two votes in order that their membership of the Hindu community should remain unimpaired. We deliberately decided against the creation of what you describe as a communal electorate for the depressed classes and included all depressed-class voters in the general or Hindu constituencies, so that higher caste candidates should have to solicit their votes or depressed-class candidates should have to solicit the votes of the higher castes at the elections. Thus in every way was the unity of Hindu society preserved.

We felt, however, that during the early period of responsible Government when power in the provinces would pass to whoever possessed a majority in the Legislatures it was essential that the depressed classes, whom you have yourself described in your letter to Sir Samuel Hoare as having been consigned by caste Hindus to calculated degradation for centuries, should return a certain number of members of their own choosing to the Legislatures of seven of the nine provinces to voice their grievances and their ideals and prevent decisions going against them without the Legislature and the Government listening to their case—in a word, to place them in the position to speak for themselves, which every fair-minded person must agree to be necessary. We did not consider that the method of electing the special representatives by reservation of seats in joint electorates would secure to the depressed classes in existing conditions under any system of franchise which is practicable members who could genuinely represent them and be responsible to them, because in practically all cases such members would be elected by a majority consisting of the higher caste Hindus.

The special advantage initially given under our scheme to the depressed classes by means of a limited number of special constituencies in addition to their normal electoral rights in the general Hindu constituencies is wholly different in conception and effect from the method of representation adopted for minority communities such as the Moslems by means of separate communal electorates. For example, a Moslem cannot vote or be a candidate in a general constituency, whereas any electorally qualified member of the depressed classes can vote in a, and stand for a general constituency. T... number of territorial seats allotted ... Moslems is naturally conditioned by th... fact that it is impossible for them t... gain any further territorial seat... in most provinces they enjoy we... in excess of their population ratio; ... number of special seats to be filled from special depressed-class constituencies will be seen to be small, and has been fixed not to provide a quota numerically appropriate for the total representation of the whole of the depressed class population, but solely to secure a minimum number of spokesmen for the depressed classes in the Legislature who are chosen exclusively by the depressed classes. The proportion of their special seats is everywhere much below the population percentage of the depressed classes.

As I understand your attitude, you propose to adopt the extreme course of starving yourself to death not in order to secure that the depressed classes should have joint electorates with other Hindus, because that is already provided for, nor to maintain the unity of Hinduism, which is also provided for, but solely to prevent the depressed classes—who, admittedly, suffer from terrible disabilities to-day—from being able to secure a limited number of representatives of their own choosing to speak on their behalf in Legislatures which will have a dominating influence over their future.

In the light of these very fair and cautious proposals I am quite unable to understand the reason of the decision you have taken, and can only think that you have made it under a misapprehension of the actual facts. In response to a very general request from Indians after they had failed to produce a settlement themselves, the Government, much against their will, undertook to give a decision upon the minorities question. They have now given it, and they cannot be expected to alter it except on the conditions they have stated. I am afraid, therefore, that my answer to you must be that the Government decision stands, and that only the agreement of the communities themselves can substitute other electoral arrangements for those that the Government have devised in a sincere endeavour to weigh the conflicting claims on their just merits.

You ask that this correspondence, including your letter to Sir Samuel Hoare of the 11th March, should be published. As it would seem to me unfair if your present internment were to deprive you of the opportunity of explaining to the public the reasons why you intend to fast, I readily accede to the request if on reconsideration you repeat it. Let me, however, once again urge you to consider the actual details of the Government decision and to ask yourself seriously the question whether it really justifies you in taking the action that you contemplate.—I am, yours very truly, J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

Mr. Gandhi to Premier

Yeravda Central Prison,
September 9, 1932.

Dear Friend,—I have to thank you for your frank and full letter telegraphed and received this day. I am sorry, however that you put upon the contemplated step an interpretation that never crossed my mind. I have claimed to speak on behalf of the very class to sacrifice whose interest you impute to me a desire to fast myself to death. I had hoped that the extreme step itself would effectively prevent any such selfish interpretation. Without arguing, I affirm that for me this matter is one of pure religion. The mere fact of "depressed" classes having double votes does not protect them, or Hindu society in general, from being disrupted.

In the establishment of a separate electorate at all for "depressed" classes I sense the injection of a poison that is calculated to destroy Hinduism and do no good whatsoever to the "depressed" classes.

You will please permit me to say that, no matter how sympathetic you may be, you cannot come to a correct decision on a matter of such vital and religious importance to the parties concerned.

I should not be against even over-representation of "depressed" classes. What I am against is their statutory separation, even in a limited form, from the Hindu fold so long as they chose to belong to it. Do you not realise that if your decision stands and the Constitution comes into being you arrest the marvellous growth of the work of Hindu reformers who have dedicated themselves to the uplifting of their suppressed brethren in every walk of life?

I have therefore been compelled reluctantly to adhere to the decision already conveyed to you. As your letter may give rise to a misunderstanding, I

wish to state that the fact of my having isolated for special treatment the "depressed" classes question from other parts of your decision does not in any way mean that I approve of or am reconciled to the other parts of the decision. In my opinion many of the other parts are open to very grave objections. Only I do not consider them to be any warrant for calling from me such self-immolation as my conscience has prompted me to in the matter of the "depressed" classes —I remain, your faithful friend,

M. K. GANDHI.

Gandhi Defies the Empire

Mahatma Gandhi, whose life has always been at the service of his people, has now definitely placed it with them as a hostage of true freedom. Reiterating his well-known belief that the proposed constitutional change which provides for separate representation of the depressed classes will merely end up by stamping upon them a label of inferiority and will tend to perpetuate their status, he promises to starve himself to death, whether or not he is released, unless the official arrangement is changed. This is non-violent struggle at its apex, to the simple dramatic thrill of which we should like to yield ourselves were it not for the grim tragedy involved.

With characteristic moderation, humility and candor, the belated news reveals, Mr. Gandhi has been corresponding with the Prime Minister in an effort to persuade him toward reconsideration; but the latter-day Ramsay MacDonald has responded, so it seems, with nothing beyond the usual reassurances. It is known not only to Mr. Gandhi, but to students of the Round Table proceedings, that in reality Mr. MacDonald holds for the Indian leader violent animosity, and we cannot anticipate very much of a relaxation in stubbornness on the part of the Premier. That new life will be given to the pro-Gandhi movement all around the world, especially in England itself, is certain. Its followers know that Mr. Gandhi is no histrionic fakir, but an enlightened and aroused man, conscious of his vast responsibility, and moving with deadly precision toward his goal. "I have to resist your decision with my life," wrote Mr. Gandhi, according to the New York *Times*. "The only way I can do this is by declaring a perpetual fast unto death from food of any kind, save water, with or without salt, and soda. This fast will cease if, during its progress, the British government of its own motion or under the pressure of public opinion, revises its decision and withdraws its scheme for communal electorates for the depressed classes. It may be my judgment is wholly warped and that I am wholly in error in regarding separate electorates for the depressed classes as harmful to them or to Hinduism. If so, I am not likely to be in the right with reference to the other parts of my philosophy of life. In that case, my death by fasting will be at once a penance for my error and a lifting of a weight from those numberless men and women who have a child-like faith in my wisdom."

Unquestionably, this new menace of British authority will cement together a great many dissident elements within India itself. Before the latest development Britain's decision to take away responsibility for a settlement from the Round Table committee and turn it over to Parliament has alienated almost the last moderate opinion in India. Whether Mr. Gandhi's fast can draw into line this minority of articulate untouchables who have rallied behind the leadership of Dr. B. M. Ambedkar, who at the Round Table conferences argued for separate electorates, no one can yet say. For our own part, having discussed this face to face with Dr. Ambedkar and having heard Mr. Gandhi set forth his views in London, we are stoutly convinced, though not in a spirit of blind Gandhi worship, that reason and truth are with the Mahatma. Instead of citizens voting as citizens, under the proposed plan Moslems will vote as Moslems, Hindus as Hindus, women as women, and in certain sections untouchables as untouchables. London goes further and publishes the number of seats allocated to the respective groups in the provincial legislatures, as follows:

General (Hindus)	705
Depressed Classes	71
Backward Areas	20
Sikhs	35
Moslems	489
Indian Christians	21
Anglo-Indians	12
Europeans	25
Commerce and Industry	54
Landholders	35
Universities	8
Labour	38

It would be difficult to devise a procedure better calculated to intensify the bitterness of religious and caste controversies than to base political institutions upon these cleavages. Even the reactionary Simon Commission Report condemned separate electorates, as did also two different commissions in Ceylon. Mahatma Gandhi, speaking in behalf of the Indian National Congress, has said repeatedly with the utmost emphasis that he will never consent to separate electorates. Hindus, Moslems and Sikhs alike are raising a storm of protest against the communal award.

Fifty thousand political prisoners are behind the bars, and it is likely that the number of non-coöperators imprisoned will rapidly increase. Two years more of repression and police barbarity and the last vestige of British prestige in India will have vanished.

MAHATMA GANDHI PROPOSES TO STARVE himself to death in protest against the British Government's communal awards, which would divide the Indian population into twelve separate electorates according to religion, race, and occupation. Gandhi, like the Congress Party, is opposed to the whole idea of separate electorates, but his protest is specifically against special representation in the provincial legislatures (to which the communal awards have reference) for the depressed classes, the untouchables. Throughout his public career Gandhi has proclaimed "untouchability" to be the "greatest blot on Hinduism"; in his personal life he has carried on the fight against it, beginning with his adoption of an untouchable child many years ago. He feels that legally to separate the untouchables from the Hindus, as the communal award contemplates, is to recognize officially, and therefore perpetuate, a separation that he has been trying for years to wipe out. The objection of the Congress Party to separate electorates in general is based upon the same theory. It is impossible to deny the wisdom of that theory; and it is difficult to justify the British Government in its decision, especially in the light of the Simon Commission report, which the British Government can hardly dismiss and which expresses the following opinion:

> Communal representation . . . is an undoubted obstacle in the way of the growth of a sense of common citizenship. . . . Communal electorates . . . perpetuate class distinctions and stereotype existing relations, and they constitute a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing principle.

The death of Gandhi by self-starvation would not only mean the loss to the world of one of its most significant figures. It would let loose in India a storm which the British already foresee. It is to be hoped that the government and Gandhi will somehow find a compromise.

Race Problem — 1932

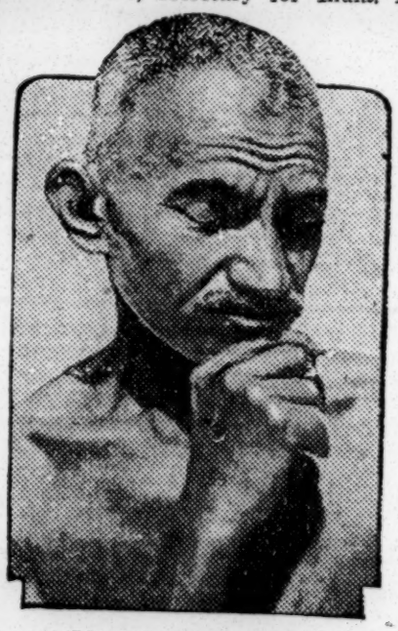
Mahatma Gandhi.

Asia

Gandhi Planning To Starve Himself To Death

LONDON, Sept. 12.—(AP)—Mahatma Gandhi has determined to starve himself to death rather than accept the electoral representation system worked out for India by the British cabinet.

This was disclosed tonight when the India office made public letters that have been exchanged by the Mahatma, Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald and Sir Samuel Hoare, secretary for India.



MAHATMA GANDHI

Gandhi intends to take no more food after midday Sept. 20.

The particular part of the Government's electoral scheme to which he objects is a provision for a modified form of separate electorates for India's "untouchables."

"I respectfully inform His Majesty's Government that, in the event of their decision creating a separate electorate for the depressed classes, I must fast unto death," he said in one of his letters.

The Mahatma apologized for any embarrassment he might cause the Government but said he would hold to his decision even if he were released from the prison where he has been kept for months as a result of the conflict between the Government and India's nationalists.

Official sources were unable to say what steps the Government was taking to prevent the Mahatma from killing himself by starvation. It is suggested there was a faint possibility of the Indians agreeing among themselves on a solution of the electorate problem which would prove satisfactory to Mr. Gandhi.

Forcible feeding of the aged rebel was considered, but it was admitted that, if the Mahatma were determined on starving, it would be most difficult to prevent him. Commentators said the Mahatma probably would be released from prison when he started his death fast.

Gandhi bases his action on a statement he made at the round table conference in London—a statement that he would "resist with my life the grant of a separate electorate to the depressed classes."

In a letter to the Secretary for India, he wrote: "This was not said in the heat of the moment or by way of rhetoric. It was meant to be a serious statement."

Any form of separate electorates, the Nationalist leader said in one of his letters, would perpetuate the present status of the untouchables.

"I feel," he wrote, "that no penance the caste of Hindus may do can in any way compensate for the calculated degradation to which they have consigned the depressed classes for centuries."

In a telegram sent the Mahatma Aug. 9, Mr. MacDonald set forth the Government's position that the depressed classes under the cabinet's plan were not deprived of the electoral powers of the Hindus but in addition had special seats allotted to them for 20 years. The Prime Minister said this was only a modified and not a permanent form of special electorates.

"As I understand your attitude," Mr MacDonald said, "you propose to adopt the extreme course of starving yourself to death not in order to secure that the depressed classes should have joint electorates with other Hindus, because that already has been provided for, and not to maintain the unity of Hinduism, which also is provided for, but solely to prevent the depressed classes—who admittedly suffer from terrible disabilities—from being able to secure a limited number of representatives of their own choosing to speak in their behalf in the Legislatures which will be the dominating influence over their future."

The Mahatma Gandhi Makes Certain, Thrift

The Birmingham News
Sept 18 1932

The unworldly spirit of the lean and venerable Mahatma Gandhi is troubled because of Great Britain's refusal to order East Indian politics and peninsular affairs in general according to his own notions. Accordingly, he feels that "God has called" him to do something that will impress Great Britain with the injustice of her plans. He will shock the worldly-minded and granite-hearted Lord Willowden that things temporal are less important than things eternal.

Gandhi is your idealist—Willowden your realist. Gandhi is a mystic with all the shrewdness of a practical politician. Perhaps no stranger combination ever entered into a human brain than this mixture of spirituality and politics that guides the Hindu teacher. But Willowden, representative of George V, king of England and emperor of India, is a tough-minded, forthright person who conceives it to be his job, working under the direction of the British cabinet, to go about it in practical fashion without thought of some spiritual law interfering with his concrete plans.

Thus, when the Teacher, hearing the call of God to go on a hunger strike in Yerovda Prison, declares that he must proceed at once to do it, Willowden instructs the jail attendants to remove him from durance vile. Thereafter, one infers, the mahatma would return to his small allotment of fruit and goats' milk and not shuffle off the mortal coil.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to follow Mr. Gandhi's spiritual and intellectual processes. Would starving himself within prison walls be more calculated to change Britain's attitude toward India than feeding outside prison walls? The question is rather puzzling to Western minds, possibly because the brooding mysticism of the East has never entered into our souls. Our own idea had been that one Gandhi in prison would be worth a score or more at liberty; and that one well-fed Gandhi inside jail would better serve Nationalist ends than a hundred starving Gandhis outside.

But from the standpoint of the politician, Mr Gandhi evidently feels that something must be done to keep the thought of nationalism—"India for the Indians"—at the front of the people's minds. Incarceration at Yerovda has not seemed to help matters very much. Gradually he has been dropping out of the picture. Willowden seems to have the situation well in hand. A bit of agitation may help the Nationalist cause. Therefore, Mr. Gandhi will go on a food strike. Anything picturesquely performed, under the approving eye of that God whose voice reaches him through prison walls, may cause political business to pick up.

written, although it has been announced he will be released before he foreswears food.

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The Mahatma objects to the plan because, he says, it recognizes a distinction between untouchables and other Indians. The Hindus, he declares, never can do sufficient penance to atone for their treatment of the untouchables. He will have nothing to do with any arrangement which, in his eyes, continues to mark off the lowly ones from the rest of the nation.

Native Plans Failed

The British cabinet's electoral plan was drawn up after the Indians themselves had failed to devise a system acceptable to all communities in the nation. Bitter antagonisms among Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs and untouchables have for years stood in the way of the development of Indian independence.

The last round table conference in London was a failure largely because of this communal problem. At its conclusion the Mahatma went back to India and resumed the civil disobedience campaign against the government, with the result that great numbers of his followers were imprisoned, business in many cities for a time was at a standstill and the nation was in turmoil.

Efforts have been made to persuade the Mahatma not to carry out his announced intention of starving himself for the cause for which he has lived. But many who have followed the career of the little rebel feel certain there will be no stopping him.

GANDHI IS PLANNING END BY STARVATION

News

Step Will Be Taken As Protest Against Government Of India By Britain

9-18-32

NEW YORK—(AP)—Next Tuesday Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the "holy one" of Indian nationalism and perhaps the most widely known rebel in the world, intends to start starving himself to death.

All his life he has fought British rule in India. Many times he has been jailed (he is in jail as this is written, although it has been announced he will be released before he foreswears food.

Physically weak and often racked with pain, the Mahatma has welded together an amazingly strong nationalist movement which has caused the British unceasing difficulties and has operated on a principle new in the history of rebellions, the principle of non-resistance instead of fight.

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Gandhi To Begin Fast Outside Prison Walls

Constitution 9-16-32

LONDON, Sept. 17—(AP)—The British government will release the Mahatma K. Gandhi from Yerovda prison in India as great soul undertakes a hunger strike with the intention of ending his life, the India office announced today.

Coincidental with this announcement, Gandhi sent a cablegram to a friend in London, declaring he regards his proposed fast as "God's call to me." There was no prospect of his abandoning the idea, the little nationalist leader said, except that Great Britain change the terms of its communal settlement for India.

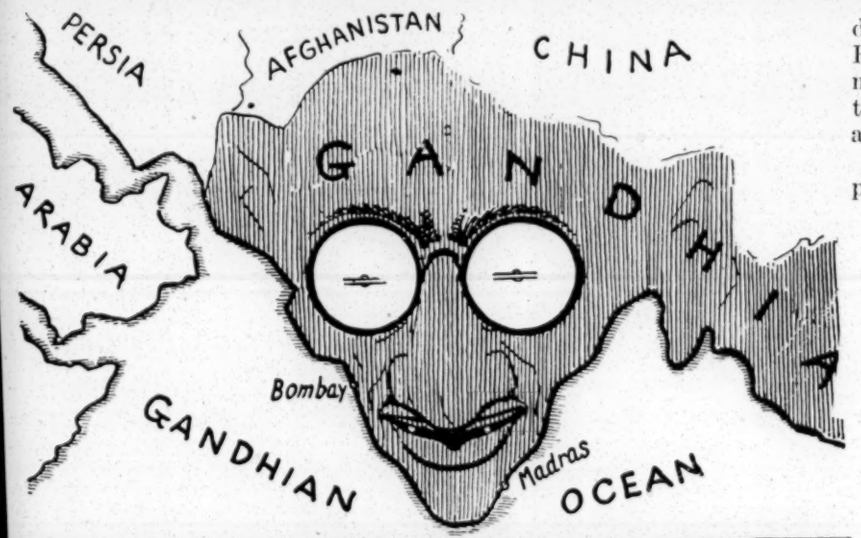
Gandhi's Suicide Threat

A FRIEND OF THE OUTCASTS, Gandhi threatens to starve himself to death if they are granted representation in the Indian provincial legislatures.

He may take a little salt or soda in his drinking-water, he says, but no other food.

The wizened, bald, almost toothless saint has been eating so little before this that some wonder how he has kept alive so far. Perhaps the salt and soda will be enough for him.

But the puzzle now is why he plans to resist to the death the British scheme to give legislative representation to the very people he is supposed to love—India's 40,000,000 outcasts, or "untouchables." (A good description of them and of Gandhi's attitude toward them appeared in our issue of last week.)



An Italian Travesty

"Gandhi would like to make India over into Gandhia."
—"Il 420" (Florence).

His tragic threat is "neither worthy of him nor on a level with his claims of the past," says the London *Star*, in an editorial cabled to THE LITERARY DIGEST, and it adds that if he wants to die on anybody's door-step, it should be at the door of the Mohammedans, "whose refusal of a joint agreement with the Hindus forced our government to put out its present scheme."

THE "scheme" referred to is the decision of the British Government to grant political representation for twenty years to India's "untouchables" or deprest classes. Indian rage at Prime Minister MacDonald's vote plan was disclosed in THE LITERARY DIGEST for September 3, when it was pointed out that Mr. MacDonald made a bold attempt to settle the endless disputes among Indian racial and religious leaders, especially those of the Hindus and the Moslems, by a provisional plan for their representation in the new Indian Provincial Legislatures.

Mr. MacDonald's statement, which affects one-fifth of the world's population, details how the seats in the Provincial Legislatures of British India should be divided among Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, Europeans, women, deprest classes, and various other interests, such as landowners and commercial groups which claim special representation.

Mr. Gandhi confesses that he feels "no penance the caste Hindus may do can in any way compensate for the calculated degradation to which they have consigned the deprest classes for centuries." A Hindu himself, Mr. Gandhi has always claimed kinship with the "untouchables," and has profest to be ashamed of the way they have been treated.

There are about 40,000,000 of these outcasts—all Hindus and all regarded as polluted and unclean by their high-caste co-religionists. But Mr. Gandhi points out that this special representation now awarded to them will only perpetuate the cleavage and arrest the work of healing it. He says to the Prime Minister:

"For me this is a matter of pure religion. The mere fact of the deprest classes having double votes does not protect them or Hindu society in general from being disrupted. In the establishment of a separate electorate at all for the deprest classes I sense the injection of a poison that is calculated to destroy Hinduism, and to do no good whatsoever to the deprest classes.

"You will please permit me to say that no matter how sympathetic you may be, you can not come to a correct decision on a matter of such vital religious importance to the parties concerned. Do you not realize that if your decision stands and the Constitution comes into being you will arrest the marvelous growth and work of the Hindu reformers who have dedicated themselves to the uplifting of their deprest brethren in every walk of life?"

Mr. Gandhi's threat as revealed in one of a series of dramatic letters made public by the British India Office also contained this statement:

"I have to resist your decision with my life. The only way I can do this is by declaring a perpetual fast unto death from food of any kind, save water, with or without salt, and soda.

"This fast will cease if, during its progress, the British Government, of its own motion or under the pressure of public opinion, revises its decision and withdraws its scheme for communal electorates for the deprest classes."

THAT the British Government will liberate Gandhi from Yerovda jail at Poona, where he has been a prisoner since January, is predicted in many quarters on the ground that it would be better not to let him make a martyr of himself as he threatened.

At the same time, London press dispatches indicate that the Government will sit tight on its communal decision until the Indian communities agree among themselves.

Mr. Gandhi's threat of suicide bewildered even his own friends in England. For instance, the Manchester *Guardian* says:

"Those who have personal influence with Mr. Gandhi—and they will probably be as much astonished by his decision as they will grieve over it—will surely urge on him that he can best serve the causes to which he is devoted by living to work for them."

"There can be no peace in India without Gandhi and the Congress party" is the published conviction of George Lansbury, leader of the Labor Opposition in Parliament, and he is quoted in press cables as saying further:

"We should bring Gandhi and representative Indians together again and let them argue the matter out and refuse to try to impose a settlement which can only result in strife and conflict."

FROM the "untouchable" standpoint, we have an uncompromising declaration by Dr. B. M. Ambedkar, leader of the "untouchables," who opposed Mr. Gandhi at the London Round Table Conference. As quoted in a Bombay wireless dispatch to the New York *Times*, Dr. Ambedkar said:

"I don't care for these political stunts. This threat by Gandhi isn't a moral fight, but only a political move.

"I can understand any one trying to negotiate with a political opponent on equal terms by giving him credit for honesty, but I shall never be moved by these methods. My decision stands.

"If Gandhi wants to fight with his life for the interests of the Hindu community, the deprest classes also will be forced to fight with their lives to safeguard their interests. Millions in the deprest classes have died over the last thousand years, uncared for, unheard of, and unwept."

Race Problem - 1932

Mahatma Gandhi

Asia

A ONE-MAN REBELLION BEGINS

The eyes of the world yesterday turned toward turmoil-sickened India as the skinny, diminutive Mahatma Gandhi began the first day of his hunger strike in an effort to remove certain British-made restrictions on the suffrage of his countrymen.

No hero of book-page appearance is the small, bald-headed, bespectacled brown man whom thousands of Indians worship as a god. He weighs less than 100 pounds when in health and sitting cross-legged as he does, clad in nothing more than a cotton loin cloth, he somewhat resembles a toothless, bright-eyed cobbler.

The Mahatma Gandhi, a former lawyer, is the greatest leader of "passive resistance" against civil restrictions the world has known. Thousands of Indians have joined him in aimless rebellions against phases of British rule. He has caused England as much trouble and much more embarrassment than have fiery Irish and Scotch leaders of rebellions, who struck with hatred and gun-powder.

When Gandhi refused to accept food at noon yesterday he began a hunger strike that will be written into history, and which may bring startling changes in the government of his country.

The frail brown man wants every caste of Indian to be represented in the government. The British have barred the "untouchables," the lowest of Indian castes, from legislative seats, and limited their suffrage, and it is this bar that the Mahatma wishes to remove.

Gandhi, possessed of an uncanny understanding of human reactions, has adopted a course that will come nearer to winning his point than would the backing of a powerful army.

In jail, a political prisoner, his plight has already aroused sympathy abroad and gained new followers in his own country. The scene was set for such a battle with the emotions of the Britons.

As the days drag by and the thin, dark shoulders become thinner, drooping with a growing weakness, British statesmen will squirm uncomfortably.

The British do not like this sort of thing. Should Gandhi lead a riot the British conscience would remain unruffled if the man were shot to death by a soldier. But to watch a man, especially one with the admiration and respect Gandhi commands among his own people, slowly starve to death in defiance of a simple law, will bear heavily on the British mind.

Gandhi knows all this. And he has chosen his most powerful weapon.

As have many martyrs, Gandhi is asking too much. He is asking too much of the British, as the British see it. Great Britain has attempted to aid in India's pacification and has sought not to inflict harsh measures on the people.

If Gandhi dies of starvation in his Bombay prison, the affair will be of great historical and doubtless political and economic significance.

Great Britain has not much choice in the matter. It is not probable that she will change her position.

And the Mahatma Gandhi, judging from past records, is not bluffing.

Unless something unforseen develops one of the most powerful leaders of the modern world will die of starvation.

A POOR CAUSE TO DIE FOR

Why did not Gandhi begin a "fast unto death" last year instead of going to London to plead for Indian independence? Then his martyrdom would have seemed more rational.

But to die over a technical suffrage question seems like an anti-climax. He is fighting for a whole loaf when the half loaf conceded by the British has cost them dearly and is all that they seem able to grant.

As The Macon Telegraph says: "The Indian leader has chosen a poor cause in which to stake so much as his life. It is merely one of the technical details of a long fight he has been making against the British Government in India; indeed, it is so technical as to leave one cold as to whether Gandhi wins it or not. It is an instance in which the British have 'outsmarted' Gandhi."

Continuing, The Telegraph explains the issue between Gandhi and the British by saying:

> Year in and year out, Gandhi has been fighting the battle of the "untouchables," the lowest cast among the Indian Hindus. There are 60,000,000 of these people and they have no privileges above those of the lowliest beggar. They are pariahs in every sense of the word. Gandhi, a Hindu, has risked the anger of high-caste Hindus in his fight for the abolition of castes.
>
> The British Government, endeavoring to solve the question of the relation of Indian peoples to each other—that is, Mohammedan to Hindu and Hindus to each other, according to castes—offered the "untouchables" direct representation in the government, according to their numbers. Gandhi is violently against that. He is against interference from the outside. What he wants is the privilege of government extended to Indians with Indians settling their communal problems themselves. For the "untouchables" to have representation of their own in the government drives a wedge into the Hindu ranks and makes solidarity among them seem all the more improbable. It helps the British cause, perhaps, but it does not greatly damage Gandhi's cause from the practical standpoint, because there is no likelihood that the Hindus and the Mohammedans can get together on any basis of representation in an all-Indian government, so far apart are they and so antagonistic toward each other.

The Atlanta Constitution says "the immediate cause is the failure of England to accede to the Mahatma's demand for adequate representation in the Indian government for these lower classes." This "despite the fact that Great Britain has agreed to allow them greater representation than they have ever before possessed, Gandhi is not satisfied."

The Constitution goes on to say:

> The task of England is far from an easy one. Were she to acquiesce in all of Gandhi's demands, the upper classes would be estranged. Nowhere in the world is there a wider chasm than exists between the ruling classes and the rank and file of the people than in India.

Gandhi threatens to die, says The New York Herald Tribune, "over an issue which to the Westerner seems to have neither reason nor justice, nor much importance in it." This "is one of those things which make other nations profoundly thankful that it was the British who conquered India."

Nevertheless Gandhi's last meal signalized the opening of a great drama, the end of which no man can now forsee. For the Mahatma is quite capable of going through with the tragedy to which he is committed

GANDHI FASTS AGAIN.

The pact [illegible] entered into by Mahatma Gandhi further complicates the troubled affairs of India and is almost certain to make increasingly difficult England's task of maintaining peace in the country where Hindu and Mahometan are at dagger points and where the caste system has made "untouchables" of the lowest class which form such a large portion of the population.

The immediate cause of the latest Gandhi fast is the failure of England to accede to the Mahatma's demand for adequate representation in the Indian government for these lower classes. Despite the fact that Great Britain has agreed to allow them greater representation than they have ever before possessed, Gandhi is not satisfied

The task of England is far from an easy one. Were she to acquiesce in all of Gandhi's demands, the upper classes would be estranged. Nowhere in the world is there a wider chasm than exists between the ruling classes and the rank and file of the people than in India.

So bitter are the upper class Indians in their regard of their less fortunate fellow citizens that the slightest physical contact is regarded as degrading. Hence the name "untouchables," which for centuries has been applied to the ignorant, suffering and downtrodden masses of the country.

Should England attempt to force too close co-operation in the conduct of the native government, through marked increase in the power of the representatives of the low classes, certain and serious "caste" conflict is to be expected.

The situation is confusing to the average occidental, who generally finds it difficult to understand the reasoning of oriental minds. In view of all the facts surrounding the fast upon which Mahatma Gandhi has entered, this difficulty is accentuated.

That the condition of the Indian people as a whole is tragic is not to be doubted, but it remains to be seen whether or not the tightening of the reins of control by England which will follow any uprising caused by Gandhi's threat to starve himself to death will better that condition.

Government reverses its decision to grant separate political representation for twenty years to India's depressed classes. Serious trouble may grow out of this determination.

The specific issue relating to the "untouchables," for which Mr. Gandhi is ready to die has been a source of growing friction in India. It provided one of the bitterest complications at the two round-table conferences in London. It is estimated there are about 60,000,000 "untouchables," all outcasts, all Hindus and all regarded by their high-caste co-religionists as polluted and unclean. Mr. Gandhi, who is a Hindu, has always claimed kinship with them and professed shame at the way they have been treated.

Mr. Gandhi contends the Hindus must raise the status of the "untouchables" without outside interference. The "untouchable" leaders, however, take an entirely different view. Their American - educated spokesman, Dr. B. M. Ambedkar insisted at the London conference that they must have separate electorates so as not to be outvoted by the caste Hindus and thereby denied seats in the federal and provincial Legislatures. He won active support from the Moslems, Sikhs and other religious minorities.

The British Government then worked out an ingenious compromise to meet the dilemma created by the conflicting views of Mr. Gandhi and Dr. Ahbedkar. It decided that over most of India the "untouchables" should vote in the same constituencies with the other Hindus. In certain areas, however, where the "untouchables" are especially numerous, they should have a second vote for the next twenty years in separate constituencies.

When this so-called communal award was announced by Premier Ramsay MacDonald last Aug. 16 neither the "untouchable" leaders nor Mr. Gandhi were satisfied. The former denounced it as inadequate and Mr. Gandhi said he failed to see how it differed from the principle of separate electorates. In announcing the plan, Premier MacDonald said Great Britain took this action unwillingly and only because the Hindus were deadlocked and seemed unable to reach any compromise which promised protection for the interests of the minorities.

END OF CASTE BARS IS GANDHI'S OBJECT

He Contends Separate Voting Will Perpetuate Degradation of Depressed Classes.

ISSUE IMPERILED PARLEYS

Britain Imposed a Settlement When Hindus Failed to Agree on Any Plan to Protect Minorities.

Mahatma Gandhi is determined to "fast unto death" unless the British

Gandhi and the Untouchables

SIR: Your readers may be interested in recalling Mahatma Gandhi's statement regarding the "Untouchables," delivered while he was attending the Indian Conference in London last autumn.

New York City. BASANTA KUOMAR ROY.

[Enclosure]

One word more as to the so-called Untouchables.

I can understand the claim advanced by other minorities, but the claims advanced on behalf of the Untouchables—that is to me the "unkindest cut of all." It means the perpetual bar sinister. I would not sell the vital interests of the Untouchables even for the sake of winning the freedom of India. I claim myself, in my own person, to represent the vast masses of the Untouchables. Here I speak not merely on behalf of the Congress, but on my own behalf; and I claim that if there was a referendum of the Untouchables, I would get their vote and top the poll to boot. And I would work from one end of India to the other telling the Untouchables that separate electorates and separate reservation [of seats] are not the way to remove this bar sinister which is the shame, not of the Untouchables themselves, but of orthodox Hinduism.

Let this Committee and let the whole world know that today there is a body of Hindu reformers who are pledged to remove this blot of untouchability. We do not want on our register and on our census Untouchables classified as a separate class. Sikhs may remain as such in perpetuity, so may Moslems, so may Europeans.

Will Untouchables remain Untouchables in perpetuity? I would far rather that Hinduism died than that untouchability lived. Therefore, with all my regard for Dr. Ambedkar, and his desire to see the Untouchables uplifted, with all my regard for his ability, I must say, in all humility, that it is a great wrong under which he has labored and, perhaps, the bitter experiences he has undergone have for the moment warped his judgment. It hurts me to have to say this, but I would be untrue to the cause of the Untouchables which is as dear to me as life itself, if I did not say it.

I will not bargain away their rights for the kingdom of the whole world. I am speaking with a due sense of responsibility when I say it is not a proper claim which is registered by Dr. Ambedkar when he seeks to speak for the whole group of Untouchables in India. It will create a division in Hinduism which I cannot possibly look forward to with any satisfaction whatsoever. I do not mind the Untouchables, being converted to Islam or Christianity. I should tolerate that, but I cannot possibly tolerate what is in store for Hinduism if there are two divisions set forth in the villages.

Those who speak of political rights of Untouchables do not know India and do not know how Indian society is today constructed. Therefore, I want to say with all the emphasis that I can command that if I was the only person to resist this thing I would resist it with my life.

Mahatma Gandhi Begins Hunger Strike Tomorrow

Gandhi, Determined To Die In Cell, Will Begin Hunger Strike At Noon

BOMBAY, Sept. 18.—(AP)—Mahatma Gandhi made further reductions in his diet and began abstaining from all physical exercise today in preparation for his 'fast unto death.'

Having set Tuesday as the day he will begin the fast in protest to British Government plans for 'communal' elections in India, the Mahatma has been preparing for the event for weeks.

It was learned at Yeroda jail in Poona, where he is held, that he has been studying ways to extend his life as long as possible after beginning the hunger strike.

He declared, however, that still hopes the situation may change and relieve him of the necessity of fulfilling his vow.

Meanwhile, he has started cutting down his diet of staple foods and milk and today ate only sparingly and between long intervals. He was also eating less fruit and eliminated exercise in order to conserve his energy for the fasting period.

All his life he has fought British rule in India. Many times he has been jailed (he is in jail as this is written, although it has been announced that he would be released before he foreswore food.)

Physically weak and often racked with pain, the Mahatma has welded together an amazingly strong nationalist movement which has caused the British unceasing difficulties and has operated on a principle new in the history of rebellions, the principle of non-resistance instead of fight.

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The Mahatma objects to the plan because, he says, it recognizes a distinction between untouchables and other Indians. The Hindus, he declares, never can do sufficient penance to atone for their treatment of the untouchables. He will have nothing to do with any arrangement which, in his eyes, continues to mark off the lowly ones from the rest of the nation.

The British Cabinet's electoral plan was drawn up after the Indians themselves had failed to devise a system acceptable to all communities in the nation. Bitter antagonisms among Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs and untouchables have for years stood in the way of the development of Indian independence.

LONDON, Sept. 20.—(Tuesday)—(AP)—Reports from India early today said that Mahatma Gandhi, the famous Indian Nationalist, had advised the Government he would not leave his jail cell during his projected fast unless he was forcibly removed. The consensus was that the Mahatma would begin his abstention from food at noon in accordance with his declarations.

Mr. Gandhi recently threatened to fast to death unless the British Government dropped its elections plans for Indian communities—plans which reserved certain rights and sections of legislative halls for the untouchables.

Bombay dispatches said the Mahatma had begun training for the fast in Yeroda jail at Poona, where he has been imprisoned for several months for leading a civil disobedience campaign against the Government.

Previously it had been reported the Government would give Gandhi conditional freedom in a private residence when he began the fast.

Today's reports indicated he had definitely refused this offer and had rejected as well many offers for comfortable quarters during his fast. These included one from the mission home for the depressed classes at Poona.

Friends of the untouchables had hoped to secure the Mahatma's mediation this way, it was reported, in view of his objection to the settlement of the separate electoral question as announced by the Government.

It was understood that the civil disobedience leader was holding to his declaration despite many telegraph and written appeals from friends in all parts of India, and persuasive efforts of Hindu leaders, to desist.

Gandhi Free, Prefers Prison In Beginning Death Fast

POONA, India, Sept. 20.—(AP)—The Mahatma M. K. Gandhi partook of an unusually large meal of fruit, bread and milk just before noon today and then, laughing and joking, started the hunger strike which he declared will last until he dies or until the Indian electoral system is revised in accordance with his principles.

As he started his death fast, the mahatma was technically a free man, for the government announced that his prison term, imposed several months ago because of his nationalist activities, was over. But he elected to remain in his cell in Yeroda jail.

The embargo on visitors was lifted at the same time that the "fast unto death" began. Among those who called on the mahatma were representatives of various Hindu interests and of the depressed classes.

Among the Indian political leaders expected tomorrow are Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Jayakar and Pandit Madan Mohan Malabiya. It is understood they will bring with them a new scheme of representation for the untouchables which may satisfy Mr. Gandhi and cause him to renounce his hunger strike.

His fast is in protest against the electoral system drawn up by the British cabinet which, he contends, would continue the great gulf which separates the untouchables from the other communities in Indian life.

The crowd of friends and well-wishers who called at the jail when the embargo was lifted apparently proved too much for the 63-year-old mahatma. He became ill.

His indisposition was attributed to excitement, and on the advice of his physician he turned away many callers. But first he received representatives of the press, whom he had not met in nine months.

To the correspondents, who found the mahatma to be the usual curious mixture of naive jocularity and spiritual seriousness, he explained the background of his decision to fast until he dies.

"My life I count as of no consequence," he said. "A hundred such lives given for this noble cause would in my opinion be poor penance done by Hindus for the atrocious wrong heaped on the helpless men and women of their own faith."

Canada

Sandy Creek Negro Trapped In Canada

Charles Reynolds, a Montgomery County negro, who left these parts about 15 years ago and who finally made his home in Canada, wants to come back. But when Charles left Sandy Creek he failed to write to members of his family. And now, because he can't prove that he's a native of the United States, the immigration officials won't let him across the border line.

Yesterday Chief W. H. Taylor, of the Police Department, received a letter from Charlie asking the police to aid in finding members of his family, who would send letters to prove that he was from Montgomery.

Motorscouts Miller and Lacey, assigned to the case, found Tony Eubanks, a half-brother of Charlie, in the city. The negro here said he would communicate with their mother in a rural section of the county and that she would mail a letter at once.

Canadian Justice

IT STARTED out as a joke to Bert Mitchell, but the joke is on him now. Mitchell, a white racehorse owner from the State of Kentucky, nonchalantly pleaded guilty in the Montreal (Canada) Arraignment Court to striking a colored lad in his employ across the face with a horsewhip because the boy had misspent ten dollars entrusted to him. "You would have done the same thing yourself in my position, judge," he concluded.

"I SHOULD have done nothing of the kind," retorted Judge Tetreau, who heard the case. "I am here to see all persons in this country protected and I am here to punish anyone who is guilty of violence. There are laws by which you could have punished this lad for taking the $10. You had no business to take the law into your own hands. You will pay a fine of $10 and costs or spend a month in jail and you will post a bond of $500 to keep the peace for a year."

A FEW BLOWS like this and a stop will be put to that old Kentucky custom of the Mitchells and the Massies of beating and lynching colored people who happen to offend them. The fine was small, but we hope the Kentuckian was a little short of the required amount. The month in jail would give him time to do more reflecting.

Race Problem – 1932

Central America and Mexico

Holds High Office

The Honorable Ezekiel A. Grant (above) arose from a carpenter's apprentice to the exalted office of Attorney General of the Colony of British Honduras, Central America, being the first full-blooded Negro to attain such a position in one of the oldest Crown Colonies of the British realm.

He entered the government service in Honduras in 1899. He served in the World War, returning to his home in 1919. In 1924 he began the study of law in England, passing his bar examinations in 1927. From then on he held various offices, advancing rapidly through the offices of Commissioner of the Northern District and Chief Commissioner of Belize, the capital of British Honduras.

He was a leader of the reconstruction work which followed the disastrous hurricane in the capital last September. When he took the oath of office as Attorney General the whole city declared a holiday.

Europe

Nancy Cunard's Black Man and White Ladyship Pamphlet Shocked London

Daughter of Head of Famous Cunard Steamship Line Takes Revenge Upon Her Mother, and Lady Margot Asquith, Member of Parliament, and also Upon Sir Thomas Beecham who Insulted Her and a Colored Boy Friend a Year Ago in London.

Nancy Cunard, white, daughter of the late head of the famouns Cunard Steamship Line, sent the AFRO, from Paris, this week a copy of the now notable "Black Man and White Ladyship" pamphlet, which she recently distributed among London friends.

The pamphlet, written in defense of the colored race in general and her own boy friend in particular, takes revenge upon Miss Cunard's mother, and Lady Margot Asquith, a member of Parliament, and Sir Thomas Beecham who a year ago insulted her because her friend is colored.

The pamphlet reads in part:

HER LADYSHIP

An anniversary is coming and that is why this is printed now, and the reason for it's having been written will, I imagine, be clear to those that read it.

By anniversary I am not, indeed, referring to Christmas, but to the calendric moment of last year when the Colour Question first presented me personally with its CLASH or SHOCK aspect.

I have a Negro friend, a very close friend (and a great many other Negro friends in France, England and America). Nothing extraordinary in that. I have also a mother—whom we will at once call: Her Ladyship. We are extremely different but I had remained on fairly good (fairly distant) terms with her for a number of years.

The english channel and a good deal of determination on my part made this possible. I sedulously avoid her social circle both in France and in England. My Negro friend has been in London with me five or six times. So far so good. But, a few days before our going to London last year, what follows had just taken place, and I was unaware of it until our arrival.

At a large lunch party in Her Ladyship's house things are set rocking by one of those bombs that throughout her 'career' Margot Asquith, Lady Oxford, has been wont to hurl. No one could fail to wish he had been at that lunch to see the effect of Lady Oxford's entry: "Hello, Maud, what is it now—drink, drugs or niggers?" (A variant is that by some remark Her Ladyship had annoyed the other Ladyship, who thus triumphantly retaliated.)

The house is a seemly one in Grosvenor Square and what takes place in it is far from 'drink, drugs or niggers.' There is confusion. A dreadful confusion between Her Ladyship and myself; For I am known to have a great Negro friend—the drink and the drugs do not apply. Half of social London is immediately telephoned to: "Is it *true* my daughter knows a Negro?" etc., etc.

It appears that Sir Thomas Beecham, in the light of 'the family friend' was then moved sufficiently to pen me a letter, in the best Trollope style, in which he pointed out that, as the only one qualified to advise, it would, at that juncture, be a grave mistake to come to England with a gentleman of american-african extraction whose career, he believed, it was my desire to advance, as, while friendships between races were viewed with tolerance on the continent, by some, it was....in other words it was a very different pair of shoes in England especially as viewed by the Popular Press!

This letter (which was sent to the wrong address and not received till a month later on my return to Paris) was announced by a telegram "strongly advising" me not to come to London until I got it adding that the subject was unmentionable by wire! I was packing my trunk and laid the telegram on top—time will show... We took the four o'clock train.

What happened in London?

Some detectives called, the police looked in, the telephone rang incessantly at our hotel. The patron (so he said) received a mysterious message that he himself would be imprisoned "undt de other vil be kilt." Madame wept: "Not even a *black* man, why he's only *brown*." Her Ladyship did not go so far as to step round herself. The Popular Press was unmoved. This lasted about a month and I used to get news of it daily, enough to fill a dossier on the hysteria caused by a difference of pigmentation.

The question that interested a good many people for two and a quarter years (does Her Ladyship know or not?) was thus brilliantly settled.

But, your Ladyship, you cannot kill or deport a person from England for being a Negro and mixing with white people. You may take a ticket to the cracker southern states of U.S.A. and assist at some of the choicer lynchings which are often announced in advance. You may add your purified-of-that-horrible-american-twang voice to the yankee outbursts: America for white folks—segregation for the 12 million blacks we can't put up with—or do without....

No, with you it is the other old trouble, class.

Negroes, besides being black (that is, from jet to as white as yourself but not so pink) have not yet penetrated into London Society's consciousness. You exclaim: they are not 'received!' (You would be surprised to know just how much they are 'received.') They are not found in the Royal Red Book. Some big hostess give a lead and the trick is done!

For as yet only the hefty shadow of the Negro falls across the white assembly of High Society and spreads itself, it would seem, quite particularly and agonisingly over you.

Hopes Never to See Her Again

And what has happened since this little dust-up of December last, 1930? We have not met, I trust we shall never meet again. You have cut off, first a quarter (on plea of your high income tax) then half, of my allowance. You have stated that I am out of your will. Excellent—for at last we have a little truth between us. The black man is a well-known factor in the changing of testaments (at least in America), and parents, as we all know, are not to be held responsible for the existence of children.

Her ladyship's hysteria has produced the following remarks:

that—no hotel would accommodate my black friend.

that—he was put out of England, (exquisitely untrue, for we came, stayed and left together after a month.)

that—she would not feel chic in Paris any longer as she heard that all the chic Parisians nowadays consorted with Negroes.

that—I now wrote for the Negro press. (One poem and one article have appeared in The Crisis, New York.)

that—where would I be in a few years time...

that—she does not mind the Negroes now artistically or in an *abstract* sense but....oh, that terrible colour! (I invite Her Ladyship to send in writing a short definition of a Negro in the *abstract sense*.)

I am told that Her Ladyship was invited to a night-club, saw some coloured singers, turned faint and left....yet at least one paid coloured entertainer has ben to her house.

I am told that she believes all the servants in a London house gave notice because a coloured gentleman came to dinner.

AND I AM TOLD

that Sir Thomas Beecham says I ought to be tarred and feathered!

* * *

The Fairies

In the latter part of the pamphlet Miss Cunard tells how the tabooed subject of pederasty is often discussed in her mother's drawing room while "homo-sexuals grin." "We all say now,—— is a fairy, he is so unreal, so inhuman. Yes, he is like a fairy, he is a fairy, don't you think?"

Nancy adds: "I have even been proposed to in her Ladyship's house by a member of the cult.

The pamphlet continues.

THE BLACK MAN

'In Africa,' you say, 'the Negro is a savage, he has produced nothing, he has no history.' It is certainly true that he has not got himself mixed up with machinery and science to fly the Atlantic, turn out engines, run up skyscrapers and contrive holocausts. There are no tribal Presses emitting the day's lies and millions of useless volumes. There remain no written records; the wars, the kingdoms and the changes have sufficed unto themselves. It is not one country but many; well over 400 separate languages and their dialects are known to exist.

Who tells you you are the better off for being 'civilised' when you live in the shadow of the next war or revolution, in constant terror of being ruined or killed? Things in Africa are on a different scale—but the european empire-builders have seen, are seeing to this hand over fist. And what, against this triumph of organised villainy had the black man to show? His own example of Homo Sapiens on beter terms with life than are the conquering whites.

Anthropology gives him priority in human descent. He had his life, highly organised, his logic, his customs, his laws rigidly adhered to. He made music and unparalleled rhythm and some of the finest sculpture in the world. Nature gave him the best body amongst all the races. Yet he is a 'miserable savage' because there are no written records, no super-cities, no machines—but to prove the lack of these an insuperable loss, a sign of racial inferiority, you must attack the root of all things and see where—if anywhere—lies truth. There are many truths. How come, white man, is the rest of the world to be re-formed in your dreary and decadent image?

ROME, N. Y.
SENTINEL

JAN 7 - 1932

Statehood For Irak

When the Council of the League of Nations meets January 26 it will receive a report from the Mandates Commission recommending that Irak, Iraq or Mesopotamia be accorded statehood and membership in the League. The region, at the outbreak of the World War, was a part of the old Turkish Empire. It was captured by British troops in a romantic campaign and eventually placed as a "mandated territory" under the control of Britain by the League of Nations.

At the time the system of mandates was established many feared that a nation once placed in charge of a territory previously held by Turkey, Austria-Hungary or Germany would be extremely loath to relinquish its hold—and that it might abuse the trust confided to it in various other particulars. Whatever may be considered to have resulted in the case of other mandates, Great Britain has shown small desire to hold Irak. In June, 1930, the London government negotiated a treaty with that of Irak looking to the latter setting up as an independent state—though with some stipulations that has led to serious consideration on the part of the Mandates Commission. The latter now finds that while these provisions are "somewhat unusual in treaties of this kind," they do not "explicitly infringe upon the independence of the new state," which will become the 56th member of the League of Nations and the second Moslem member.

Of course, the relationship of Britain to Irak under the mandate gave the League the right to inquire minutely into the British treatment of the population in all respects. That right will now be eliminated. Conceivably the British might proceed now, under cover, to rule the region more selfish than before. However, there has been a very noticeable disposition at London in the last few years to curtail the foreign operations of the government. Certainly on the face of it there has appeared a very strong popular disapproval of continuing to administer such distant regions as Irak.

In connection with the conviction expressed by the Mandates Commission that League of Nations membership is necessary to safeguard Irak as an independent state, we have a forecast of the report the League's experts are to make on the situation of Liberia, which Negro commonwealth on the west coast of Africa from its

inception was considered more or less a protectorate of the United States. Our government has been co-operating in the recent investigation and is expected to coincide with forthcoming recommendations for reforms which will give the League constant supervision over the obliteration of slavery and other abuses. But that is a distinct reversal of Washington policy from the inception of the League up to a very recent date.

Nancy Cunard and Henry Crowder Made Strange Pair

Blue Blooded Daughter of Cunard Steamship Line Founder, Shocked London by Torrid Love Affair with Washington, D.C. Pianist. They are Reported Estranged Now.

NEW YORK.—Nancy Cunard's defense of Henry Crowder in her pamphlet, "Black Man and White Ladyship," published, in part, in this week's AFRO, calls attention to a strange romance of two entirely different persons.

Miss Cunard, a white English woman, is a daughter of Lady Cunard, whose husband founded the line of famous English steamers which bears his name.

Raised in the wealth and splendor of one of the richest homes in England with associates including the royal family and the great peers of the land, this white woman rebelled at the idleness, the snobbery and the ultra conservatism of straight-laced people around her, and, slipping out of the blue book, she chose as her lover a simple colored American, whose eyes and blood are not blue; and whose sole ambition is to be one of the great pianists of the age.

She loved Henry Crowder, orchestra leader, formerly of Washington, now in New York.

Crowder went to Europe with Eddie South's band several years ago. He met Nancy, and the torrid love affair which ensued made him forget career and everything else to devote himself to her.

In New York

They traveled in France and in New York and stopped at the Hotel Grampion in Harlem. She was engaged in writing a book and sought atmosphere here.

They were entertained by Mrs. Edna Lucas Thomas, went everywhere and saw everything.

In Harlem parlance, Henry is a musician who can play a piano out of this world. They both were demonstrative in public. They kissed each other. They kissed each other's hands.

Likewise, both had violent tempers. Henry was good natured and kind, but when "three sheets in the wind," he became noisy, and despite his great bulk, Nancy, who wore as bracelets the modern rings of her father's ships, swung a vigorous right that, on one occasion at least, put Henry on a horizontal plane.

They returned to Europe. Rumor has it that there is now an estrangement and Henry is in New York.

The photograph of Miss Cunard which accompanies this article, was made in a Paris printing office where she set type to help the cause of the sur-realists, an ultra-modern group of painters, poets and novelists.

She espoused the cause of the realists with great enthusiasm and enjoyed lending a hand in the printing of fiery pamphlets which regularly challenge the attention of the prosaic world.

Nancy Cunard's pamphlet, above referred to, shocked her mother and royal society. Shocking folks is her forte. Shocked, Henry may gather up the scattered threads of love again, or maybe the shock will make him a still greater pianist.

ADVISED TO GO TO TROPICS FOR HIS HEALTH'S SAKE

Would Find People 95 Per Cent Of Negro Blood

WASHINGTON—(CNS)—It may be just an idle dream, but if prominent Virgin Island business men driven to take desperate measures to revive the economic conditions of the island, have their way, Kaiser Wilhelm II, once proud Hohenzollern ruler of the mighty German empire will spend the last declining years of his life in the sunny sea-swept island possessions of the United States in the Carribean Sea.

At any rate their recent invitation to him to make his home there has created endless publicity for the islands in many quarters.

The idea of inviting the German Kaiser occurred after the announcement that his physician had advised him to leave his castle at Doorn, Holland, because of unfavorable climatic conditions and take up his home in the West Indies or tropics, where the temperature and weather conditions would be more suitable to his health.

U. S. Inspires Austrian Fascist Attacks on Negro

Salzburg Mob Tries to Lynch Colored Artist

VIENNA, May 12.—Taking their cue from the American lynch government which is inspring police attacks against workers of European countries demonstrating against the Scottsboro lynch verdicts, Austrian fascists last night attempted to lynch Aubrey Pankey, American Negro bariton, who was giving a recital at the Mozart Concert Hall in Salzburg. They stormed the hall. They were driven by the police after severe fighting. Mr. Pankey commening on the hostile demonstration declared:

"I though I was in Southern United States when I heard the mob. I never expected this in Europe."

Fascist storm troops also threatened to break up a show of Miss Josephine Baker, who is performing in vaudeville in this city.

WANT NEGRO SOLDIERS KEPT OUT OF FRANCE

Colonials Say Native Conscript Is Whites Most Propagandist

PARIS, May 27.—A movement is under way among French colonials to induce the government to keep colored soldiers, conscriped yearly and brought to France for army service, out of the country.

The French army includes approximately 170,000 North African, or other colonial troops. These include semi-savages brought from the dark jungles who, until forced to serve under the tri-color, never had left their native huts and whose ideas of the white race were gained from seeing white men as dominant figures among natives.

Branded Propagandist

By shipping these soldiers to France and keeping them here during their compulsory service, their conception of the white race is destroped and they go back to the colonies with different ideas. Colonial administrators say that the native conscript is the worse propagandist against the white race.

M. Jean Perrigault, French world traveler and writer, recently declared, "Officers of Negro troops and colonial administrators asked me to speak in their name. They say that if we continue to send recruits to France from primitive races, in ten years' time the colonial administrators will be unable to get the natives to do anything for them."

MANY BLACK GODS IN EUROPE, SAYS J. A. ROGERS

There are different conceptions of Christ, God, and the virgins in European countries according to Mr. J. A. Rogers, who spoke before the Baltimore Forum, Sunday at the Elks' Hall.

"People in the foreign countries have no thought about the difference in color," Mr. Rogers said.

There is absolutely no color prejudice in Europe. European whites do not like American whites as tourists, except for their money. The only question of color according to Mr. Rogers, is the color of your money.

He used a map of the world to illustrate his ramarks, and gave some of the customs of the peoples of the many lands he visited.

The question of hair dress is reversed, according to Rogers, who insisted that the darker races of Europe glorify in the kinky hair instead of the straight.

Other incidents as humorus were related, quite a few having bearing upon Mr. Roger's travels.

Race Problem - 1432

Europe

Where Bands of Music Welcomed 22 Black Americans to Russia

Moscow Residents Curious to See So Many Dark Skins, but Ogling is Friendly. Americans Put Up at Grand Hotel. Then they Address Crowd of 25,000 Russians and Tell of Race Prejudice in the United States and the Attempts to Lynch the Eight Boys in Scottsboro, Ala.

Afro American
Baltimore Md
8/6/32

By CHATWOOD HALL

(Special to the Afro-American)

MOSCOW, U.S.S.R., June 30, 1932—In the early forenoon twenty-two colored Americans (here to make a movie) stood on the platform of the Helsingfors Station in Leningrad, Soviet Union. They had just stepped from a train into a small army of assembled, smiling, cheering Russians. A brass band blared a din of welcome into a land where there is no race prejudice. Porters hustled the baggage to the station through a jostling crowd.

Twelve hours later, these same Americans of color were sitting in the dining room of the Grand Hotel, one of the leading and largest hotels in the Russian capital, Moscow. More curious Russians ogled and smiled; but the ogling was not contemptuous nor were the smiles sneering. Waiters rushed choice food to the banquet table, set in the middle of a dining hall which, in former days, only the elite were privileged to enter.

All of this was new, like a pleasant dream, like waking from a nightmare, like another planet to the darker Americans. Homeland—where for generations their ancestors had been born, had toiled and fought and died — was never like this.

Although they were on the same planet, it did not take these Colored Americans long to realize that they were in another world, where blind, unspeakable race prejudice and class distinctions are ruthlessly hunted down and exterminated without benefit of quarter or counsel or toleration.

Greater Freedom Abroad

History records no more incredible fact than this—that a group of natives of another country actually find a greater, more sincere welcome, a greater freedom and tolerance in a far-distant land among strangers than they do among their fellow countrymen in their native land.

Picture, if you can, a group of American Negroes — regardless of their culture, patriotism, or what not—dining unannoyed or unmolested in the dining room of, say, the Willard Hotel in the Nation's the lie back into the faces of the hypocritical prevaricators.

Before 35,000

Before a massed crowd of ap- twenty-two colored Americans are going to be able, from "eye-opening" experience in this and other lands, to look askance and to hurl proximately 25,000 persons in the capital, or the Stevens Hotel in Chicago, or the Jefferson Hotel in St. Louis.

A bevy of uniformed lackeys would environ, and probably assault, any sepia-skinned American who crossed the portals of those establishments before he could even reach the desk, let alone the dining room.

German Crew

From the moment that this group of Negroes crossed the gang-plank of the steamship "Europa" in Brooklyn on June 14, an aureola of comparative freedom environed them. The strait-jacket of racial prejudice that embraces their race from the cradle to the grave loosened its stifling hold.

The German crew aboard the ship treated the voyagers with due courtesy and respect; and we were made to believe by lying propoganda, only a few years ago, that the "Huns" were brutes.

In Berlin the travelers had more freedom and privileges and deference than they could even hope for in Washington, the seat of their Park of Culture and Rest, the underlying sordid facts of the "Scottsboro Tragedy" were retold to Russian workers today, one of the many days of rest that the Russion mass-government; and we were told, only a few years ago, that the Germans were uncivilized and threatened to destroy civilization.

Finland

In far-away Finland, the story was quite the same. What greater paradox could there be than this—that the farther away from home that these Americans went, the greater grew their freedom of movement and less grew their friction in social intercourse.

Hurl the Lie

But Russia! One need not agree with the social experiment being made in Russia, but anyone who comes to Russia with an open mind and an objective attitude must agree that it is the only country that is sincerely and earnestly attempting ti destroy race and class prejudice and distinctions.

Negroes visiting or living in the Soviet Union appreciate this fact greatly, due to their underprivileged economic and restricted social status in other parts of the world.

When white Americans prate fulsomely about their democracy and their land of the free, at least es enjoy.

Under the auspices of the International Labor Defense, the day's demonstration served to clarify further to the already well-informed Russian workers the terror to which Negroes are subjejcted in certain sections of the United States at all times, but more especially during periods of economic crises and depression.

Langston Hughes

Among the many speakers from various countries who participated, there were four Negroes. They were: Langston Hughes, the American poet; Comrades Ross, Banks, and Emma Harris of Moscow, and Theodore Poston of New York. These speakers were greeted with great applause.

Colored persons sitting at the front of the speakers' platform, in addition to those just mentioned, were: Louise Thompson and Thurston Lewis of New York; Alan McKenzie and Helen Orkin of New York, and the writer.

Skies Weep

Even the skies seemed to shed tears over the injustice of man to man, as is demonstrated by the Scottsboro frameup. For just before the parade which wended its way through row upon row of workers in this vast park on the banks of the Moscow River, the clouds opened their reservoirs and laid down a tearful benediction. But rain means nothing to Russian workers when a principle and a cause are at stake, and they lined the route of the parade and poured into the seats by thousands.

The floats in this mass protest parade depicted the clergy subsidized and kowtowing to the capitalists as "yes men"; Kilby Prison Negro workers being lynched, and the electric chair.

Fireworks

Following the demonstration and speaking, an immense fireworks spectacle was held, Russian dances were demonstrated, and as the clock in the hoary Kremlin struck one o'clock, the party was disgorging its tens of thousands of proletarians. Many were the moist eyes in the park.

It was such a spectacle as would give new hope to the eight "railroaded" boys who languish in an Alabama dungeon. But tell them remarked one of the speakers, that we are with them and for them and we shall not desert them.

Swerdlov Square, Moscow

Railroad Station, Moscow

The Kremlin, Moscow

Typical Street Scene, Moscow

Moscow Radio Station

Race Problem - 1934

Europe.

DISCOVERS ORPHAN OF COLORED AMERICAN SHOW TEAM IN RUSSIAN HOMI

By LOREN MILLER
For The Associated Negro Press

MOSCOW, U. S. S. R., Aug. 25.—Russia, land of a thousand surprises, yielded another surprise last week when a Courier correspondent found a 16-year-old Negro boy in the commune for homeless boys, made famous by the great Russian film, "The Road to Life." The commune is called the G. P. U. commune and is at Bolsha, 15 miles from Moscow.

The lad is the son of two American theatrical performers who perished in the terrible years of intervention and counter revolution. He does not know what his real name is and is dubbed "Maxim Mulchinov" by his compatriots. He was picked up on the streets of Moscow in 1926 when he was a member of one of the many bands of homeless children that once ranged the country.

Today he is a skilled worker in the shoe factory of the commune. He has been given an education and is very popular with his schoolmates, taking an active part in the athletics and other activities engaged in by members of the commune.

The Negro boy evinced a decided lack of interest in America when interviewed by the correspondent. In response to questions, he asserted that he had no desire to know anything of America and no wish to visit the country. Of his parents, he said that he knew nothing except that they had come to Russia with a show. He speaks nothing but

Marked by his color, Maxim is an object of attraction for all tourist parties who visit the commune and general refuses to see them. He consented to see the correspondent only when informed he was colored. Asked for a statement to American Negroes, the boy replied that he had found the commune much to his liking and that there was no prejudice of any kind in the Soviet Union.

American Negro Boy In Russian Commune

Courier dam mon 4-24-32

Knows Nothing of His Parents Except They Were Actors

By LOREN MILLER.
(For The Associated Negro Press.)

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Russian Migration To Cities Interests Urban League Sec'y

By J. A. ROGERS

Paris—Ira DeA. Reid, director of Research for the National Urban League has arrived here after a trip through Germany, Russia, Austria, Switzerland and France. During the entire trip he was the leader of the party which was composed of sixteen persons, three of whom were Southerners.

Mr. Reid said he was very much impressed by the tremendous social experiment now going on in Russia. One thing that specially attracted his attention, he said, was the great amount of care and attention given to the training of the children by the state.

Another was the education of the masses by the state, a large part of which is effected through graphis posters. This sort of propaganda, he thought, has reached its highest development in Russia.

RUSSIA INDUSTRIALIZED

A third feature of Russian life to attract attention was the immense industrialization that is taking place. In parts of Southern Russia, he said that he saw great numbers of Russian peasants, filling the railroad stations on their way to the cities, reminding him forcibly of the migration of the Negroes from the South to the North.

As to present conditions he judged "that they could not be considered good and comfortable from the point of view of capitalistic countries. The people are suffering, but they seem firmly to believe in their future, and that they will be getting the necessities before long. The success of the movement is going to depend on how much longer the state is going to be able to keep on indoctrinating the people. In this respect I saw some of the most attractive forms of posters telling what has been done and what must be done in order to succeed.

NEW ORDER IN THE MAKING

He added: "The form that is coming out of the present Soviet experiment does not conform to exact socialism, as one hears of millionaires. Some of these latter have developed by lending money to the government, and have been drawing interest without taxation; another wealthy man drew large financial returns from a play. In short, while I did not find a perfect society, I found people who are working intensely and honestly to create one."

With regard to color discrimination in all countries he visited, Reid said that it simply did not exist. "I was the only colored person in the party and the treatment I received was so cordial that at times it was almost embarrassing."

The party leaves on the Dresden for return to America shortly.

Rogers Finds Negroes Among the Nobility of Europe

Afro-American Balto. Md. 10-15-32

Portugal's Grandest Personage an Octoroon; Its Greatest Physician a Mulatto. Finest Ruler in Europe in 19th Century was of Portuguese-Negro Ancestry. His Mother an Emperor's Daughter. His Son of the Family of Queen Victoria of England.

By J. A. ROGERS
(Co-operative Newspapers Service)

LISBON, Portugal—Portugal has proved a great surprise for me, because the Portuguese are more mixed with Negro than the natives of any other European country, including Greece and Turkey.

That same Negro stock was brought to America—certain propagandists of "white" race purity are never weary of using Portugal as a horrible example of the effects of so-called miscegenation.

Here, for instance, is the following screech from Her Royal Highness, the Infanta Eulalia, an aunt, I believe, of ex-King Alphonso, who by the way, picked up her anti-Negro proclivities, very probably in the United States. Says this august lady in her book, "Courts and Countries After the War":

"The Black Peril originally began in Portugal and it still continues to contaminate her, as the Negroid element in the Portuguese blood is invariably attended with disastrous results, since the black strain dominates the feebler stock and reproduces and intensifies the vices of the Negro, allied to the more refined decadence of the Portuguese.

"Lisbon of today rivals old-time Haiti in its nameless sins and its savagery. Many Portuguese girls now give themselves soul and body to black men, and parents who contemplate sending their girls to Portugal as companions or governesses are taking a tremendous responsibility on themselves. Immorality of all kinds is rife, and men who call themselves gentlemen do not consider it beneath contempt (as they might once have done) to live and prey on women.

"Lisbon, as I remember it years ago, was a smiling city, with clear streets and gay shops. Today, it is destitute of charm, life and beauty The hotels ask exorbitant prices and when one complains of the accommodations and the inferior food one is told with a shrug: 'Ah, we have a Republic—we are taxed beyond our strength—we cannot help ourselves . . .'

"Her navigators, writers, poets, soldiers, and kings have vanished with the snow of yesteryear and their place is filled with a dreadful mixture of half-breeds . . . The only redeeming feature in this sinister home of the Black Peril is shown by the care which the Government has hitherto taken of the ancient historical monuments."

A Falsifier.

After having read that and others like it, and never having seen anywhere in any list of great Negroes the name of a single Portuguese of Negro origin, is it any wonder if some of it, yes, much of it stuck? I am happy to say, however, that her Royal Highness is not only a falsifier, but a falsifier with a vivid expletive at that.

My pleasing disillusion began when I arrived at Marvao, the first town on the border. I expected to see a station dilapidated and down at the heels, but found a neat, very clean, and quite modern one. The guards were clean in their gray cotton suits, and at the customs, I saw that which I have never seen anywhere else; the examiners wore white cotton gloves, instead of thrusting dirty hands among your clothing as everywhere else I have been, including the United States.

More Vice in Berlin—Lisbon Well Kept.

Lisbon, I found to be not only clean and well-kept, but one of the most beautiful cities in Europe—its principal avenue excels in beauty every other I have seen in Europe and America, and I am saying this with caution.

As regards vice, I saw very much more prostitution in Northern Europe than I saw in Lisbon. In the cost of things I found Portugal cheaper than any other country I have been in except Abyssinia. It is from two to three times cheaper than any other country of Europe, but Spain, which is just a trifle higher. (The cost of living in all the European countries, save these two is now higher than in the United States, rent excepted. Food, clothing, etc., actually cost more in Europe than in America.
than in America.)

No Paradise.

Of course, I do not wish to give the impression that Portugal is a paradise. This little country that once led the world in navigation, culture, and colonization is now poor, and suffers from the evils of poverty; as in Spain, illiteracy and begging abound, but the defects of Portugal have been grossly exaggerated, due, I believe, to the fact of its proportion of Negro strain.

Great Men Were Black.

As to this latter, I discovered that not only in our time, but in the past centuries some of Portugal's greatest men were of Negro origin. The individual, who is accorded the honor of being her grandest personage, was an octoroon. His name will be found in all the encyclopedias, but no mention is made of his color. Portugal's greatest man of medical science was a mulatto, and as I said, I saw the fine statue reared in his honor in the square before the College of the Faculty of Medicine in Lisbon. The government struck a medal in his honor, and King Carlos, father of the last king, called him, "the brightest jewel of my reign."

The Grandest Ruler.

Again, one of the grandest rulers of the 19th century—I would hardly exaggerate if I said the grandest, was of Portuguese Negro origin, though he did not rule in Portugal.

His father was a mulatto, and his mother was the daughter of a leading European emperor. By birth or by marriage he was connected with nearly all of the principal reigning families of Europe. A son of his married into the family from which came Queen Victoria's husband, and later his grandson became the head of that family.

Praised by Darwin.

All the encylopedias speak in highest praise of the monarch in question, though never a word is said of his obvious Negro strain. Darwin praised him for his scientific ability; Gladstone thought him the ideal monarch; while Victor Hugo, who did not like kings, embraced him, and wrote of him in superlative terms.

These irrefutable facts—when the time comes I shall name the personages, and give my authorities—serve to present the whole so-called Negro problem in America in an entirely different light, for the crux of the qustion there is that of race-mixing, it being held that the Negro being of alleged inferior stock, reduces the efficiency and worth of the American nation.

Little Jack Horners

The Portuguese Negroes, as I said, came from the same stock as the present American ones. It was only hazard that took some to America and others to Portugal. Therefore, these facts also serve to smoke out propagandists like Plecker, Cox, Powell, and others—those ridiculous little Jack Horners, sitting in their corners and trying to enlighten the world.

Facts, like the above, also help to orient the more broad-minded among the whites. I recall that at the International Congress of Anthropology held in Paris in 1931, several of the scientists there insisted that the mixed bloods, mulattoes, etc., were not inferior to the white, but when it came to the facts they could name only two mixed-bloods who had achieved world prominence, namely, Dumas and Pushkin.

Again, toke the case of Professor East, psychologist of Harvard University. Professor East speaks strongly against racial discrimination but is convinced that "the negro will contribute no hereditary factors of value to the white race . . . that the blacks are practically worthless in this respect, the proof being that, of the 15,000 or 20,000 Great ones of the Earth, only one Negro is worthy of being named, Alexander Dumas." That is to say, Professor East is using the almost perfect inferiority of his knowledge on the subject to prove inferiority of Negro stock.

Squelches the Foes.

Hence, as was said, the fact of the Negro strain in the great men above-mentioned and others, when presented shows up the subject in another light; it squelches the foes, and gives the friends ammunition with which to fight, for falsehood will ever go down before truth when truth gets the same amount of publicity.

I hope I will be pardoned this observation: It seems to me, therefore, that if our constituted leaders were generally interested in group welfare, they would devote the time to bringing out or helping to bring out and place in the proper hands, the true facts of the glorious part that the Negro and the Negroid have played in world history.

And now, having got that much off my chest, I will go on in the next article to give my impressions of Portugal, which I really found a most fascinating land.

PORTUGAL'S KING JOHN VI WAS A NEGRO—ROGERS

Negro Slaves, Set Free 1773, Once Outnumbered White Citizens

RACE PROBLEM EASILY SOLVED

Races Intermarried and Ended Color Line.

WOMEN TOTE BASKETS JUST LIKE AFRICANS

Good Fried Fish and Peanuts Found by AFRO Globe Trotter.

By J. A. ROGERS.
(Co-op. News Service)

LISBON, Portugal—Portugal, with its former Negro slavery, offers so complete an answer to a just solution of the so-called Negro problem in America, that I cannot help thinking that if our experts, colored and white, who are trying to solve the race problem really knew their onions, they would have come here long ago to study the situation, and make a comparison.

The Portuguese were great slave-traders, and while some of their ships took slaves from the West Coast to America; other ships brought them from the same area to Portugal. In the 16th Century the number of Negroes, blacks and mulattoes, in Lisbon exceeded the number of whites. In that city I visited the street named for the black women, Rua da Pratas (for the Portuguese do not use the word Negro for "black man" but "Preto.")

Emancipation 1773

After the abolition of slavery by decree in 1773, Negroes were brought in large numbers as free laborers and 60,000 of them were settled in one of its southern provinces, Algarve. There being no color prejudice the Negroes and mulattoes, from the start, began to distinguish themselves, filling the highest positions. What I have discovered in this respect exceeds by far my highest expectations, and shows clearly what the Negro in the United States would have been had he been given the same opportunity.

No Racial Inferiority

What the Negro has been in Portugal, is, in my opinion, a complete denial of the theory of racial inferiority and if the time spent in the measuring of heads, weighing of brains, mind tests, and a whole lot of other useless nonsense to find out whether American black equals American white, or whether Negroes are fit for equal opportunity, had been spent here in historical research the result would have been more fruitful.

Negroes Absorbed

I said what the Negro in Portugal "has been" for two reasons; first the only real Negroes to be found there today are African-born. All the others were absorbed to the extent that the bulk of the population is white in appearance. The mulatto element, however, is evident and especially in the south of Portugal I saw many who so resembled mulattoes of the United States and the West Indies that I felt I knew them.

Black immigration to Portugal was cut off about the same time it was in the United States, while white immigration, also as in the United States, continued. The situation parallels America in every way except in treatment.

Fifth-Rate Power

The second reason was that Portugal is now a fifth-rate power, due largely to the machinations of Britain, Spain and France. During the Napoleonic Wars, the King John VI—who was a dark mulatto and I have the facts—tried hard to preserve his neutrality, but all three powers descended on him at the same time, with powerful armies two in the east, the other, in the west. Napoleon had ordered Marshal Junot to bring him John VI dead or alive, and overcome by

Beggars are as plentiful in Lisbon as they were in Italy before the coming of Mussolini, and perhaps slightly more than they are in Berlin now. Much of the begging in Lisbon seems to be a mere habit for the custom is to give every beggar something, thus encouraging it as may be imagined. But the escudo is now only three cents, and these two enemies he was forced to flee. Napoleon and the British then fought in Portugal for several years leaving the little land, first of great European kingdoms, a shambles beyond repair. Prior to that the British fleets had been bombarding the Portuguese colonies and capturing them.

Not Like Our Poor Whites

Portugal today is not rich, but such as it is, the Negro has equal opportunity with the whites. This poverty is evident in the country parts, yet the inhabitants have not the woe-begone appearance of the poor whites of Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia, and Connecticut. Is this due to the re-inforcement of the white stock by the Negro strain? And then the many beautiful and colorful costumes worn by the Portuguese peasants give a more cheerful appearance to the whole.
as one can get twenty pieces o money for it one can afford to be charitable.

A Nut to Each Beggar

Travelling light, as I was, however, I found that these small coins ran up into good money after a while, and still wishing to do in Rome as the Romans do, I bought bags of peanuts and to each beggar I gave a nut. Well, it would have done you good to see his face.

Women Carry Baskets on Their Heads

One of the great sights of Lisbon — a worthy subject for a great painter—is the fish market. The sardine boats arrive in scores, and the fish is sold in lots near the pier to sturdy, bare-footed women who go to peddle them about the town in great wide baskets, balanced on their heads like the women of Africa and the West Indies. The clamor of the bargaining is terrific but fascinating.

White Fishermen

Nearly all of these bare-footed fisherwomen are white, or appear to be white. According to the Infanta article, they are the only pure representatives left of that Teutonic stock which invaded Portugal before the coming of the Moors, 1200 years ago.

Best Fried Fish

Naturally much fish is eaten, and some of the best fried fish I have ever had was in Lisbon. Across the Tagus at Cacilyas there is an old woman with a fry fish shop to which I was recommended in Madrid. Calling on her she showed me some cat-fish swimming in a large basin, and asked me which I wanted. When I showed her she caught him, or perhaps it was her cut cut the eyes; gutted him in a jiffy, and while the fish was still jumping, threw him into the frying pan, which was, I thought, a record for getting fish fresh

A WIDER FRANCHISE FOR INDIA

Larger Representation for Women and Labour

The report of the Indian Franchise Committee, whose chairman is Lord Lothian, is now available. The Committee's main task was to "frame a "scheme for the franchise and the "constituencies of the new Indian "Legislatures, central and provincial, "suitable for the system of responsible "government defined in the statement "of 1st December"—that is, the Prime Minister's statement to the effect that, in the view of the British Government, responsibility for the government of India should be placed upon elected Legislatures with certain transitory safeguards. At the outset the report, partly on administrative and partly on general grounds, dismisses the view that adult franchise should be the foundation of an All-India Federal Constitution. Only the "More the Merrier" school of democrats will fail to be convinced that the immediate introduction of adult suffrage in India would lead, apart from anything else, to an administrative breakdown. Nor does the report recommend such devices as indirect voting or indirect election through local bodies, but advocates simply an extension of the direct franchise already in existence, along with certain special provisions to ensure that no important section of the community shall lack the "means of expressing its needs and its opinions." The present electorate in the provinces consists of barely 3 per cent of the population—10 per cent of the adult male population; the Committee propose that the franchise should be extended to include 14 per cent of the total population and about 27 per cent of the adult population. This would increase the total number of voters on the provincial rolls from 7,000,000 to over 36,000,000, out of a total adult population of 133,000,000. In the case of the Central Legislature, the present electorate consists of less than 1 per cent of the population; it is proposed to make the franchise for the Federal Assembly the same as that now in force for the Provincial Councils, supplemented by an educational qualification for both men and women.

Looked at in the light of pure democratic theory—one man one vote and all equal,—the advance recommended by the Indian Franchise Committee seems little enough, especially when it is remembered that property is still to be the main franchise qualification. At the same time the numbers involved are prodigious—far larger than have before been made the foundation for a democratically governed State—and the percentage of literacy is deplorably low—not more than 8 per cent. One may have romantic notions about the shrewdness of peasants and fulminate against those who would associate the three R's with political wisdom, or one may have romantic notions about how Orientals love despotic government and fulminate against those who would transplant Europe's faded democracy in Indian soil; but, romantic notions apart, it is quite clear that some extension of the franchise is necessary in India if the powers of the representative institutions already in existence there are to be increased in accordance with the Federal scheme outlined at the Round-table Conference, and that too precipitate an extension would be as dangerous as none at all. In his letter of instructions to the Franchise Committee the Prime Minister pointed out that "the "new Constitution must make adequate "provision for the representation of "the depressed classes." The depressed classes—Dr. Ambedkar, their representative on the Committee, pleads in a minute of dissent that they should be known hereafter as "exterior castes"—number between thirty and forty millions; they have at present neither the minimum property nor the educational qualifications to secure admission to the electoral rolls in numbers proportionate to their population. It is most important that these unfortunate people should be represented in the Legislatures other than by nomination, and the Lothian Report suggests a number of means whereby this may be brought about. Yet there is the danger—and it is inherent in every kind of electoral arrangement for protecting minorities or special interests—that a recognition of the depressed classes as such may tend to retard the process, undoubtedly now taking place, of breaking down the barriers that separate them from the rest of the community. To protect minorities is, up to a point, to perpetuate them, and it is to be hoped that the leaders of the depressed classes will not, for the sake of a temporary advantage, be persuaded by the Moslems and other minorities into taking up a purely communal attitude towards the problem of India's political future.

Then there is the question of votes for women. Here again special arrangements have to be made, since few Indian women possess property in their own right and the percentage of literacy amongst them is far lower even than amongst men. The Franchise Committee recommend that about 10 per cent of adult females should be enfranchised, this to be achieved by giving the vote to women who are literate and to women who are the wives of men—one man one wife—with the property qualification at present prescribed for the Provincial Councils, and that 2 to 5 per cent of the seats in the Provincial Councils should be reserved for women during the first ten years of the Federation. Such special representation as already exists—landowners, commercial interests, universities—is to be continued but not increased, and labour is to be represented through constituencies based on registered trade unions and through other special constituencies. A minute of dissent signed by three Indian members of the Committee objects, amongst other things, to the whole system of special electorates. The size and diversity of the population of India make it difficult to fit into any electoral system. There are horizontal caste and racial divisions and vertical economic divisions, the status and social habits of women often make it difficult for them to take part in elections either as candidates or as voters, untouchability and democracy go ill together, and constituencies whose area is measured in thousands of square miles are not easy to canvass. Yet we have promised to develop, and politically conscious Indians have chosen to demand, representative institutions, and, taking all the facts into account, tolerable progress has already been made in this direction. Another big step forward is now due. To be wholly sanguine at the prospect is as foolish as to fail to see that the step is inevitable. Lord Lothian and his colleagues have, by their careful investigation and balanced report, made it easier for the step to be taken. If their conclusions are sometimes indefinite it is because the communal question, to which questions of franchise are closely related, is still unsettled.

Rambling Ruminations

By J. A. ROGERS

French Honor Gratien Candace

IN HONOR of his appointment to the post of Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in the newly-formed Herriot Cabinet, a banquet was given for M. Gratien Candace, a member of Parliament from Guadeloupe, French West Indies. There was a distinguished audience present, including the elite of the colored people of Paris.

J. A. Rogers.

Speeches were made by leading government officials and other influential persons, including one by M. Isaac Beton, professor at the Lycee St. Louis. Mrs. Candace, white, sat at the right of her husband, and next to her M. Blaise Daigne, Sengalese deputy and retiring Cabinet Minister. Dancing followed the banquet.

M. Candace has had a long and distinguished political career, having held several important government posts, as well as having served as head of important parliamentary committees. During the war he was rapporteur-general of the Merchant Marine. A journalist of ability, he also served with Clemenceau.

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HEREAFTER it will not be so easy for Caucasians to tell Negroes that they are the most direct descendants of apes. What is said to be the nearest approach yet discovered of human relationship with the ape has been discovered in the white race in the person of a woman of Northern Italy.

The scientist to make the discovery is no less a person than Prof. Herman M. Bernelot-Moens, whose researches into race-mixing in the United States and the photographing of colored women in the nude provoked so great a scandal in America that it ended in a congressional inquiry.

This woman, according to Prof. Moens, has the features, color and hair of a white person; but from under the armpits down to her knees she is precisely like an ape. The skin is black and covered with the same kind of hair as the monkey's.

The discovery has caused a great stir in scientific circles and many of the newspapers have carried the story on their front pages. Prof. Moens has told the French press that while in the United States he was so struck by the injustices inflicted on Negroes by white people who were sometimes far below the Negroes in intelligence and general social development that he was led to discard all the old classifications of race based on crane, color, hair and other physical characters, and to evolve a classification of his own as follows:

Uncivilized man, civilized man humanized man, cultured man, and the perfect man. The five races named by the others he has replaced with these

great elephant's tusk sculptured in relief over all its surface with numerous personages, native and European, on horseback; also animals as gazelles, crocodiles, birds and fish-cats, the whole done with the finest artistry and ornamentation.

One remarkable piece in the collection is a leopard about to spring on its prey. It is so realistic that one can almost see the leopard waving its tail. Another piece represents a whole hut, realistically done. There are bracelets, combs, necklaces and busts of individuals, all executed with the same fine skill. Some of the pieces are highly erotic.

In spite of the fact that the natives of Benin were held up in the last century as being the worst examples of savagery—a pretext for taking away their land and the seizing of their art by Britain—their bronzes are world-famed. Charles Ratton says:

"The astonishment of Europe before the masterpieces of art was great. The civilized world was ignorant then of Africa—that mysterious land that Stanley called 'The Dark Continent.' All that was known is that it was inhabited by barbarous and ignorant Negroes. But if it be admitted that the art of a people is an index of their civilization, how could a people who were pictured as being so savage produce bronzes of an art so delicate, so highly evolved that von Luschan has compared them to the finest masterpieces of the Italian Renaissance?"

It is said by many that natives learned this art from the Portuguese, but Ratton thinks that they brought it from Egypt thousands of years ago, for the Negro in Africa has always been artist of the highest rank. Far more likely it is that the white race learned its art from the black than vice versa.

In Paris there is a society, whose members are of many races, colors and nations, called "The Supra-Nation," of which Prof. Moens is head. The goal of this society is "to obtain justice for all peoples to foster liberty, progress, universal brotherhood, in practicing love towards one's neighbors, the abolition of prejudices of race, caste color and sex; and the education of the mind and the body with a view towards making them perfect."

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AT THE Museum of the Trocadero there is now on exhibition a remarkable collection of bronzes ivories and wood-carvings from Benin, West Africa, that is exciting a great deal of admiration.

There are extant some 240 pieces of this now most valued art, and the collection represents pieces lent by the British Museum, as well as museums in Germany, Italy, Belgium and other countries.

In addition to the well-known bronzes of warriors there is a

Traveling News Hawk Views Many Sights In Russia

By T. R. POSTON
(For The Associated Negro Press)

Moscow, P. S. R. R.—Soviet Russia is intensely interested in the American Negro and his problems.

This interest, which was given official recognition recently by the importation of a group of Negro artists and writers to assist in the production of a film of American life, "Black and White," is not limited only to the government but extends to the individual workers and even the children of this unique republic.

Probably no greater evidence of this interest could be offered than Moscow's recent celebration of International Scottsboro Day at its Park of Culture and Rest. Three days after a severe rain storm had dispersed a crowd of 25,000 persons who had gathered in this beautiful park to protest the impending execution of the seven boys in Alabama, 50,000 members of this city's heterogeneous population assembled there and listened to speakers of several nationalities denounce America's treatment of the Negro and described the class struggle in their own countries.

German, Italian, Swedish, French, Chinese, American and Russian representatives of Mopr (International Labor Defense) mounted the praesidium amid the cheers of the throng, but the greatest ovations were reserved for the Negro speakers including Langston Hughes, poet and novelist whom Moscow has taken to its heart; Emma Harris, an interesting expatriate and former favorite of the Czars whom I shall discuss in a later article; two young Negro students of the University of Moscow, and the writer. The audience cheered the accomplishments of the ILD and hissed the mention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in a manner which was more than faintly reminiscent of New York City's Union Spuare demonstrations.

But the average Russian's interest is not confined to sensational cases or expressed solely in demonstrations. His has a far more personal and intimate interest. He wants to know how you live—what you do—why you do it—and, above all, why are you crazy enough to live in such a country as capitalistic America. He will approach you on the street—sit with you at your dinner table or on a park bench—fall in step with you as you walk—crowd about you when you hesitate on a thoroughfare—and forever carry on his endless set of questions and indictments about and against the country from which you come.

While walking in this same Park of Culture and Rest one night recently, I was approached by a young factory worker—a youth of about 19 years and average appearance—who surprised me by addressing me in English. Questioning revealed that he had very little formal training (as we would term it), that he never had been more than 60 miles from Moscow. He had learned to speak English (also French and German) in the language class conducted by his factory—and he immediately launched into a discussion of conditions in America with me.

"But why are you going back to such a terrible country" he asked "if conditions are as bad as you admit." He listened, almost tolerantly, to my attempt to explain some of the advantages of life in the United States and then cut me off abruptly with "Is it not so that a Negro cannot talk to a white man in America?" To his necessarily limited English and my almost nonexistant Russian, a detailed explanation of the gradations of American race prejudice presented quite a problem, and I am afraid that the situation had not become fully clarified when he again cut me off with "But all things are unequal in your country. Do the worker's there in your New York City have a park like this?"

One did not have to hesitate for an answer to that one. New York's noted Central Park, with its famous drives, bridle paths, and much publicized casino could not compare at all with the Park of Culture and Rest as a heaven for material and aesthetic enjoyment. This unique park, built by one of the last czars near the turn of the country, as a grounds for the world's exposition, which was held in Russia covers an expanse of land which extends along the Moscow River for almost four miles. Without sacrificing beauty, the Soviet renovators of this noted spot, have equipped a large part of the grounds with courts and tracks for most of the world's recognized forms of sports and physical culture.

Theatres, Operas, movies, workers clubs and other communal structures adjoin the athletic fields and the rest of the park is devoted to carefully tended woodlands which hold beautiful little casinos in wooded glens where any worker can afford to purchase as nice a meal as one finds in the average American restaurant. The gates of Park Culture open early in the morning and its pleasures are at the service of every worker everyday. No. New York City nor any other American city of my knowledge has a Park of Culture and Rest.

But my young friend could not continue his personal questioning of me. In a few minutes, we were surrounded by fully a score of Russians young and old, who monopolized the questioning and turned my companion into a translator. I was asked in turn by Russians, varying in age from ten to fifty years: Is it true that thousands of workers are starving to death in America while the warehouses are bulging with rotting food? What has the government done about the Camp Hill case? Do the bosses shoot Negroes who work on the railroads in the United States? If you like Moscow very much, why must you go back? How goes the revolution in America? How long will it be before the state falls? Did the bosses ever try to lynch you?—and a score of other queries.

Yes, one has but to show his face on any street of Moscow to know that Soviet Russia is intensely interested in the American Negro and his problems.

Rambling Ruminations

By J. A. ROGERS

Historical Places In Portugal

FROM Madrid to Lisbon is a distance of about 420 miles. The fare is 88 pesetas, or $7.04, second class. The length of the journey is 16 hours, and the scenery on the whole is uninteresting. The only thing I saw worthy of note was at Arroyo, near the Portuguese border, where on every housetop, near the railroad station, was a live stork, standing full of dignity on one leg.

J. A. Rogers.

At the Spanish border I went through more formality than I had ever been called on to before. In fact, almost every time one gets on a train in Spain one must show his passport, and this includes the natives. Before crossing into Portugal there is a rigorous inspection of baggage, and one must show how much money he has. The idea is to prevent Spaniards and mostly the royalists from taking their money out of the country. The limit is $400, and if the tourist has more he must declare it in entering. In Germany, however, matters are worse, and one is not allowed to take out more than $50.

Five miles further on at Marvao, Portugal, I had to go through another inspection of baggage and passport. And the most amusing thing about all this is that the crooks sneak into every one of these European countries in spite of the rigid formalities. Only honest folks are bothered. As to the custom houses, they are relics of man's uncivilized past, the seat of all modern wars, and the high cost of living. While food is rotting in one country for lack of markets, the profiteers of a neighboring one are charging an excessive price because of a lack of the same article. The United States, by the way, sets the bad example with its high tariff; the other countries have retaliated, and American commerce all over the world is suffering in consequence.

Lisbon, as it is called, is one of the most beautiful cities in Europe, with many striking monuments, one of the principal of which is the imposing arch and statue of Jose I in the Praca de Commercio, or Black Horse Square, overlooking the River Tague, which at this point broadens out into a lake three miles wide.

There is also the Praca de Dom Pedro IV, or Rocio, as it is better known. This is the hub of the city: the site of the principal shops, and the beautiful cafes, with their fine wood carvings, and the spot to get street cars for almost any part of the city.

Another remarkable square, almost adjoining, is the Praca dos Restauradores with a great obelisk, in commemoration of Portugal's throwing off the Spanish yoke in 1640. But the most beautiful of all the thoroughfares, which, as I said, excel, in my opinion, the best to be seen in any other part of Europe, is the Avenida de Liberdade. This magnificent avenue is a mile in length and 300 feet wide with three driveways, separated by palms, plane trees and shrubbery.

Another handsome avenue skirts the river for miles, interspersed with beautiful gardens. This leads to Belem, which is noted for its fine statue of Vasco de Gama and the Cathedral of San Geronimo. In this cathedral, one of the most beautiful in the world, are the tombs of Camoens, Portugal's greatest poet, and that of Vasco de Gama. The great pillars are in the shape of palm trees. Painted on the wall over the altar of beautifully wrought silver and gold is the figure of a coal-black Negro king.

Adjoining the cathedral is an archaeological museum, while not far away is the Museum of the Coaches, with the finest display of coaches in the world—Portuguese, Spanish, English, French—with their rich brocades, velvets and decorations of gold and silver. Splendor was, indeed, the order of those days.

Of course, Lisbon is practically a modern city. Most of its ancient buildings were destroyed in the earthquake of November 1, 1755, one of the most devastating in all history, and which evoked that famous satire from Voltaire on the goodness of God. Nevertheless, there are parts of the old town left and, like similar spots of the old world, have a charm of their own. One of the reminders of the earthquake is the Convent of the Carmo, with its roofless walls and its relics. The great Moorish fortress, which dominates the town, seems to have been untouched, however.

Another pleasing square is that with the statue of Camoens. When I was in Lisbon there was a great celebration in his honor. A Negro slave named Joao used to bring him food and helped him so that

Another very interesting building is that of the Geographical Society, with its marvellous collection of African art—art of all the dark peoples of Portugal's colonies, its libraries, etc., but space will not permit.

Lisbon, its residential section, its botanical gardens, churches, hall is a large and striking canvas which I understand there are 700 —the population is about 650,000; its streets, which wind up steep hills; its great central market; its

Lisbon could be able to write. Very much more could be said of

In Paris there is a society, whose members are of many races, colors and nations, called "The Supra-Nation," of which Prof. Moens is head. The goal of this society is "to obtain justice for all peoples to foster liberty, progress, universal brotherhood, in practicing love towards one's neighbors, the abolition of prejudices of race, caste color and sex; and the education of the mind and the body with a view towards making them perfect."

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German, Italian, Swedish, French, Chinese, American and Russian representatives of Mopr (International Labor Defense) mounted the praesidium amid the cheers of the throng, but the greatest ovations were reserved for the Negro speakers including Langston Hughes, poet and novelist whom Moscow has taken to its heart; Emma Harris, an interesting expatriate and former favorite of the Czars whom I shall discuss in a later article; two young Negro students of the University of Moscow, and the writer. The audience cheered the accomplishments of the ILD and hissed the mention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in a manner which was more than faintly reminiscent of New York City's Union Square demonstrations.

But the average Russian's interest is not confined to sensational cases or expressed solely in demonstrations. His has a far more personal and intimate interest. He wants to know how you live—what you do—why you do it—and, above all, why are you crazy enough to live in such a country as capitalistic America. He will approach you on the street—sit with you at your dinner table or on a park bench—fall in step with you as you walk—crowd about you when you hesitate on a thoroughfare—and forever carry on his endless set of questions and indictments about and against the country from which you come.

While walking in this same Park of Culture and Rest one night recently, I was approached by a young factory worker—a youth of about 19 years and average appearance—who surprised me by addressing me in English. Questioning revealed that he had very little formal training (as we would term it), that he never had been more than 60 miles from Moscow. He had learned to speak English (also French and German) in the language classes conducted by his factory—and he immediately launched into a discussion of conditions in America with me.

"But why are you going back to such a terrible country" he asked "if conditions are as bad as you admit." He listened, almost tolerantly, to my attempt to explain some of the advantages of life in the United States and then cut me off abruptly with "Is it not so that a Negro cannot talk to a white man in America?" To his necessarily limited English and my almost nonexistant Russian, a detailed explanation of the gradations of American race prejudice presented quite a problem, and I am afraid that the situation had not become fully clarified when he again cut me off with "But all things are unequal in your country. Do the worker's there in your New York City have a park like this?"

One did not have to hesitate for an answer to that one. New York's noted Central Park, with its famous drives, bridle paths, and much publicized casino could not compare at all with the Park of Culture and Rest as a heaven for material and aesthetic enjoyment. This unique park, built by one of the last czars near the turn of the country, as a grounds for the world's exposition, which was held in Russia covers an expanse of land which extends along the Moscow River for almost four miles. Without sacrificing beauty, the Soviet renovators of this noted spot, have equipped a large part of the grounds with courts and tracks for most of the world's recognized forms of sports and physical culture.

Theatres, Operas, movies, workers clubs and other communal structures adjoin the athletic fields and the rest of the park is devoted to carefully tended woodlands which hold beautiful little casinos in wooded glens where any worker can afford to purchase as nice a meal as one finds in the average American restaurant. The gates of Park Culture open early in the morning and its pleasures are at the service of every worker everyday. No. New York City nor any other American city of my knowledge has a Park of Culture and Rest.

But my young friend could not continue his personal questioning of me. In a few minutes, we were surrounded by fully a score of Russians, young and old, who monopolized the questioning and turned my companion into a translator. I was asked in turn by Russians, varying in age from ten to fifty years: Is it true that thousands of workers are starving to death in America while the warehouses are bulging with rotting food? What has the government done about the Camp Hill case? Do the bosses shoot Negroes who work on the railroads in the United States? If you like Moscow very much, why must you go back? How goes the revolution in America? How long will it be before the state falls? Did the bosses ever try to lynch you?—and a score of other queries.

Yes, one has but to show his face on any street of Moscow to know that Soviet Russia is intensely interested in the American Negro and his problems.

Rambling Ruminations

By J. A. ROGERS

Historical Places In Portugal

FROM Madrid to Lisbon is a distance of about 420 miles. The fare is 88 pesetas, or $7.04, second class. The length of the journey is 16 hours, and the scenery on the whole is uninteresting. The only thing I saw worthy of note was at Arroyo, near the Portuguese border, where on every housetop, near the railroad station, was a live stork, standing full of dignity on one leg.

J. A. Rogers.

At the Spanish border I went through more formality than I had ever been called on to before. In fact, almost every time one gets on a train in Spain one must show his passport and this includes the natives. Before crossing into Portugal there is a rigorous inspection of baggage, and one must show how much money he has. The idea is to prevent Spaniards and mostly the royalists from taking their money out of the country. The limit is $400, and if the tourist has more he must declare it in entering. In Germany, however, matters are worse, and one is not allowed to take out more than $50.

Five miles further on at Marvao, Portugal, I had to go through another inspection of baggage and passport. And the most amusing thing about all this is that the crooks sneak into every one of these European countries in spite of the rigid formalities. Only honest folks are bothered. As to the custom houses, they are relics of man's uncivilized past, the seat of all modern wars, and the high cost of living. While food is rotting in one country for lack of markets, the profiteers of a neighboring one are charging an excessive price because of a lack of the same article. The United States, by the way, sets the bad example with its high tariff; the other countries have retaliated, and American commerce all over the world is suffering in consequence.

Lisbon, as it is called, is one of the most beautiful cities in Europe, with many striking monuments, one of the principal of which is the imposing arch and statue of Jose I in the Praca de Commercio, or Black Horse Square, overlooking the River Tague, which at this point broadens out into a lake three miles wide.

There is also the Praca de Dom Pedro IV, or Rocio, as it is better known. This is the hub of the city: the site of the principal shops, and the beautiful cafes, with their fine wood carvings, and the spot to get street cars for almost any part of the city.

Another remarkable square, almost adjoining, is the Praca dos Restauradores with a great obelisk, in commemoration of Portugal's throwing off the Spanish yoke in 1640. But the most beautiful of all the thoroughfares, which, as I said, excel, in my opinion, the best to be seen in any other part of Europe, is the Avenida de Liberdade. This magnificent avenue is a mile in length and 300 feet wide, with three driveways, separated by palms, plane trees and shrubbery.

Another handsome avenue skirts the river for miles, interspersed with beautiful gardens. This leads to Belem, which is noted for its fine statue of Vasco de Gama and the Cathedral of San Geronimo. In this cathedral, one of the most beautiful in the world, are the tombs of Camoens, Portugal's greatest poet, and that of Vasco de Gama. The great pillars are in the shape of palm trees. Painted on the wall over the altar of beautifully wrought silver and gold is the figure of a coal-black Negro king.

Adjoining the cathedral is an archaeological museum, while not far away is the Museum of the Coaches, with the finest display of coaches in the world—Portuguese, Spanish, English, French—with their rich brocades, velvets and decorations of gold and silver. Splendor was, indeed, the order of those days.

Of course, Lisbon is practically a modern city. Most of its ancient buildings were destroyed in the earthquake of November 1, 1755, one of the most devastating in all history, and which evoked that famous satire from Voltaire on the goodness of God. Nevertheless, there are parts of the old town left and, like similar spots of the old world, have a charm of their own. One of the reminders of the earthquake is the Convent of the Carmo, with its roofless walls and its relics. The great Moorish fortress, which dominates the town, seems to have been untouched, however.

Another pleasing square is that with the statue of Camoens. When I was in Lisbon there was a great celebration in his honor. A Negro slave named Joao used to bring him food and helped him so that

Another very interesting building is that of the Geographical Society, with its marvellous collection of African art—art of all the dark peoples of Portugal's colonies, Lisbon, its residential section, its libraries, etc., but space will not permit.

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which I understand there are 700 botanical gardens, churches, of

—the population is about 650,000; its streets, which wind up steep hills; its great central market; its

hall is a large and striking canvas

he could be able to write.

"White Supremacy" is Dead

By WILLIAM PICKENS
(For the Associated Negro Press)

"White Supremacy" was slain in Manchuria, and its funeral celebration is being held in Shanghai, with all the most "superior" nations and races as the mourners.

Wm. Pickens

Its ghost may walk for a while but its body lies underground. The Japanese killed it. With all the evil things they are doing in their attack on China, that is the one good result they have achieved, and it is almost, perhaps altogether, a compensation for the evil.

Even the suffering Chinese are finding themselves in this baptism of fire and broken steel, and never again will they be the same tame, contemptible people which the westerner has conceived them to be. Do you not see? Even if the Chinese are overcome by Japanese power of science and organization, still those Chinese are finding out they, themselves, can fight.

The best fighting man on earth today is the trained Japanese soldier, and the Chinese have proved themselves to be not a poor rival to Japan's fighting force. That means that in defeat China is finding itself. There is often victory in defeat.

The Chinese know, as the rest of the world knows, that if they can resist Japan, they can resist any other single power. Whether they set out to do it or not, the Japenese are re-creating Asia.

And somebody needs to say the following, so I might as well say it: Our present western "sympathy" for the "poor Chinese" is thoroughly hypocritical. It is simply the reflection of our fear of, and our consequent psychological opposition to, that advancing Japanese. Everything is "relative," according to Einstein, and our favor to Chinese is really our opposition to Japanese.

But for this "relativity," we would not care a fig about Chinese: we have treated them worse in our country than we dared to treat Japanese. Today it takes an act of Congress to get a Chinaman the poor privilege of coming here to do acrobatics for us, or to slander his people by playing a "treacherous" role in some of our movies. We are just plain "christian" liars, most of us, when we pretend to such tender-hearted interest in those "poor Chinese." Why, we can sit and eat and see them starve by the millions in their famines.

In the immediate future the resisting Chinese are going to be a far greater threat to white domination in Asia than Japan ever could be. The very existence of our "Foreign Settlement" on Chinese territory belies our present crocodile tears over the "Japs'" unfairness to "helpless" China. China will no longer be helpless after it gets through this "training match" against the Japanese.

"White Supremacy" is dead, though its ghost may walk for a while. Ghosts are like that—they will not let down—not at once.

White Women and Colored Husbands

J. C. BRISTOW-NOBB

In Health and Efficiency, London, En

The Liverpool Association for the Welfare of Half Caste Children has just issued a report which covers two years' investigations. It is clear from this report that the association does not favor the marriage of European women with Colored men. But there is no reason why the marriages should not be happy as others, and I think that ultimately it will be gradually realized that they are of benefit to the world in helping to bring about a more perfect civilization and a better understanding between the nations.

However, it is pointed out in the report that the increasing number of children resulting from the marriages is a social danger, and the report urges an immediate official inquiry. If the inquiry is suggested with a view to making the lot of the half caste children and their parents happier it is to be recommended, but if it is suggested with a view to preventing the marriages, then it is to be condemned. Certainly the lives of these people in this country are made as wretched as other people can make them. Only the other day I found myself having lunch at a table in a restaurant in which a young half caste man was also lunching with his wife, and both were deliberately insulted by the young waitresses. The food they ordered was deliberately badly served and of inferior quality, and in other respects it was shown them that their presence in the restaurant was not appreciated. Yet obviously they were a respectable young couple. The investigators tell us they studied the problem of the Colored men in London, Cardiff, Manchester, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Tyneside. To prevent the aggravation of the problem, they continue, the Negroes should be stopped from gaining access to this country, and that they should be replaced by white men on all British ships. But this would be many pities, for it would be the breaking of a link between the British empire and the Colored races.

There are, the report continues, about 450 Anglo-Negroid families in Liverpool, and at least 1,350 Colored children. There are also a number of half Chinese children, but these constitute no particular problem, as the Chinamen make good husbands and the children's appearance does not result in the social and industrial disabilities of the half Negroes. But in course of time, I think it will be found the Negroes will make as good husbands as the Chinese. As it is, women tell me they make as devoted husbands as many Englishmen.

Then we have to take into consideration that while the Chinese are an old, civilized nation, the Negroes are only just beginning to understand what is meant by civilization. The Negro, the report continues, is usually well dressed, generous with what money he has, and a good singer and dancer. The result is women are attracted by him and his relations with them tend to be promiscuous. So the women almost invariably come to regret the marriages. But the flirtations and occasional other indiscretions are things that in time would be largely brought to an end, for the Negro is a simple man and as easily reformed as led in the wrong direction.

The report tells us further that not so long ago an attempt was made to form a club for Colored girls only. Of 20 between the ages of 15 and 21, who welcomed the idea, seven had illegitimate babies. One was living with a Colored man, and another of 15 was helping her mother to conduct a disorderly house. But we may find English girls in the slums of all the large towns as unfortunate and in far larger numbers. So what it really all amounts to is that the Negroes in this country differ little from other people, and in many respects are as desirable and as useful members of the community. Their position, however, is equivalent to that of the Jews a century and a half ago. They were then the most despised people in Europe, and for an English woman to rope, and was a sign for her ostracization and persecution.

The Jews are now as much respected as other people. Why shouldn't the Negroes be equally respected? It is only by showing them respect that their civilization can be completed and they can be lifted up to the level of other human beings. Certainly to take steps to try to keep them out of this country and try to prevent them from marrying English women would be the height of folly. After all is said and done color, like beauty, is only skin deep, and all human beings are much the same. They will have their faults and failings and their virtues. What is more to the point, all can be brought to more or less the same level. It is only a matter of patience, perseverance, respect and wise guidance.

ITHACA, N. Y.
JOURNAL-NEWS
JAN 23 1932

New Worlds to Conquer

If Europe cannot pay her debts to the United States in gold or goods, writes Stephen Leacock, let her pay in the good old fashioned way of colonies which she holds in various parts of the world.

Specifically, Central Africa, thinks this Canadian writer, offers to a valiant race an outlet for energy and a source of profit. Under the equatorial sun of that continent, vast areas of rich soil lie guarded by dense and primeval jungles. In this soil is food; under it probable mineral wealth. And in the hands of Americans are the tools with which to clear the jungle. Moreover, we have the men to do it—the American Negro who can work in the tropics and, in this suppositious case, take back to the native habitat of the Negro the magic of the white man's science.

While Mr. Leacock's particular remedy for unpaid debts, exhausted markets and unemployment may not appeal as the most feasible idea of its kind, there is something in his general cure for our troubles. The race needs new worlds to conquer, even as it did in older days and when population overran resources. Some of the unworked areas of this globe offer the world today new incentives to labor, and an outlet for the compressed energies of men. The areas in which nature still rules are a perpetual challenge to the breed whose forefathers pushed back the forests and made the deserts blossom like the rose.

German Professor Offers Lodging To Colored Students

2-26-32

NEW YORK.—A German professor at Heidelberg, has written to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, offering to take colored students as paying guests in his house and to help them in the study of German.

The professor, M. Morgenthal, whose address is Zahnradgerstr, 6, Heidelberg, Germany, informs the N.A.A.C.P. that any lodger with him should be able to speak either French or German. The cost of accomodation in the professor's house would be 7 or 8 marks per day.

M. Diagne Resigns From French Cabinet Post

PARIS.—M. Diagne, 58-year-old minister of colonies in Paris, quit his post Tuesday, Jan. 12, when Premier Laval submitted the resignations of his colleagues to President Doumer.

The minister was born in the French Senegal and was the first of his race to be appointed to a ministerial office in any European capital.

Jamestown Morning Post
JAN 27 1932

NEW WORLDS TO CONQUER

If Europe cannot pay her debts to the United States in gold or goods, writes Stephen Leacock, let her pay in the good old-fashioned way of ceding colonies which she holds in various parts of the world.

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Why not colonies instead of gold?

ROME, N. Y.
SENTINEL

JUN 4 1932

Franchise For 36,000,000

At present only 7,108,000, or 2 per cent of India's population of 352,000,000, are entitled to vote in provincial legislative elections. The Marquess of Lothian's Indian franchise committee, which resulted from the Round-Table Conferences in London, has just issued a report recommending that the number of such voters be increased five-fold, to 36,000,000 persons—which would be 14.1 per cent of the whole. This grand total of electors would participate in elections under the proposed Indian federal system for which other committees are engaged in laying the groundwork.

The report points out that the overshadowing difficulty in extending the vote is the illiteracy of the masses. That has seemed to preclude anything approaching universal adult suffrage. But, while the vote would still be denied the vast majority of men, the committee proposes to increase the number of women voters from the 315,000 now possessing the franchise to 6,600,000; such women to have reserved for them between 2 and 5 per cent of the seats in the new provincial legislatures.

From our American viewpoint—ignoring what our notions may be as to the Filipinos and other subject races—it is difficult to conceive of a "popular" government in which only a minority of adults participate. We overlook the generations in which we refuse votes to our women and the present illegal denial of the vote to Negroes in many of our states. We perhaps never fully realized that there was not universal manhood suffrage in Great Britain until a few years ago.

SPAIN'S MARQUIS A FULL NEGRO, SAYS ROGERS

Afro American

PARIS—White people in Seville, Spain, descendans of Negroes who once lived there, have, for hundreds of years, been wearing costumes similar to those of the Ku Klux Klan in America, according to J. A. Rogers, famous writer and traveler who has just returned from a trip to Spain. Baltimore Md.

These people, Mr. Rogers states, call themselves Negritos, and, at the feast of Corpus Christi, the great religious festival, they wear a garb that differs not one whit from that of the Klan. The costume consists of a gown similar to the Kluxers' nightgown and a peaked hat, and was worn long before the Klan was ever thought of.

Found Negro Marquis

Mr. Rogers also discovered that a full-blooded Negro is a Spanish marquis and one of the richest men in Spain. He found not the slightest hint of color prejudice in that country. 7/23/32

He saw a statue some thirty feet high, erected in honor of a Negro, one of the greatest men of science in the peninsula, who died a few years ago, and at Lisbon met an African who is one of the best known writers in the city.

Sex Facts Startle

Mr. Rogers is still working on his book, "One Hundred Greatest Negroes," and in his travels has added much illuminating material regarding individuals of African descent in Europe. He reports that he has discovered some amazing things in the sex lives of some great Europeans with Negroes, one of the most interesting of which deals with the relations of one of the most noted princesses of royal blood, the reigning beauty of her time, with a Negro.

He has further collected more than 300 pictures, and at present is busily engaged in selecting the 100 characters which will be treated in his forthcoming book, for which he soon expects to find a publisher.

Rambling Ruminations

By J. A. ROGERS

Meanderings Through Spain and Portugal

N. Y. Amsterdam News

HEREWITH the opening account of my recent meanderings through Spain and Portugal. From Paris I took an early morning train for Bordeaux, which is nine hours' ride by a fast train and 18 hours by bicycle, that is, if one is a champion—the day before my leaving the French champion had covered the distance in just that time.

J. A. Rogers.

I had the alternative of three classes on the train; first, which costs about $14; second, $7.30; and third, $4.68. I did not hesitate for a second but took the third. The seats are by no means luxurious, but they are cushioned and that is important. After all, the chief thing is to get there; nine hours are soon over, and there is that much money saved.

Besides, there is ever so much more fun travelling third than the other classes. The folks in the first class are usually very prim, dicty, and conservative, if not actually frozen. In the second, they relax considerably. In the third, no one puts on any airs; everybody addresses one another informally and laughs as if old acquaintances. To get a close up of the characteristic people of any European country, including the aroma, one must travel third class.

In Europe, teachers, professors, clerks and others of the poorly-paid classes, as well as the peasantry and even some of the well-to-do, travel third class on the train and second class on the street car, in those countries that have this accommodation. Colored folk, except those of the cruder type, rarely ride third on the train or second on the street car. The belief is that most colored folk in Europe have money, and so, I suppose, many of them, whether they can afford it or not, feel that they must live up to the tradition.

It is not, however, until a stop is made some hours away from Paris that the peasantry begins to get on, and what a good time they are soon having among themselves cutting with large knives into huge loaves of bread held against their chest; slicing long musty-skinned sausages; munching great sandwiches of fried chicken or rabbit, and washing down all with copious draughts of red wine. The dining car waiter comes around with pink tickets in search of prospects for lunch, but he expects so little business that he merely picks his way up the cluttered aisle and makes no attempt to offer them. To get one, you must call him. I have also brought my lunch: whole wheat bread, Roquefort cheese, bananas and oranges. A sane lunch you'll say. But for the next three days I wonder why castor oil was invented.

Into my compartment comes a tall, rangy, blonde woman with all of her upper teeth gone, except one that stands like a lone sentinel in front. With her is her husband, a smiling old veteran; her son, daughter-in-law, and two other members of the family, including a girl about five years old. Though full sixty years old, the blonde is a bundle of energy and piles the heavy and enormous quantity of luggage for the whole party into the racks overhead. The younger folk seem to understand her and leave her alone, being content with handing the luggage to her. When all is placed and the train starts, she jumps up from her seat ever so often to attend to the child or one of the family, soon pulling down again one of the heavy bags to bring out the food and wine.

The clothes she and her husband, as well as many of the other folks, wear are not to be found in any style book. After the lunch the woman takes the child on her knee and points out the places of interest; the River Garonne and the villages. Not long after, however, most of the strangers get out of the compartment; she stretches out on the seat and is soon deep in musical slumber.

Arriving at Bordeaux, I dodge the host of porters and runners who want to carry my bag or to take me to hotels, expensive or otherwise, and checking my bag at the consignee I go out in search of lodgings. I have but a single bag—in Europe it's best to travel light—as for some reason or other a trunk in the long run costs as much for transport as a human being.

Not far from the hotel I find a nice, clean room with hot and cold running water for 66 cents a day, which includes 10 per cent for service—the same price I would pay in Paris for the same kind of room. This is in the provinces, and I insist I ought to have it for 56 cents, but I am tired and it's raining hard so without further argument I take it for 62. I've saved a franc, which is money in these parts. For a franc one may get twenty small coins. For a half a franc—two cents—one rides on the French street car, Paris excluded.

Bordeaux struck me as being a rather sleepy town, even at the height of the business hours. It is rather old-fashioned in appearance with stony streets and miles of docks to which come large numbers of ships from Africa, with the result that a considerable number of Negroes are to be seen there. While looking at the monument to the Girondins—one of the most remarkable I have seen anywhere—I made the acquaintance of a colored merchant, M. Lesueur, from the French West Indies, who was on his way to the birthday party of a colored girl from his country, who has a good position in the post office and he was kind enough to take me along. In this way I was able to meet several of the colored people and their white friends. In this town, as in other parts of France, there is no color line.

Among the interesting sights of Bordeaux are some of the old Roman ruins; the old gates of the town; the Art Museum, which has some fine paintings and a statue of Louis XVI, which weighs 80,000 pounds and is screened from view—this statue was made in Paris in 1821 and was to have been put up there but the people refused it and it was sent on here. The guide slips in visitors to see it for a small consideration. There are also an immense and old cathedral; and a square with flocks of pigeons.

Already here, one begins to feel the Spanish influence. I saw many Spanish newspapers for sale, among them the great illustrated daily—A. B. C. I was particularly interested in this number because on the front page was a picture of William Allen pointing to the spot where the Lindbergh baby was found.

In my next article I go to Biarritz and the Basque country.

Europe.

TRAVEL THIRD CLASS TO GET FRENCH AROMA

Rogers Finds Peasants Eating Fried Chicken in Trains.

Second of a series of articles on Black Blood in Spain and Portugal.

by J. A. ROGERS

PARIS, France—(Written especially for the AFRO and Co-operative Newspapers)—Herewith the opening account of my recent meanderings through Spain and Portugal. From Paris I took an early morning train for Bordeaux, which is nine hours' ride by a fast train and 18 hours' by bicycle, that is if one is a champion—the day before my leaving the French champion had covered the distance in just that time.

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Aroma

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Colored Have Money

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Bread and Sausage

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The Tall Blonde

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Colored folk, except those of the cruder type, rarely ride third on the train or second on the street-car The belief is that most colored folk in Europe have money, and so, I suppose, many of them, whether they can afford it or not, feel that they must live up to the tradition.

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It is not, however, until a stop is made some hours away from Paris that the peasantry begins to get on, and what a good time they are soon having among themselves cutting with large knives into huge loaves of bread held against their chests; slicing long musty-skinned sausages; munching great sandwiches of fried chicken or rabbit, and washing down all with copious draughts of red wine.

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TRAVEL THIRD CLASS TO GET FRENCH AROMA

Rogers Finds Peasants Eating Fried Chicken in Trains.

Second of a series of articles on Black Blood in Spain and Portugal.

By J. A. ROGERS

PARIS, France—(Written especially for the AFRO and Co-operative Newspapers)—Herewith the opening account of my recent meanderings through Spain and Portugal. From Paris I took an early morning train for Bordeaux, which is nine hours' ride by a fast train and 18 hours' by bicycle, that is if one is a champion—the day before my leaving the French champion had covered the distance in just that time.

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Bread and Sausage

It is not, however, until a stop is made some hours away from Paris that the peasantry begins to get on and what a good time they are soon having among themselves cutting with large knives into huge loaves of bread held against their chests, slicing long musty-skinned sausages, munching great sandwiches of fried chicken or rabbit, and washing down all with copious draughts of red wine.

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BROOKLYN, N. Y.
EAGLE

JUL 22 1932

Martinique Handles Race Problem Well

Use of 'Black' or 'White' as Adjectives Banned—Blaze Rages as Colored Firemen Battle Over Epithet

By O. R. PILAT

Staff Correspondent of The Eagle

Ft. de France, Martinique, July 7—There was a fire here today which shed a curious light on the question of race consciousness.

Officially there is no color line in Martinique. Yet in some minds there is suppressed antipathy, Negro toward white, white toward Negro. To keep this suppressed certain words are tabu, such as "black" or "white" used as adjectives of scorn.

Aiding the local firemen, who are colored, at the fire we have mentioned, were volunteers, also colored. Procedure of the volunteers consisted in carting everything movable from houses threatened by the blaze into the street. There, spectators stole it.

One business man protested the hurling of a typewriter through an open window of his office.

"If my things burn, all right," he said, "but leave them alone."

Then the Fight Started

The volunteer continued his work of destruction. The business man appealed to the gendarmes. Now there are plenty of local colored police here, but they are supplemented and outranked by the numerous gendarmes, white police from Paris, who would be the last government defense in an uprising. Naturally the gendarmes are not liked.

Argument between the gendarmes and the firemen and the volunteers developed. It would have had no consequences only one of the gendarmes applied the epithet "black" to a fireman.

The firemen turned the hose on the gendarmes. The gendarmes deployed and advanced.

I wasn't present at the fire, but sipping a lime squash at the Cafe Bediat later, I learned from friends that it burned itself out during the fight. The dispute itself ended suddenly, with smiles, the way most arguments end here, just as the local showers terminate in a burst of sunshine.

Consider another example of race consciousness. A school teacher recently from Paris spoiled his career by asking in open class: "Why do the black people here imitate the dress of the white?"

At once there was a scandal. Letters of protest appeared in the papers of Ft. de France—there are three political journals, each appearing one or two evenings a week. To attacks from the blacks the teacher replied that he meant to imply the native costume was superior, with the weather conditions as they were, to European clothes. The clamor redoubled then, with the whites joining in.

May Never Came Back

Eventually the Parisian authorities refused to break the teacher's contract for one year, but when it expires he may never return.

At the cafe and the cinema and the office and the fete there is no distinction according to the shade of your epidermis. But there is an unexpressed class line, which forbids inviting home, to eat with your wife and children, any outsider.

The richest class are the whites. They number only a few thousand out of the 250,000 inhabitants of the island. Many of the older families, here for generations, possess millions of francs and live in amazing luxury.

The mulatto class comes second. They are often almost entirely white. Frequently they are wealthy. Their women are the most beautiful on the island.

Problem Handled Well

A third class is the chabin, approximately half White, half Negro. The least appreciated classes are the Negroes and the coolies, though there is nothing to prevent capable Negroes from becoming wealthy and esteemed. Each of these five classes keep socially pretty much to themselves.

When you think slavery in this country was abolished only 80 years ago, and when you compare the way the whole racial problem is slurred over and bungled in the United States, you come to the conclusion that the combination in Martinique of complete business equality and modified social equality is working out well.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.
EAGLE

JUL 27 1932

World Today

ARABS OUT FOR BUSINESS

* * *

FURIOUS COMPETITION

IMPROMPTU CO-OPERATIVE

* * *

TROUBLE JUST BEGINS

—By B. Z. GOLDBERG—

THE traveler's first experience with Syria is anything but pleasant. There is no dock of any sort for the steamers. The boats drop anchor in midwater and you are carried to shore in a tender craft or more generally a flat-bottomed rowboat.

No sooner has the ship come to a stop than a bevy of dark, dirty, smelly, sweating Arabs assail the deck with the same ferocity, rush and crash as pirates of old. There are at least a dozen, beckoning, shouting at you in a myriad tongues and barking at one another in such rage and fury that you expect them to tear their competitors into shreds before your very eyes. Each of them has his own boat and wants to take you ashore.

Man of Many Tongues

I don't know what would have happened to me upon landing in Beirut if it had not been for the cordial assistance of one Mr Armitin, a native of Jerusalem, a citizen of the Argentine, long resident and leading business man of Paraguay.

All during the trip he sat at the Arabs' table, blabbing away in Arabic as fast as the rest of them usurping nine-tenths of the conversation. Toward the end I heard him chattering just as volubly in French and Spanish. And when we were introduced he spoke in Hebrew. Such are the intelligent Levantine Jews. The least they start out in life with is half a dozen languages.

Mr. Armitin kindly undertook to arrange for the landing of our party of four; also for an automobile trip from Beirut to Jerusalem. He knew the country and the Arabs. He wouldn't let them take advantage of us. He would see that we got real service cheap. He meant to do us a good turn, no doubt. Perhaps he still thinks he did.

* * *

GUARD THE BAGGAGE FROM ZEALOUS ARABS

WHILE Mr. Armitin was bargaining energetically with a dozen different Arabs at once all we could do was to stand guard over our baggage, so that it would not be carried off by some overzealous boatman, and swelter in the blistering sun.

Apparently we were an important and attractive haul, for none of the dozen would give up the attempt of winning over our negotiator. For all the obscurity of the Arabic tongue, however, we soon realized that the prices were swinging up and down, like stocks swaying before the crash. We also heard single words in French, English, German, words of appeal to us, amid howling shouts and gnashing of teeth at each other.

Perhaps the bargaining took only half an hour, but it seemed aged. At length, when the end was not yet in view, I turned to Mr. Armitin in desperation: "Take any one, at any price. Let's get out of here."

Fun in Bargaining

But Mr. Armitin, for all the streams of perspiration pouring down his flushed and flaming countenance, seemed to enjoy it immensely. He made reply to each cajoling one, passing some funny remark to another that made them all laugh in unison, forgetting for the moment the bitter strife that existed. Finally a price was decided upon. We breathed a sigh of relief.

But, alas, it was too soon. For bedlam in all its fury then first broke out. Each Arab swore by Allah and all the saints that the price was his; that he named it first; that in consequence we "belonged" to him. One claimed us on the strength of his wooden leg. He was most deserving. He needed it most. Another shouted that the boats of the others were leaking; that only his was fit. Meanwhile all were pulling away at our baggage, our sleeves, our trousers.

Negro Solves Problem

Finally a Negro hit up an idea. They would organize a co-operative, a trust. Let any one of them take us, leaky boat or sound, but he, the Negro, would collect the dues and divide them amon gthe members of the corporation. To that they agreed. And soon we were in the billowy blue of the Mediterranean, slowly plying our way to the steep and rocky hillside upon which the city is built. Everything was rosy when we landed before the Customs House.

"And how much is it?" we asked Mr. Armitin.

"Six francs apiece," he said with great delight.

For less than a dollar there had been that tremendous waste of time and energy on the part of a dozen Arabs, with no little amount of discomfiture to at least three of us.

* * *

WRANGLE JUST START OF MORE TROUBLES

PRESENTLY the Negro came forward for a tip. Wasn't he one of the boatmen? No. He didn't even have a boat. He was a freelancer seeking customers and cunningly collecting commission on both sides.

"And where's the automobile?" I asked Mr. Armitin.

"Oh, that is yet to be arranged for."

"So all this fuss was just for getting to shore?"

"Yes," he smiled.

"You want an automobile?" the Negro popped up again. "I'll get you one in a minute. A good car. An American car."

We looked wistfully at the shiny black, smiling face of the Sudanese, foreseeing even greater troubles ahead.

21 AMERICANS IN RUSSIA END SEA TOUR

Find Yalta Street Named for Russia's Great Negro Poet.

FORMER PALACES NOW REST ROOMS

Group Still Expects to Finish Film.

By CHATWOOD HALL

ODESSA, Ukraine Republic, U.S.S.R., Aug. 15, 1932 — Five glorious days on the Black Sea (Chernoe More in Russion) came to an end today for 21 colored American members of the motion picture cast of "Black and White" when the steamship "Abhazia" docked at Odessa.

This group left Odessa on August 9 on this same ship, which is one of the largest, newest, and best ships of the Soviet Transport Fleet plying the Black Sea. It is the concensus of opinion of the group that this tour was the most pleasant and profitable from a cultural, educational, and political standpoint, of any of the many trips and excursions that have been lavished upon them since their arrival in the Soviet Union in June.

The first stop of importance after leaving Odessa was Sevastopol ("The Splendid"), an important fortress and export trading port of 63,000 inhabitants in The Crimea. Sevastopol was in 1854 reduced to ruins by a combined attack of an Anglo-French fleet. Only after 1877 did the city begin to recover from this destruction. While here the group visited the "Panorama of the Defense of Sevastopol," a panoramic painting by the Munich artist Rubo, depicting the storming of the city by allied troops in 1855.

A common grave on the northern environ of the city contains the bodies of 127,000 persons who perished in the defense of the city. In 1914 the city was besieged by a German fleet. Here also is Balaclava, the scene of the celebrated "Charge of the Light Brigade," which Tennyson vividly describes in a poem.

Yalta

Turkish rule, was one of the chief slave markets on the Black Sea. Here, many feet beneath the sea may be seen the ruins of ancient temples, buildings, and a fortress.

Batum, on the Turkish border was the last stop. Wild bamboo trees and palms decorate the streets of this city, and in the distance the main range of the Caucasian Mountains lift their eternally snow-covered summit into the sky. The impact of the Orient was very noticeable in the architecture of the houses and the fact that many women were seen wearing veils. On the way from the Park of Culture and Rest the group noticed a Ford roadster bearing a New York license plate parked at the curb. The car was immediately surrounded, and it was found that the occupant was from New York City.

With trips and excursions over, actual work on the motion picture is expected to begin in Odessa as soon as Director Junghans arrives from Moscow with the finished scenario.

From Sevastopol we proceeded to Yalta, a famous health resort center, which was founded by the Greeks. It has since belonged to the Genoese and the Turks. Many magnificent estates of the former Russian nobility and aristocracy surround Yalta. These former estates of the Bourgeosie and the nobles are now Rest Homes and Sanatoria for workers. One of the principal streets of the city is named "Pushkin Boulevard," after Russia's great Negro poet.

A special trip by automobile was made to the "New Palace," the summer home of former Czar Nicholas 2. It is a beautiful structure of 50 rooms, built in Italian renaissance from plans by the architect Kransnov. Nearby is the "Little Palace," where Czar Alexander 3 often lived and where he died while in an alcoholic stupor. Over the door of the "New Palace" is still to be seen a horse-shoe, placed there by Nicholas 2 as a superstition emblem to ward off ill luck. Both palaces are now occupied by workers as Rest Homes.

The next stop was at Sukhum, capital of the Soviet Republic of Abhazia. This city was founded by the Greeks, and later, under

BLACK AND WHITE IN AUSTRALIA

A Disturbing Incident

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir,—The interest [illegible] known which many of your readers take in social questions in the widest sense, not least where the elementary rights of human beings are concerned. A few weeks ago surprising reports came from Australia of the help rendered by wild Aborigines to the lost German aviators in their extremities. I have now before me a copy of the "West Australian," a newspaper of high repute, of June 30, containing material of a very different character.

The newspaper quotes a belated police report of the shooting, as long ago as January last, of an Aboriginal by a white settler under the following circumstances. The locality of the crime, between Lansdowne and Bedford Downs, in the Fitzroy River district, is described as being "one of the wildest and most desolate parts of that region, inhabited by hostile blacks, who have hiding-places almost inaccessible to white men." According to the reports received by the police, the white man apparently wished to "obtain the assistance" of some members of a "large mob of blacks." The assistance he sought could hardly be of a voluntary nature, because he went armed with a rifle and a pistol in his belt and accompanied by two of his station natives.

According to the evidence of the Aborigines subsequently given, he came upon them suddenly and called upon them, men and women, to stand their ground. Some did so, some ran away to hide behind boulders. But one of the poor creatures, possessed of too much courage, "stood near a tree on the opposite side of the gorge and, despite the entreaties of some of his companions, refused to take shelter." Presently three shots were heard, and the black fellow came running towards two native women who were waiting for him at a distance, calling out that he had been shot. In spite of their fears the women went back to him and found that he had been grievously wounded. Other natives brought water and washed the blood from his body, and afterwards carried him to the shade of a tree. By midday he was dead. These members of the "lowest race on earth" then placed the body on a rude platform which they made in the tree and "remained there crying all night." So says the report.

In the meantime the white man went to their little encampment, shot some of their dogs, which they love as their children, and carried off three natives to "render him assistance." Two of them managed to escape the same night, made their way back to the others, climbed the tree to have a last look at their dead comrade, and then they all went right away in order to escape pursuit. But several weeks afterwards they came back again, "wrapped the remains in a blanket and the bark of a tree, and hid them in a hole in the rocks which they afterwards blocked up with stones."

If these wild Aborigines in their natural state act in this sort of way—with the representative of white civilisation as their foil—one wonders why they are still branded as "the lowest race on earth," and why more is not being done in Australia to uplift the 30,000 or 70,000 remnant that is left, and to render them some little reparation for the wrongs and injustices suffered in the present as well as in the past.—Yours, &c.,

C. E. C. LEFROY (formerly Archdeacon of Perth, Western Australia).

1, South Hill, Guildford, August 25.

BLACK SKIN VOGUE IS ALL THE RAGE IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

PARIS.—(CPS)—The dream of the black race, according to George S. Schuyler in his "Black No More," is to be white. Now comes a French cartoonist, Verdier, who says that the dream of the white race is to be black.

In Le Journal of August 21, 1932—a morning paper with a million and a half circulation—Verdier in a cartoon entitled "Le Reve de la Race Blanche" (The Dream of the White Race) shows two white women and one man who are burnt so black that they are indistinguishable in color from a native of Congo. To perfect the process one of the women is smearing grease on her husband.

No Prejudice

In an earlier cartoon in this same paper by Pellier, a white girl is loking in admiration at a very black Negro in a bathing-suit and asking him.

"Is it a long time since you have been taking sun-baths?"

More than ever this year there is the craze to have a black skin in Europe. At Juan-les-Pins on the Riviera a prize has been offered for the one who can present the blackest skin, and there is considerable rivalry for the championship. Of course, genuine blacks are barred.

Grease Barred

At one bathing-pool so much grease was used on the skin of the bathers to get the black effect that the fat remained thickly on the water. Bathers were forbidden to bring in any grease, but the women got around the order by using the salad oil served at the table, whereupon the establishment retorted by serving the salad with the dressing already on it.

In Germany, where the desire to have a burnt skin has always been greatest, such large numbers of men and women have been appearing on the mixed beaches in a complete state of nature in order that the sun might reach all parts of their bodies that the clothing manufacturers and dealers have taken alarm.

Nudity Popular

The result is that in Prussia an edict has just been issued by the prime minister barring all nudity on the beaches or the appearing in dance-halls with bathing suits. Nudism is a growing craze in Europe, and in Germany magazines showing men and women completely nude are publicly displayed.

Some individuals tan their skins because it is fashionable, but the majority do it out of admiration for a brown skin. Many have so expressed themselves to this writer, while others mourn the fact that they are so fair that all that they get for their pains are freckles.

How easily American Negroes who are discontented with their color could find some European ready to make an exchange, were the thing possible!

Dr. Woodson Gets Belgian Offer to Fly to the Congo

By J. A. ROGERS

(For Co-operative Newspapers)

PARIS.—Dr. Carter G. Woodson has returned here from Brussels, where he was an invited guest at the tenth annual conference of Catholic missionaries of Africa. His address on the Negro was received with marked enthusiasm, he and a colored bishop of the Catholic Church receiving the warmest applause.

The Catholic missionaries, nearly all of them white, showed a great interest in the Negro in America, and plied him with many questions.

At the office of the Secretary of the Colonies he was also received with courtesy. He was urged by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to visit the Belgian Congo, a promise being made to land him there by train and air-plane in nine days. The director of the Congo Museum also warmly welcomed him, and showed many treasures of African art not in the show-cases. Dr. Woodson plans to leave shortly for Rome to attend another conference there.

WOMAN BACKS CLAIM OF ROGERS THAT ANCIENT ARTISTS DEPICT MADONNA AND CHRIST AS BLACK

By J. A. ROGERS
Guide Foreign Correspondent

MADRID, Spain—(CPS)—With regard to the Black Virgin I mentioned as having seen in Spain and elsewhere a correspondent of German birth now residing in New York City, a Mrs. or Miss M. Wagner, has written me to say that in her native land, Bavaria, she saw the Virgin Mary and Christ as black and Negroid. For many years she has been trying to tell white Americans that, she adds, but they would not believe her.

"I myself was born," she continues "in a strictly Catholic country in South Germany (Bavaria) and in our churches the biggest reference is given to Santa Maria as Mother of God, and we have statues of the Madonna as well as pictures, which are original sculptures or paintings on wood and stone, dating as far back as 800 to 1,000 years and more.

"The faces of these images are black and of Negroid type, particularly the Madonnas of Censtuchan in Tolers and the Mother of God statues in Alstotting in Bavaria near Munich, which was brought from Palestine more than 1,000 years ago by Ritter von Heiligers Lande.

"These two Madonnas particularly are held in the highest esteem in Catholic countries and hundreds of thousands of pilgrims go to these places to do homage to the Mother of Christ every year and wonderful healings of all kinds of illness are reported to the public.

"Every Catholic knows that Santa Marta was an Acthiopian (Ethiopian)."

Other correspondents have written me to ask me of the significance of the Black Virgin. For nearly a year I have been reading everything I can get on the subject, and shall deal with it when I reach that part of my travels in Spain into which it fits.

Toledo, Spain, Has Painting of Brown Virgin Mary

Rogers also Discovers that Philip IV. King of Spain. had Negro Blood. Entire Country Dominated by Black Moors of Africa for 600 Years. Ragged Priests Show Disrepute into Which Clergy has fallen. Cathedral Shows Cloak Having 800,000 Pearls.

By J. A. ROGERS

(Specially written for AFRO-AMERICAN and Associated Newspapers)

TOLEDO, Spain—Toledo, former capital of Spain, is about 45 miles from Madrid. Built as it is on a summit of a mountain, one has a stiff climb to get up to the city.

In the old days it was one of the strongholds of the Moors, and the great fortifications they erected around the city, as well as outside of it, stand there as solidly as ever.

Crossing over the high stone bridge wit hthe calm, blue river far below, one comes to the old gate of the city. In the centre of the arch is a sign—put up not so long ago—warning all comers that swearing or using of foul language is against the law. This sign is to be seen all over Spain, but it is observed about as much as prohibition is in America.

The Cussers.

Go to any bull-fight, let any of the fighters make a mistake, and then, I warrant you'll hear some really foul oaths, shouted aloud, not by one person, but by thousands of throats at once. Later that same day, in the vestibule of the cathedral I heard some hangers-on discussing the merits of a cunningly-wrought walking-stick that one of them had offered to me for sale, when one of them gave vent to an oath that would be considered particularly foul in Anglo-Saxon lands. Jokingly I reminded him of the sign against blasphemy. He replied with a shrug: Those words were made to be used, wern't they—when you can't others that will do as well?"

Toledo Moorish.

Madrid is modern, but Toledo is essentially Moorish. The streets are so narrow that one has but to stretch out his hand, in many places, to block traffic. They were erected in the good old days of the palanquin.

In some sections of the town, the bricks and stones of the houses have been so eaten by time that one wonders why the building has not collapsed long ago. Nevertheless, there is an antique beauty and an originality to the city that makes it one of the most picturesque places in Spain.

The Black Wise Man.

When the Christians ousted the Moors, they turned many of the mosques into churches, without alteration, except to put up statues strictly forbidden by Mohamet. Some of these mosques remain with the Moorish decorations, as that of Sancta Maria. Behind the altar piece of this church is a remarkably fine painting of the Three Wise Men, the central figure of which is depicted as a real Negro. When the Jews were expelled, their synagogues were also turned into churches and one of the most beautiful churches in Toledo is a synagogue nearly 500 years old.

Moorish Industry.

In addition to the buildings, the Moors have left their impress on Toledo in two of its leading industries: filigree gold-work and the making of fine steel for swords, knives, razors, etc. I visited the shops where this gold-work was in execution and marvelled, for it seemed to call for the very limit of human patience. In the days of the Moors, the world's finest steel came from Toledo, and I was shown some of the knives made there now and saw the ease with which they pierced a coin. Many of these and other curios are offered for sale, but the tourist would do well to bear in mind the old Roman maxim, "Caveat emptor,"—let the buyer beware.

Interesting Points.

famous painter, with its iron-bound books, Moorish court-yard and delightful garden; a very old church, whose name I have forgotten, from the outside wall of which, high up, are the chains to which they used to hang offenders for trivial reasons; a quaint and most delightful old inn where Cervantes once stopped and which he wrote about; the old Carcel or Prison of the Hermanidad, once the torture-house of the Spanish Inquisition, but now reeking with the odor of ammonia from the manure of the donkeys, for whom it now serves as a stable.

I was shown the spot where the victims were chained, and the water made to drip very slowly on their heads until they became insane; where they were burned with hot irons, or had their finger nails torn out, and finally the pit into which they were thrown until their bodies struck the river, hundreds of feet below. How we good Americans marvel at the cruelty of those Spaniards until we recall that the Puritans of New England used to punish a Quaker by forcing him to push his tongue through a hole in a door, and then prevent his withdrawing it by piercing the tongue with a red-hot skewer. Bnt there, we do not need to go as far back as that. There is Georgia in 1932.

Philip IV. Has Colored Features.

There is also an immense cathedral, where the old kings of Spain used to worship, and in an inner sanctuary of which are shown their old coat-of-arms. One of the kings, by the way, Philip IV, was distinctly Moorish in features. The moment I saw his picture, I at once thought of my friend, Dr. T. E. Jones of Freedmen's Hospital, Washington, D.C.

The Moors, as was said, dominated all this region for more than 600 years. and left their strains indelibly fixed in the physiognomies of the people, who, are moroever very proud of it, for the best by far that Spain has today in art are the relics of the Moors.

Brown Virgin.

In the cathedral is a painting of Christ, 45 feet high, and a stone on which the Virgin Mary is supposed to have trod. One may push his finger through an aperture to touch it, and the touch is supposed to bring good luck. The Virgin herself—the Virgin of Sagrario—the patron saint of Toledo, is, by the way, brown in color, in contrast with the other Virgins which are represented as white.

Priests Poorly Clad.

Later I returned at the hour for seeing the treasure and was greeted by a crowd of ragged urchins, all of whom clamored to show me the sights of the cathedral for a few coppers. The priests, themselves, are hardly better clad, with their dirty robes and soiled collars, for the clergy have fallen on evil days in Spain just now, and are barely existing. With the fall of the monarchy their revenue was cut off. Now anti-religious feeling is strong—so strong that, as was said, hundreds of churches and convents were burned down by the mob.

Eighty Thousand Pearls.

The treasure is really a remarkably rich one; great mantles sewn with thousands of pearls—one of them has 80,000; marvellously wrought chalices of gold studded with diamonds; shrines of pure gold, gleaming with amethysts, rubies, and rare stones, and other jewels on which workmen of centuries ago lavished their choicest skill—all worth millions of dollars—the whole guarded behind great, iron-studded doors. Later, in another city, a guide with whom I became acquainted, expressed his indignation to me that all that wealth is shut up there while the people are starving.

Here, may be surmised, is one of the reasons for the attacks of the mob on the churches—the prospect of loot.

Seventy Churches.

The cathedral, by the way, is on Karl Marx Street, I understand recently so named. Everywhere over Spain one finds the new economic order elbowing out the old monarchic and religious one. Toledo, I was told, has 20,000 inhabitants and 70 churches, which may be a record, but nothing to wonder about so far as the Peninsula is concerned.

The Door Bangs.

Another thing struck me about the catdedral. The door through which one enters is a great one, and after each entry it bangs, resounding through the great vaulted structure like the discharge of cannon. This goes on even during services, but so accustomed are Europeans, in general, to noise, that no one seems to notice it.

Race Problems

Europe

Dr. Woodson in Europe Looking Through Great Libraries for Studies on Africa

Afro-American
Baltimore
9-24-32.

Finds English Institution Studying African Languages Much as Lily-whites do in this Country. So Much Race Hate in London that League for Protection of Colored People has been Founded There.

By DR. CARTER G. WOODSON
Director of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.

I see that the newspapers have announced that I am spending my vacation in Europe. This is an error. I am not rich enough to spend the summer abroad as some of my friends do. It has been twenty-five years since I visited Europe. If I cannot make the trip oftener than once in a quarter of a century, this will probably be my last across the Atlantic.

Carter Woodson

I said nothing about my mission but I had hardly gone aboard the Aquitania before a Hebrew from New York City approached me, and he was soon followed by one Thompson of Jackson, Miss., with a wife from Port Gibson, establishing his claim to friendship for us by what he had done to help Redmond and other colored people in that state. They wanted to know who I am and what I am doing. Some things they learned, and others they did not

Hardy and Laurel

With the exception of this we reached England without any further publicity except we were all but mobbed when admirers made a rush to see our two most popular passengers, Hardy and Laurel, staged through the moving pictures by Hal Roach. I realized for the first time that it is not wise to be popular or to advertise yourself too much.

As an Individual

The purpose of my tour is to do some serious work in European Archives to find out what Europeans actually know about native Africans and what interest the scholars of the continent now manifest in the scientific approach to the problems of other people of African descent. I find a few in learned circles directing their attention this way, but most of them know practically nothing about and care still less. The black man as an individual, however, is generally treated as a human being.

Not a Negro

I found only one live spot in this sterile field of research. This is the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, the directors of which were entertained at a luncheon by the government in London the week before I arrived.

Anson Phelps Stokes, who left London for Africa before I could have the pleasure of seeing him there, was invited to this function. I am sure that he enjoyed it, for the procedure was very much as we have to do things in the United States, according to a superimposed policy. Not a colored person, so far as I have been able to learn, was invited to this function, where the scientific study of the race was to be outlined or discussed.

Like a Potato

In this case it may be that the Negro is not to participate in the study of his own race. He must sit still and be content with being an object of investigation. If he undertakes to do some of the research himself, he may be just as much out of place as a potato under observation would be, if it said to the careless investigator, "Now you have inspected the eye on this side, but you missed the one of the other."

Such a potato would be immediately destroyed as an unnatural product; and so must the Negro who insists that a thoroughly trained investigator of his race is the best qualified person to record scientifically the status and history of his own people.

No Excuse Here

There may be some excuse in Europe for thus ignoring Negro scholarship because of the dearth of educated colored people directing attention to their own background. However, I am sure that this is not the established policy of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. Prof. H. Labouret and Dr. D. Westermann, the scholarly gentlemen now serving as its directors, will doubtless be fair-minded enough to welcome the co-operation of Ralph Bunche, Allison Davis, and Louis King, who have prepared themselves for systematic research in this long neglected field.

Africans

Highly educated Africans like Seme and Danquah do not seem to give much attention to the study of their own native people. Rene Maran, who is thus concerned, is a native of the West Indies. It is highly probable that Africans are too near this interesting life to appreciate its worth when properly interpreted to an unwilling world. Solomon Plaatje, who recently died, had the idea and made a small contribution in this direction.

M. Molema has undertaken to portray anew the African tribes. Ben N. Azikiwe, now in America, is doing the same thing. Dieopulu, another African among us, will soon take up the task before him.

Ofays Make a Living

We shall never see Africa as we need to see it unless the native is encouraged to describe to us from the inside the world in which he lives. White men who are now making a living posing as investigators of people of African descent will merely mislead us and thus make actual scientific investigation a much harder task.

Those who are really earnest will discover in the end that while there are certain things about the Negro which they can learn they must take along with them scientifically trained Africans to portray the Negro from the inside while they are looking at him from the outside.

The Only Time

When I say scientifically trained Negroes, I refer mainly to Africans for an American colored man is about as far removed from his race by education as the white man is. In fact, the mind of the educated colored man in America is that of a white man, and many of the highly educated colored folk whom I have met in Europe have developed the same way. The only time they think of their race is when they meet race discrimination, and then their efforts like those of us in America are restricted to propaganda in the struggle for standing ground in the modern world.

League for Protection

There is so much race prejudice in the Americanized parts of London that representatives of various oppressed groups have organized there what is called the League for the Protection of Colored People. This functions as do our propaganda organizations in the United States.

The most striking case of recent development in London is that of an educated and well connected girl from Jamaica, who came seeking training as a nurse. She could not find any hospital in the city which would accept her as a student. The case has been carried from one board to another until it will soon be considered by one representing the government itself.

Whether the British authorities will take the position that colored students thus presenting themselves must be turned down no one can now say. Friends of the girl, knowing the trend of things, however, have some fears as to their ultimate success.

See and Don't See

I addressed this League for the Protection of Colored People and tried to show them the relation of their work to ours in the United States. They saw the point, and they did not see it. One of them showed a striking difference.

In England colored people face both an economic and a racial barrier. The government permits the education of some of them, but it must restrict the number of natives to be brought from the dependencies and trained for professional work, because every one thus developed becomes a competitor for some position which a British youth must fill or go through life as a menial in the lower pursuits.

After all, it is what we face in another way in the United States. The Negro, then, must think of his problem as a universal one.

BACK IN FRENCH CABINET

Chicago Defender
M. CANDACE

When Joseph Paul-Boncour, new premier of France, selected his cabinet last week, M. Candace was reappointed as undersecretary of state. M. Candace does not favor the paying of the American war debt of $19,000,000. M. Candace has a long and meritorious record of service in French colonial affairs. America doesn't even want a member of the Race to sit in a political convention. France puts you in the cabinet.

19th Century Portuguese Negro Duchess Was Most Beautiful Woman of Her Time

Rogers Continues To Reveal New Facts Learned On Tour

By J. A. ROGERS

Exclusively for Journal and Guide and Cooperative Publishers Service

From Madrid to Lisbon is a distance of about 420 miles; the fare is 88 pesetas, or $7.04 second-class. The length of the journey is 10 hours and the scenery on the whole is uninsteresting. The only thing I saw worthy of note was at Arroyo near the Portuguese border, where on every house-top near the railroad station was a live stork, standing full of dignity on one leg.

Of course, one passes many interesting cities, full of historical romance on the way. I had two full-course meals on the dining-car for which I paid 52 cents and 60 cents, respectively, including tip to the waiter, for in Spain the cost of living is ridiculously low for Americans.

As to the dining-car conductor, as is the case in Europe, he is not a sort of glorified overseer over Negro waiters as in America, but he waits on the table too, just like his two assistants. The European conductor, also, except in England, will pack your bags around on the train for you, and look for his tip, too. There is no train porter.

"Keep Your Money Home"

At the Spanish border, I went through more formality than I had ever been called on to before. In fact, almost every time one gets on a train in Spain, one must show his passport, and this includes the natives. Before crossing into Portugal there is a rigorous inspection of baggage and one must show how much money he has.

The idea is to prevent Spaniards, and mostly royalists, taking their money out of the country. The limit is $400 and if the tourist has more he must declare it in entering. In Germany, however, matters are worse, and one is not allowed to take out more than $50.

Crooks Sneak By

Five miles further on at Marvao, Portugal, I had to go through another inspection of bagage and passport. And the most amusing thing about all this is that the crooks sneak into every one of these European countries in spite of the rigid formalities. Only the honest folks are bothered.

As to the custom-houses, they are relics of man's uncivilised past, the seat of all modern wars, and the high cost of living. While food is rotting in one country for lack of market; the profiteers of a neighboring one are charging an excessive price because of a lack of the same article. The United States, by the way, sets the bad example with its high tarriff; the other countries have retaliated, and American commerce all over the world is suffering in consequence.

Arriving at Lisbon, I was as I previously said, pleasantly disappointed. Because of the anti-Negro propaganda against the Portuguese, I thought I was going to see an old run-down place, but I came into a fine and beautiful railroad station, and was whirled through a well-lit city to the hotel by a taxi, for which I paid, including the tip to the driver, 16 cents for about three-quarters of a mile.

A Price Depression

At the hotel-pension I was shown a room as large as a three-room flat in New York, clean and well-kept, and with a balcony from which I had a magnificent view of the city. For this room, together with coffee and rolls in the morning, and breakfast and dinner, I was asked 25 escudos, or 77 cents.

As I later learnt I was charged ten cents a day too much, but it was so exceedingly cheap that I accepted it without bargaining. The same would have cost me from three to four times in any other part of Europe, except Spain, which, as I said, is only a trifle dearer than Portugal.

This hotel, by the way, is called the Palace Pension Hotel, 3 Rua de Taipas. The proprietor and all the servants were most attentive.

Lots of Climbing

Lisbon is hilly, and one needs good wind if he is going to do much walking. There are, however, many cable-cars for the steep inclines and in the center of the city is an imposing steel structure, an elevator which takes one to the top of the hill which dominates the lower part of the city.

Lisboa, as it is called, is one of the most beautiful cities in Europe, with many striking monuments, one of the principal of which is the imposing arch and statue of Jose I in the Praca de Commercio, or Black Horse Square, overlooking the River Tagus, which at this point broadens out into a lake three miles wide.

There is also the Praca de Dom Pedro IV, or Rocio, as it is better known. This is the hub of the city; the site of the principal shops, and the beautiful cafes, with their fine wood-carvings, and the spot to get street-cars for almost any part of the city.

Avenue 300 Feet Wide

Another remarkable square, almost adjoining is the Praca dos Restauradores with a great obelisk in commemoration of Portugal's throwing off the Spanish yoke in 1640. But the most beautiful of all the thoroughfares which, as I said, excels in my opinion, the best to be seen in any other part of Europe, is the Avenida de Liberdade. This magnificent avenue is a mile in length and 300 feet wide, with three driveways, separated by palms, plane-trees, and shrubbery.

In the center is an avenue of trees, with modern benches under them; flowing streams, and beautiful fish-ponds. The pavement is all inlaid and worked into beautiful designs. In fact the entire side-walk of downtown Lisbon is inlaid—the only other place I have seen something similar being in the Tiergarten in Berlin.

A Black King

Another handsome avenue skirts the river for miles, interspersed with beautiful gardens. This leads to Belem, which is noted for its fine statue of Vasco de Gama, and the Cathedral of San Geronimo. In this cathedral, one of the most beautiful in the world, are the tombs of Camoens, Portugal's greatest poet, and that of Vasco de Gama. The great pillars are in the shape of palm-trees.

Painted on the wall over the altar of beautifully wrought silver and gold is the figure of a coal-black Negro king. On a vault nearby are the shields of all the former colonies of Portugal, for this little country, which is but two-thirds the size of New York State, was the pioneer in world exploration and once owned territory vastly greater than that of the present British Empire.

Museum of Coaches

Adjoining the cathedral is an archaeological museum while not far away is the Museum of the Coaches, with the finest display of coaches in the world—Portuguese. Spanish, English, French—with their rich brocades, velvet, and decorations of gold and silver.

Splendor was, indeed, the order of those days. Most magnificent of all is that of the ambassador of Charles V to Pope Clement VII. The coach of the late ex-King Manuel also is a remarkably rich one, while a long row of harness presents a spectacle that almost takes one's ous showcases filled with the beauti- ous showcases filled with the beauti ul costumes of the lords and ladies of those days, the sight of which makes one feel that the human animal has lost most of his elegance, and is growing more and more drab, commercial, unpoetic, and prosaic.

Negroes Among Them

And let us not forget that the persons who wore some of those exceedingly elegant costumes were colored folk that look liked those of the United States. I have it in black and white, written by a certain noted writer of the 19th Century, a description of a Portuguese Negro duchess who was the most beautiful woman at that time in the kingdom.

Enroute to Belem is another fine art museum, with many priceless paintings — Museum de Janeles Verdes, and the School of Tropical Medicine, with a very beautiful garden of bright flowers in front. In fact, Lisbon is noted for its lovely gardens, and Cintra, of which Lord Byron wrote, is said to be the paradise of Portugal in this respect.

Of course, Lisbon is practically a modern city. Most of its ancient buildings were destroyed in the earthquake of Nov. 1, 1755, one of the most devastating in all history, and which evoked that famous satire from Voltaire on the goodness of God.

Parts of Old Town Left

Nevertheless, there are parts of the old town left, and like similar spots of the Old World have a charm of their own. One of the reminders of the earthquake is the Convent of the Carmo, with its roofless walls, and its relics. The great Moorish fortress, which dominates the town, seems to have been untouched, however.

Another pleasing square is that with the statue of Camoens. When I was in Lisbon there was a great celebration in his honor. Nearly every organization of one kind or another sent wreaths of flowers and students from the schools and colleges came in processions. The ceremony before the statue lasted from mid-day almost until midnight.

Helped By Slave

The Portuguese are very proud of their great poet, who, it may be recalled, was wretchedly poor and had almost insurmountable hard ships. It was a Negro slave, named Joao, who used to bring him food and helped him so that he could be able to write.

Another very interesting building is that of the Geographical Society, with its marvellous collection of African art, and art of all the dark peoples of Portugal's colonies, past and present. In the central hall is a large and striking canvas by Salgado, showing the reception of Vasco de Gama by Samorim, a Negro ruler in India, or some adjoining region. I was fortunate to secure a copy of it.

Very much more could be said of Lisbon, its residential section, its botanical gardens, and churches (of which, I understand there are 700). The population is about 650,000; its streets which wind up steep hills about its great central market and its libraries, ets., space will not permit writing about.

In my next release I will tell something of the people and their life.

HITLER PULPIT BANS AFRICAN MINISTER

By J. A. ROGERS
(For Co-operative Newspapers)

BERLIN, Germany. — Asserting hat Negroes, Jews, and others of he so-called inferior races should ıot preach or dictate to white peo- ple, Dr. Roever, Hitlerite ruler of he province of Oldenburg, Ger- nany, had a Negro pastor, named Kvami, torn out of the pulpit in he parish of St. Lambert by the olice.

The Rev. . Kvami, who is a ative of Togoland, and preaches here, was brought to Germany by he Lutheran Synod in order to stify to the good work being done y the Lutherans in Africa. Roever as further threatened severe punhment to any preacher in Oldenırg who will open his pulpit to e Rev. Mr. Kvami. "The time coming," he said, "when the ational Socialists will settle acounts with those who would soil e white race by having Negroes eaching to them or who receive ws on terms of equality."

The pastor of St. Lambert has ade vigorous protest, and in the eanwhile the Rev. Mr. Kvami, ho is a convert to Christianity, s returned to his native land. He spoken in other Lutheran ches in Germany before going Oldenburg.

Race Problem - 1932

Europe.

Rambling Ruminations

By J. A. ROGERS

Mississippian Expresses Himself on Scottsboro Case

PARIS

BIARRITZ, near the Spanish border, is the most aristocratic of the bathing beaches of Europe, the rich flock there in the summer months from all parts of Europe, North and South America, and the entertainers, musicians, tradesmen and others migrate with them. Several of the largest de luxe dressmakers and jewelers of Paris have branches there that are open in the summer.

J. A. Rogers.

To reach Biarritz from Bordeaux is a four-hour ride through a region called the Landes. The greater part of the journey one passes through turpentine plantations, minus the Negro peons. Biarritz is off the main line and to reach it one must get off at a station called La Negresse (The Negro Woman). I am curious to learn just why that name but no one seems to know. In any case it serves as a reminder for the many Americans who must change there.

Changing at this station for a coach of one compartment I note that I am the only stranger. When I arrive, with grip in hand, I am met with a delegation of porters, in gold-braided uniforms, from the de luxe hotels, who are eager to take me in charge, but I manage to duck my way out. I decide to do my own scouting for room and board, and ask the attendant in the check-room to recommend me to a place. His friend has a little hotel and he is only too happy to send me there. He adds: "Real Basque cooking. You won't get any better in the big hotels and not dear."

In this hotel, very clean, with waxed floors, I get a room with hot and cold running water for 60 cents. For dinner I had soup, fish, bread, a pint of wine, beef pot roast, asparagus and, when I thought all was over except the dessert, came a delicious half-chicken, baked, string beans, three kinds of cheese, fruit, and a pleasing Basque maid to wait on me. The price? Fifty cents. Yet Biarritz is a very dear place for the tourist.

All of this part of France and adjoining parts of Spain is the country of the Basques. Who are the Basques? That is the puzzle of the anthropologists. Some say that they are descended from the ancient Egyptians who once settled all this region, while one or two scientists say that they came from the ancient [illegible]rians, who lived here 2,000 or [illegible] years ago. It happens that the ancient Iberians were Negroes, as their remains in the British Museum and elsewhere show. In any case, the Basques are dark-skinned. Blondes are as rare among them as among Chinese or Indians. Many of them have quite Negroid faces, and look like fair mulattoes of the United States.

The Basques, who are very proud, strongly disclaim both French and Spanish connections. They insist that, while the French and Spaniards of this region mixed with the Moors, they remained a "pure" race, "the purest on the Continent." They have a language of their own, which bears no resemblance to any other in Europe. It may have been the ancient Iberian language, used by Negroes ages ago. One fact is certain—so far as archaeology is certain—the earliest known inhabitants of this region were, what are called Negroes today.

From Biarritz to Madrid is ten hours by express train and about five or six hours by motor-car. Unlike America, the auto bus in Spain takes you almost anywhere quicker than the train. Spain is mountainous and there are hardly any direct railway lines between distant cities. For the trip I paid slightly over seven dollars second-class train fare.

As I entered the coach I saw a single passenger, an elderly man whom I at once recognized not only to be an American, but a Southerner to boot. Sitting up ahead with my back to him I soon forgot all about him. But he had also spotted me as being from the States, and might have been wondering why I wasn't in the Jim-Crow car instead of sitting up there among the white folks—though some of them in this part of the world are very dark.

Apropos, back in America but few white folks can recognize colored folks as being Americans, but it is astonishing how quickly they spot them in Europe, from among the French West Indians, Africans, Egyptians, colored Greeks, Jews, and the great variety of Negroid peoples to be found there—that is, when they want something done. A "broke" white American in Paris, and there are scores of them, can spot a fellow countryman a mile away, though he be as black as the proverbial ace of spades, to tell his hard-luck story. I speak from practical experience and not from lack of sympathy, but merely as a matter of fact.

As I said, I forgot this Southern gentleman, and when the train arrived at San Sebastian I got off and headed for the exit, but stopped to look at some placards and he passed me. When I arrived at the exit I found the Southerner jabbering excitedly to the Spanish gateman, and the latter jabbering back as excitedly to him, and neither understanding the other. The Southerner had forgotten his camera, a costly one, on the train, together with a package of films.

As I was about to pass out the Southerner spotted me at once as a fellow-countryman, though all my clothing, from head to foot, was European, and asked me whether I could speak Spanish. I answered that I could make myself understood. I then explained to the guard what was wrong and, calling a porter, had him accompany the Southerner back to the train, and went out into the town. Near the station is the River Urumea, over which is a remarkably beautiful and richly decorated bridge, with towers, named after Queen Maria Cristina. I stopped to admire it and to marvel at a lone man punting not one, but two great empty barges down the river. The rain coming down again, I took refuge under one of the towers, just in time to see the Southerner passing in a taxi. Seeing me he stopped the car, had it backed up to where I was, told me he had found his films and his camera and thanked me. 'If you're going uptown" he said, "jump in and I'll take you up. Come in, anyway, and let's get a drink."

I jumped in, we exchanged introductions. He told me that he had been in Europe for five months; that his name was Archer; that he was from near Natchez, Miss., where he had property; that he had many "niggers" working for him; that he loved them, and they loved him, etc. In my mind were visions of simple-minded black folk sweating for him, to pay the expenses of a good time in Europe. I waited to hear something about the black mammy who had reared him, and was all ready to drop a hint that thousands of years before La Salle discovered the Mississippi that black folk in Europe and North Africa had, a good many of them, been suckled by white mammies, their slaves and concubines; that today in Europe there are still thousands of Negroes who are fed at the breast of a white mammy, and that one needs not look very closely to find the same in America. But he said nothing about "mammies"; he brought up the Scottsboro case about which everyone was then talking and of Mrs. Ada Wright, who is here. As it happened, the Spanish newspaper I had in my hand then had an article about the case.

His point of view was somewhat different from the majority of his type; he held that, while the boys deserved death "for having attacked white women," that the Scottsboro authorities had made a big mistake over the whole case, since the Communists had taken it up and were stirring up the Negroes against the white people, "their best friends"; that the Communists were also making it appear over the whole world that Americans were barbarians, and generally spreading anti-American propaganda. Better, he said, if the whole thing had been dropped.

I replied that the Scottsboro authorities could not have foreseen all that, that they had hoped to burn those boys quietly as a periodic lesson of intimidation for neighboring Negroes, but that they hadn't been able to get away with it this time so easily. I added: "No wonder if Europeans think us Americans a pack of savages. In Europe, it is generally considered as nothing at all for a black man to go with a white woman, therefore when America, or parts of it, places on such association the severest of all penalties, death, it makes everyone with thinking facilities above the level of a hippopotamus marvel that such injustice could be possible. If those two women were black you know perfectly well that nothing would have been done about it. Moreover, those women were tramps, the type that would sell themselves in Europe for as low as the price of two sticks of gum to any comer, white or black, not because their skins are white, but because they must eat. Why should a thing that is considered of so little value in the white man's own land be of so great importance in America as to command the death penalty? Moreover, the whole case is a frame-up, concocted to intimidate Negroes. Rightly, it shocks the whole world, and is being used even by the capitalists of other lands to hurt American trade. The quickest way to stop Communist agitation among Negroes, since you think it so undesirable, is to treat the Negroes right. But you keep on pouring oil on the fire and complain that it burns."

When I reached the center of the town I got out without taking his drink, as I saw he did not like my line of chatter.

In Paris, Brussels, Hamburg, Berlin and elsewhere great posters on walls and billboards tell the story of the Scottsboro boys, proclaiming an injustice that reflects on all America. It is no wonder that our Southern friend and others do not like it. I am making a collection of just what the European press has said on the subject and will give it to our readers some time.

HOUSTON, TEX.
PRESS

DEC 7 1932

Color Line in Germany

By PAUL KECSKEMETI

BERLIN, Dec. 7.—Hitlerites, aroused over a negro minister preaching to tall, blond Nordics, recently staged their first practical attempt to introduce the color line into German political life.

Karl Roever, Nazi premier of the small state of Oldenburg, inhabited by the purest of the Teutonic race, summoned his hearers to a mass meeting to the defense of their racial integrity. The danger was grave, he said, because a negro Lutheran minister, named Kwani, had been admitted to preach in all Protestant churches of the state and the adjacent provinces, where he drew large attendances. This, the Hitlerite premier exclaimed, was a "shame" and a challenge to Oldenburg's race-conscious administration.

Other Nazi meetings held throughout the state petitioned the government to put an end to the negro "scandal."

Thus a conflict broke out between the Oldenburg Nazis and the Protestant church. This is an unusual occurrence, because the Nazis generally are anxious to maintain good relations with Protestantism.

The Protestant Church backed up Kwani, who is a prominent figure in African Lutheranism, being the head of the Ewe community in the former German colony of Togo. He was educated at the German mission school there and is now preaching in northwestern Germany as guest of the Oldenburg Lutheran Church.

As an answer to Nazi attacks, the society of Oldenburg Protestant preachers unanimously adopted a resolution "deeply regretting that local Hitlerite leaders know of no other source of national, moral and religious revival than the force that lies in man's blood."

The resolution added that attacks against Kwani "violated the laws of hospitality, binding for all civilized nations," and warned against racial hatred "incompatible with practical Christianity."

SAYS RUSSIA WOULD CREATE PERFECT SOCIETY

Urban League Official Gives Impressions Of U. S. S. R.

PARIS.—(CPS)—Ira DeA. Reid, director of research for the National Urban League, has arrived here after a trip through Germany, Russia, Austria, Switzerland, and France. During the entire trip he was the leader of the party which was composed of sixteen persons, three of whom were southerners.

Mr. Reid said he was very much impressed by the tremendous social experiment now going on in Russia. One thing that especially attracted his attention, he said, was the great amount of care and attention given to the training of the children by the state.

Another was the education of the masses by the state, a large part of which is effected through graphic posters. This sort of propaganda, he thought, has reached its highest development in Russia.

A third feature of Russian life to attract his attention was the immense industrialization that is taking place. In parts of Southern Russia, he said he saw great numbers of Russian peasants, filling the railroad stations on their way to the cities, reminding him forcibly of the migration of the Negroes from the south to the north.

Present Conditions

As to present conditions he judged "that they could not be considered good and comfortable from the point of view of capitalistic countries. The people are suffering, but they seem firmly to believe in their future, and that they will be getting the necessities before long. The success of the movement is going to depend on how much longer the state is going to be able to keep on indoctrinating the people. In this respect I saw some of the most attractive forms of posters telling what has been done and what must be done in order to succeed."

He added: "The form that is coming out of the present Soviet experiment does not conform to exact socialism, as one hears of millionaires. Some of these latter have developed by lending money to the government, and have been drawing interest without taxation; another wealthy man drew large financial returns from a play. In short, while I did not find a perfect society, I found people who are working intensely and honestly to create one."

With regard to color discrimination in all the countries he visited, Reid said that it simply did not exist. "I was the only colored person in the party, and the treatment I received was so cordial that at times it was almost embarrassing."

Race Problem - 1932

Europe

Portugal's Minister to Brazil is Black Dr. Nobre de Melo

Carlos de Vasconcelos, Also an African, is Secretary of State for the Colonies. Christianity for Africans is Opposed; Makes Them Too Submissive, Portuguese Think.

By J. A. ROGERS

LISBON, Portugal.—There are many Negroes in Lisbon, by which I mean those of the more recent African stock. They come principally from the Cape Verde Islands which are off the coast of Senegal, and the other Portuguese possessions in East and West Africa. Some are students, others are merchants; while others are employed in the various activities in positions of importance. One of them, Senhor Carlos de Vasconcelos is a member of the Cabinet, being the Secretary of State for the Colonies; another, Mr. Martinho Nobre de Melo, a Cape Verdian fills the important post of Ambassador to Brazil; Dr. Jose Magalhaes, who is a professor in the School of Tropical Medicine and likewise a writer and journalist of importance, and Dr. Carlos Tavares, who was chief physician to King Carlos I, father of the last king. Dr. Tavares is a full-blooded African black.

For these and other names, I am indebted to Senhor Mario Domingues, a young man, who is one of the leading journalists and writers of Portugal and also a native of Africa.

Africa

I first heard of Senhor Domingues through his monthly magazine "Africa," which was on display at the newsstands; and then saw a full-page picture of him on the cover of the current issue of "The Detective," one of the most popular of the weekly magazines. In order to get first-hand information on what was going on in the Portuguese prisons, he had maneuvered his way in as a regular convict, and had come out with a story that everyone was then taking about.

Senhor Domingues, I learned, had been educated in Portugal, and was first employed as a clerk. At nineteen, he published his first book, which brought him into the limelight, following it with several others, one of which is entitled: "O Preto do Charleston," (The Negro of Charleston)—a novel dealing with a black man who tries to make his way in the European cabarets. He is a militant on the labor question, and was for seven years editor of a militant journal which in English is called "The Battle." He told me: "My business is to defend those who work against those who do not." This paper was, he told me, supressed by the dictatorship, and he has been in jail several times for his views on the labor question.

One has but to see his eyes and to hear him speak to know that he is a militant, and sincere in his opinions. He reminds one somewhat of Claude McKay, whose writings he tells me he likes very much.

Most of all, he said he was interested in the defense of the Negro race. "I have," he said, "some ideas all my own on the Portuguese in Africa. Their rule is not all bad, nevertheless. I am looking forward to a future—I know not when—to the day of Africa for the Africans."

Opposes Christianity

He was strongly opposed to Christianity for the natives, as it taught them non-resistance. "The missionaries," he said, "have done much good, but they have also disfigured the life of the African in favor of the European. What is needed today is to have the African richer in his own spirit and more developed in his own ways but the missionaries do the reverse. Africa needs a greater bond of solidarity, and we shall never have that with Christianity."

Many of the Portuguese in Africa, he said, are kindly disposed to the natives, and much race-mixing goes on. On the East Coast, however, he said, they are afraid to fraternize with the blacks, because of the British influence adjoining. A young white journalist Senhor Alves de Cunha, who very kindly showed me much of the city and who had also been in Africa, told me much the same. He said that the British were always reproaching the Portuguese because they married among the natives and fraternized with them. Senhor Alves de Cunha has written several books on Africa.

"In Portugal, itself," said Senhor Domingues, "the races mix easily. There is no color prejudice of any kind. As the whites are in excess, they keep on absorbing the blacks. A century ago, a king of Portugal brought 60.000 Negroes and settled them in Algarve, and not one of them was left not long after. This Negro blood found its way into the Portuguese nobility, and no one was ashamed or even thought about it."

Banquet with England's King

Dr. Tavares, he said, enjoyed great influence with King Carlos, and when Edward VII visited Portugal, naturally Dr. Tavares was one of those presented at the banquet given in honor of the English king. His presence, he said, caused considerable resentment among certain members of King Edward's retinue, to the surprise of the Portuguese people.

Senhor Domingues, I found to be very well-informed on the doings of Negroes in other lands. "My idea for the Negro wherever found is this," he said: "He must conquer the right of existence no matter where he is, and no matter how hard the battle may be."

Still another colored journalist to whom I was indebted for much information, is Dr. Roque Machado, who comes from Goa, Portuguese India. In addition to being a medical man, he is also an editor and a writer. He took me around the city, and showed me much of the life that I might otherwise not have seen.

MAN WHO GETS BROKE IN EUROPE SINKS TO BOTTOM

Traveling Reporter Tells Of Experiences In Spain

By J. A. ROGERS

Guide Foreign Correspondent

PARIS—As I said in my article on comic bull-fighting in Spain, one of the most popular bands, perhaps the most popular, is composed entirely of Negroes, and is known as Las Estrellas Negras, or Black Stars.

Its 25 members are chiefly Central and South Americans, but there are five American Negroes: Robert E. Wilson of Chicago; Albert M. Barnes of Washington, D. C.; Joseph Jones of Baltimore; James Holmes of Glencoe, Ill.; and Albert H. Holman, of New York City.

Mr. Holman has been in Spain for more than 30 years, and is one of the best known comedians of the Peninsula. He has long been an attraction in the leading night-clubs and Casinos of Spain and Portugal. When I was in Madrid he was nursing a great wide bruise on his head got while serenading an angry young bull.

Sernade Bullfighters

In Madird these Black Stars draw immense crowds and fill the largest bull-rings. In Barcelona, where I also saw them, they filled to overflowing the great Plaza de Toros Monumental on the feast of St. John, while the excited Spanish audience gave them a great ovation. While in Barcelona I saw some fine commendation of their work in the newspapers there. All are well-paid for bull-fighters are among the highest-paid workers of the world. In a coming article I shall tell of the serious bull-fighters and their work

Madrid has very few Negroes, perhaps only a few hundreds. Most of the American Negroes there are doing well, or at least, seem to be able to find work to keep them a-going. Such say that they have no intention of returning to America, even at a higher salary, as they find the Spaniard particularly kind to colored people. Those, however, who are out of work—and just now in Spain as elsewhere work is difficult to get—are most eager to get back to America, and would swim it back if they could.

Broke; Sinks

He who has not been broke in a European country, has never been really broke. The man without money in Europe sinks to the bottom of society as surely as a ton of lead in the ocean.

In Spain, as in most of the other European countries, it is dififcult for foreign musicians, except the old-timers, to get work, because of the unions, and unless one is offered work before arriving it is best not to go there in search of it.

Another interesting and highly intelligent Negro I met in Madird was James A. Williams, a former musician, who has visited most of the countries of the world, and speaks several languages, including Russian. For the past seven years he has made his home in Madird, and says that the last thing he ever thinks of is returning to America.

Wife Charming Castilian

His wife is a charming and beautiful Castilian lady, by whom he has a plump and wide-awake little daughter. The photograph of Mrs. Williams and her littlee colored daughter, I have been informed, took first prize in a national competition of photography.

Mr. Williams who is very dark, says that he has been everywhere in Madrid with his wife and has never met anything but the highest courtesy.

While I was in Madrid also I heard of, and finally saw a clipping from a newspaper, about a rather droll story that caused such amusement in that city eight years ago that a song hit was written around it.

The proprietor of the then leading cabaret of the city, the Alacano, a wealthy man had everything the heart could desire save a child, although he had been married for three years. Nevertheless he had a jazz-band, composed of the darkest Negroes he could find, three Americans and five Cubans and South Americans, the pride of the establishment.

And What a Son

At last came signs that he was going to have an heir; he hoped it was going to be a boy. And it was. But such a boy! He had never seen any of his neighbors with a child of that color before.

The doctors, a l'americaine, explained that the mother undoubtedly had a Negro ancestor away back and thus the color of the baby. But the cabaretier recalled now only too well the marked attention his wife used to show to the leader of the orchestra, a Cuban Negro. Out of the place was fired the wife and the whole orchestra, while the newspapers and the comedians took up the story. The child was given to the Catholics to rear.

The incident, I was told, also caused a decline in the popularity of the Negro musicians who up to that time had been the rage.

The orchestra leader, however, later married the daughter of the proprietor of the best-known cafe in the ecity. He is now conducting an orchestra of mixed blacks and whites in Barcelona, where I met him.

Mr. Ferguson, who, as I said. was brought from Guatemala, by the Marquis of San Roman, cousin of the ex-king, Alphonso, tells me a similar instance; of the wife of a marquis, who had a colored child. In this case he said, the marquis, went of and left the Negro, his wife, and the child, living in his mansion.

Mr. George Ferguson, whose address is "Thomas Cook-Wagon Lits, Madrid, Spain," by the way has expressed his willingness to serve as guide to any Americans coming to Spain, and I can certainly recommend him.

Lisbon's Bull Fight Boss a Colored Man with Curly Hair

Just the Type That Women Enthuse About, Rogers Thinks. Bull's Horns Sawed and Trimmed with Leather. Animals Not Killed, Merely Tormented and Teased Until They Are Worn Out. Five Bulls Used Up in One Afternoon's Entertainment.

By J. A. ROGERS

LISBON, Portugal.—Bull fighting perhaps more than any other sport in the world combines the maximum of danger with the maximum of excitement. Cock fighting, elephant fighting, pugilism, wrestling, football, baseball are all tame beside it.

It is also the most brutal of all sports, except the popular Southern one of lynching.

In Portuguese bull fighting, however, the brutal aspect is reduced to a minimum, and the danger also, with the result that the Spanish bull fight fan, fed upon raw meat, as it were, looks upon bull fighting in Portugal as somewhat of a caricature. Nevertheless, of the two I preferred the Portuguese version, not so much because it is less brutal as because it is more beautiful, more graceful, and more poetic.

The arena is, on the whole, the same as that of the Spanish. Prices range from 25 cents to $1.50 and for 60 cents one gets a good seat in the shade; the tickets are sold according to sun and shade, the former being the cheaper.

J. A. Rogers

The president of the fight, an obviously colored man, having entered his box, makes a sign to the bugler, who sounds the call. The gates, facing him at the other end of the arena, are swung wide open, and a white mule is led in covered with crimson trappings. On its back are two long wooden boxes. These are ceremoniously taken off by attendants in multi-colored costumes and the mule is led away. The two boxes contain the weapons of the bull fighters.

Another bugle call, and again the gates are swung open. The horsemen enter, and the sight of them takes one back to the days of chivalry; their colorful coats, riding breeches, and their long-plumed hats belong to the time of Monsieur Beaucaire. Those who have seen Rudolph Valentino in this picture will have an idea of the ensemble. And the cavaliers are just as handsome as he—dark-skinned, with very black, slightly-curling hair, just the type that the average woman goes in raptures over.

The Horses

And the horses! So wonderful are they that I intend going to Lisbon again, if for nothing else than to see them. They belong to the finest Arab breed, and when you learn what is expected of them I am sure you will not wonder at my enthusiasm.

Riding gaily up to the box of the president the toreadors salute him with a long graceful sweep of their plumed hats and back away, that is, the horses do, like debutantes at a court function, until they disappear through the gates, by which they entered. The applause of the 10,000 spectators is deafening.

Another bugle call, and a toreador enters on foot, his horse led by another. Another toreador enters the two shake hands and the second mounts and rides to another part of the arena, and stations himself there. This faces the gate through which the bull is to appear.

The Bull Thunderbolt

The horse at this instant seems more on the alert than ever. Its nostrils are quivering, its ears erect, and its gaze is intent—truly a magnificent picture. Then the gates, facing him are thrown open, and the bull comes dashing in—an enormous, dark brown thunderbolt.

Straight for the horse he comes. The tips of his horns are sawed and encased in leather, but the strength behind that massive neck is capable of crushing in the horse's ribs as easily as one breaks a biscuit. But before the bull can reach the horse, he and his rider are at a safe distance.

After them comes the bull with lumbering strides while the horse as playful as a kitten keeps at a safe distance.

Now the toreador takes a bright-colored lance, and maneuvering his well-trained steed, plants it adroitly in the bull's neck, breaking off the lance near the end, and leaving a number of gay-colored ribbons streaming from the bull's shoulder. The spectators go into a frenzy of delight.

Bull Rage

The bull, the picture of hate and rage, really has something to be mad about now, and he redoubles his assaults. Then another lance breaks off in his neck as before. He is more cautious now. He paws the earth, throwing up the sand and bellows his challenge.

To encourage him to come up the rider keeps but a short distance away. Then suddenly the rider turns, while the audience holds its breath. The bull apparently has him trapped, and sure of himself the bull comes charging down. Let him once but catch horse and rider between himself and the fence and he'll crush them to bits. own he comes, but when it appears that horse and rider cannot escape, at that instant, ever the horse rears and leaps forward the bull having missed him by less than an inch. At that same instant, also, the cavalier, arising in his stirrups turns gracefully backwards and plants another lance in the bull's neck to the frantic delight of the spectators.

Oh Boi! Oh Boi!

The bull is now less eager, and the rider calls him to come on "Oh Boi! Oh Boi!" Again he comes on; again he is given what seems to be the same opportunity to crush horse and rider; again he misses as narrowly, and again he receives a lance in his neck; a mass of ribbons streaming from his shoulders.

When the lances have all been planted in his neck, six, I think, another bugle call. The toreador retires and the matador on foot enters. The latter has a red cloth extended but no sword as in the Spanish arena for the bull is not to be killed. The bull now charges down on the matador, or rather the red cloth in his hand, while the matador sidesteps him nimbly.

Matador Trampled

But the ground is uneven from the horse's hoofs, and the matador goes down, the bull trampling him, while he tries to avoid the horns by lying flat. Attendants attract the animal's attention, and he leaves the prostrate man. The matador arises; again the bull dashes for him; once more he slips, and the bull tosses him in the air. Luckily for the matador the bull is too exhausted to do him much damage, and when the attention of the animal is again diverted he limps off, the blood gushing from his nose.

Teasing

After this, six sturdy men, in bright clothes, knee breeches and green caps, enter. They tease the now fatigued bull, which rushes in among them, knocks some of them over, during which time others try to ride him, or leap over his horns. They pull his tail while the spectators guffaw. Soon after, at another bugle call, the gates are thrown, and a number of sad-eyed oxen with bells, come in pell-mell; the attendants withdraw and the bull, now breathing heavily, joins the herd, looking back on his late tormentors and seeming to wonder what it was all about.

Five Bulls

Five bulls, one after the other are brought in for the rest of the evening's entertainment when much the same as the first takes place with interesting variations, of course. The sixth bull, however, has the best luck. He is in only ten minutes when the time is up. The stern-jawed mulatto president sitting on high with his guard of honor, gives the signal that the fight is over, and the bull is withdrawn with only two darts in his shoulder.

There are, of course, many details of the fight that I have missed. I was too excited to note them down, but what I shall never forget are the horses as they stood, the very picture of alertness and expectancy, awaiting the entrance of the bull.

PILLAR TO POST

African Emigrant's Experiences

(From a West African Correspondent.)

A few weeks ago a little community in Nigeria gave a series of farewell gatherings in honour of a young African, who in the language of some of the Western States across the Atlantic, would be described as "favourite son." He is Mr. E. S. Ajayi. For over sixteen years he was tutor at the local grammar school and, as he rose, passed every prescribed examination. In addition, he played a leading part in local life. He was honorary organising secretary of the farmers' association, a member of the Native Administration Advisory and Assessment Committees, a keen worker in the Boy Scout movement, in which he was an assistant scoutmaster, and one of the leaders of the Church Young Men's League. In short, he was and is just the type of man whom most communities and British African communities no least, delight to honour.

Some months ago he resolved to enter himself as a student at the well-known Hampton Institute, Virginia, to try to win the B.Sc. degree there, and then apply himself to scientific agriculture in his own part of Nigeria. His African neighbours entertained him, gave him laudatory addresses, and united in presenting him with a purse.

Mr. Ajayi had made, as he fondly hoped, every necessary preparation for his journey. He did not book for the United States direct, finding it cost less to go to Virginia via England. He obtained a medical certificate of good health; he got the U.S.A. consular visa at Lagos, and in due course he reached Plymouth and made for Southampton en route for Virginia. He found, however, that a man can be too prompt. He had taken his consular visa so well in advance at Lagos that its currency had expired a few hours before he reached Southampton. He was therefore sent back from there to London, which he now saw for the first time in his life, and where he might have fared ill indeed but that he came under the kindly, disinterested notice of the Y.M.C.A. immigration officer. He had to undergo medical examination afresh, and this time he was told that the condition of his eyes was such that he could not enter the United States.

It was a little hard to have the dream of years thus shattered; but the average African is a hopeful person, and Mr. Ajayi and his new-found friend approached the Colonial Office and the Home Office to see if something not be saved from the wreck. Mr. was prepared to reshape his life and study scientific agriculture in this country. But he found himself in the toils of the passport system. His passport, issued at Lagos, permitted him only to pass through this country on his way to Virginia, and all that the aliens branch at the Home Office could do for him was to tell him that the American Consul General had decided he could not be admitted to America. (It is curious to note the use of the word "America" in an official letter in which, presumably, "United States" was meant.) The letter went on: "In these circumstances you should arrange to leave the United Kingdom for Nigeria or some other destination at an early opportunity, in accordance with the further endorsement which has now been placed on your passport." This condition reads as follows:—"The condition under which holder was allowed to land at Liverpool on the 22nd August, 1932, is hereby varied, to require him to leave the United Kingdom at the earliest opportunity."

Mr. Ajayi might possibly have fared a little better at the hands of the Home Office had he been a resident of the official colony of Nigeria, but he finds that he is no more than "a British protected person, native of the Protectorate of Nigeria," and thus, in this particular matter, an alien.

Now, perhaps a little bewildered in face of all that has happened to him, Mr. Ajayi has gone back to Nigeria. It was nearly his crowning piece of ill-luck that the outgoing mail liner, the first for many months, was overbooked, but this particular difficulty was disposed of.

Mr. Ajayi made one reference to the letter of the Home Office, and such is the boyish geniality of the average African that even now I am not quite sure if he was speaking with conscious irony:

If the Americans [like the Home Office letter-writer, he confuses America with the United States] will not have me, and the British (with whose nationality I have been labelled) will not allow me to remain in their country because I was booked for Virginia from home, I should not be surprised if the French or the Germans were to throw me overboard if I made one of their countries my destination, on the lines of the letter from the Home Office.

But Mr. Ajayi does not intend to undergo the anticlimax of return to his own area in Nigeria. He means to try to arrange matters as to be able to study agriculture in England. Most English people who learn of his experiences will wish him better luck than has fallen to him in the last few weeks.

The case has evoked a good deal of comment, both British and African, in Nigeria. Generally, the view is held that it is pedantry for any of our Downing Street Departments to argue or act as if the authority wielded on behalf of the King in the protectorates differs in kind or scope from that exercised in the colony of which each protectorate forms a geographical extension. In particular it is asked, What is the position of a member of the Legislative Council appointed to that body as representing the protectorate? If such a Legislative Councillor is not a British subject, but only a British protected person, is he ineligible to make laws which British subjects must observe?

Race Prejudice 1932

Europe.

N. Y. EVENING POST

AUG 6 1932

CANDACE COFFEE HONORS DEPUTY

Paris Cafes Pay Tribute to Negro Undersecretary of Colonies

REPRESENTS GUADELOUPE

By RAYMOND G. CARROLL
Evening Post Foreign Service

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PARIS, Aug. 6.—In the various cafes of the Palais Bourbon neighborhood patrons at the zinc are heard to demand: "Cafe Candace." Instantly they are supplied with a small cup of black coffee.

Why "Candace"? Is it a kind of coffee, like Java or Mocha? The inquiry made brought this response from a genial bistrot:

"You see, we have only been serving 'Cafe Candace' since the Herriot Ministry came into power. Among the undersecretaries is Deputy Gratien Candace, who represents Guadeloupe in the Chamber and who is as black as the ace of spades. He is Undersecretary for the Ministry of Colonies, and M. Herriot placed him there as a recognition of what the 'black man' was to France during the war—namely, a brave and loyal citizen who shed his blood with that of the white Frenchman."

The bistrot then told of a Negro of distinguished appearance, boasting glasses and a well-trimmed beard, entering his place and asking for a Cafe Candace. When he finished and was tucking his change away in his leather purse he said: "I am Candace, the same Candace my colleagues of the Chamber have honored whenever they demand black coffee."

M. Candace was born in Bailif, the island of Guadeloupe, in 1873. He rose to importance from a ragged little pickaninny who slept in boxes and under cellar doorways. He was a professor when he was first elected to the Chamber in 1912, and he was re-elected in 1914, serving throughout the war and continuously since then.

The French Under-secretary of Colonies has one deadly fear. It is that by some caprice the Government of France might decide to offer Guadeloupe along with Martinique to the United States in part payment of the war debt.

He cites the Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico and the Philippines as examples of what would happen to Guadeloupe if it belonged to America.

"My grandchildren would be waiting for the right to send representatives to the American Congress," he said. "And already Guadeloupe has one Senator and two Deputies in the French Parliament. The vote against such a proposition as transfer to America would be unanimous in my island."

Pickens Says We Need a Representative at Geneva

Should Keep Race's Interests in Minds of Powerful International Committees. Says He Almost Laughed Aloud at Some of Geneva Conference Twaddle.

Afro-American

By WILLIAM PICKENS
(for the Associated Negro Press)

We need a representative at Geneva. That is what ought to be, in the opinion of one of the most experienced workers and negotiators here. He said:

Baltimore Md 8/6/32

"Why don't the American Negroes maintain a representative here, to watch these resolutions, to keep their press informed, and to keep their race's interest in the minds of these powerful international committees?

"Such a worker would be unofficial, but the greater number of people here are working unofficially—not as government appointees, but as agents of social and economic and racial organizations of every kind—except the Negro racial interests. If it costs you five or ten thousand dollars a year, it would be one of the best investments your race ever made. Tactful and shrewd workers, unofficial, are helping to shape everything that is being shaped here.

White Women Represented

"The white women are among the most powerful agencies, because they have their organizations' agents here. A Negro representative of some well-organized group could help to shape everything that is to affect the Negro race or Africa.

"Such work would have more influence in the United States than if done in the U.S. They can ignore you over there, but they would have to consider you if you worked from this international layout in Geneva."

So spoke a white man, Anglo-Saxon, who knows what is going on at Geneva.

I went one afternoon to the Glass House, and among the correspondents I observed some of the workings of the Disarmament Conference and its "commissions," especially the commission on education (and morals), and the air commission.

I have a press card which opens everything to one, to the high seats of the privileged "correspondents."

Almost Laughed Aloud

I almost laughed aloud several times while listening to some of the twaddle of that "air" commission. "Air" is right: hot air at that. Mostly they were debating, not about whether to kill people, but what word or phrase to use in the resolution,—or when to consider the preface:

"I move that the word 'supervisory' be substituted for the word 'international' in that latter clause"; or "committee suggests that the preface be considered last."

Then, to cap the climax, after they have juggled words for an hour or more, some fellow, perhaps French or English (both of whom are full of tricks and coups), rises and knocks down the whole card-house by announcing: "just learned that this question has been referred to a committee of experts, therefore nothing can be decided unil we receive their report."

Then everything starts all over again—on some other phrases: you talk a while, then I talk a while; then I talk a while; and you talk a while; and, as Sydney Strong says, the listener learns more and more and more about less and less and less.

Japs on Job

But, I will tell you who are on the job there: English, French and Japanese. In the air discussion there were eight Japanese, seated two abreast at their desks, from the time the commission began until it closed, watching every move, missing nothing, expressing themselves when necessary, and only when necessary—wide awake, efficient-looking fellows.

None of the other delegates, not even the almighty English and French, were so punctual or represented at this session by so solid and immovable a phalanx as this delegation.

In the education commission, the only clear and understandable words and suggestions were made by the woman member, Miss Woolley, of U.S.A.

She read a statement from the American Secretary of the Interior, suggesting ways of distributing the educational material on the armaments question, through his department in America; and the Secretary of the Interior confided something in that statement which colored Americans ought to note: that while his department has no direct control over education in the states it can have enormous influence, and that matter sent out by the national government would be effectively distributed.

There now! When colored citizens appeal for help in U.S.A., they are told how "powerless" and "helpless" the national government is. Verily is our central government not only more "powerful" abroad, but also more frank and honest.

The Negroes of the world ought to take their place in affairs at Geneva.

WHITE MADONNA TURNED BLACK

Afro-American

N. SAN DIEGO, Cal.—A Madonna which turned black and caused the conversion of thousands of Moors to the Catholic faith, sits in Ramona's Marriage Place, here.

The existence of this black Madonna in America was called to the attention of the AFRO-AMERICAN by a white reader several weeks ago after he had read the story of J. A. Rogers on black Madonnas in Europe. Investigation made by this paper revealed the authenticity of the existence of the Madonna.

Gives History

According to Thomas R. Getz, director of Ramona's Marriage Place, a shrine in this city, the black Madonna came into his possession some 30 years ago. According to historical data accompanying it was originally possessed by St. Luke, and was discovered by St. Paul at the Monastery on Mt. Seratt in Spain.

After a lapse of time it was taken to Mexico and from there brought here.

Turned Black

When the Monks attempted to convert the Moors to Christianity, it is said, these dark skinned people refused to worship a church statue which was white, and the Monks had all but despaired of gaining them as converts. When they were about to leave, the Blessed Virgin appeared and told them to stay. They returned and found that the statue had miraculously turned black.

According to this version, thousands of Moors were converted to the Christian faith as a result. According to Rogers, there are several black Madonnas scattered throughout Europe.

New Russia's Liberality Toward Negroes Is Graphically Described

Phenomenal Rise of Rejuvenated Russia Is Modern Miracle—Formula For Success Is Equal Opportunities For All.

MOSCOW, U. S. S. R., Aug. 11—(By Loren Miller for the ANP)—Burdened as they are with restrictions imposed on them as a minority group, American Negroes are taking more than passing interest in Russia's solution of the minorities problem within her boundaries. The success that has crowned Russia's efforts in that field was emphasized vividly at the recent Moscow celebration of the tenth anniversary of the constitution, at which members of the Negro film group, now here were guests.

Speakers on this occasion were representatives of various of the more than 100 nationalities embraced in this nation that occupies one-si of the area of the globe. Each offered enthusiastic praise for the manner in which the minorities problem has been solved and recited the immense advances made by his own people in the new order.

Perhaps few Negroes realize that Russia is inhabited by a wide variety of races and nations, ranging from fair-haired, blue men to dark Tartars and Mongols. It is interesting to note in this connection that there is even a nation of Negroes in Russia, supposed to be descendants of African soldiers once brought here. Under the old czaristic regime, these minorities suffered all sorts of discriminations. They were exploited in every possible manner, kept illiterate, denied participation in government and condemned to an inferior status strangely reminiscent of the position occupied by Negroes in the Black Belts.

Old Russia also had its lynching bees. They were called pogroms and were directed with special venom at Jews. Only American "race riots" could compare with them in ferocity and wholesale murder. Today all traces of discrimination are disappearing. Problems once thought as insoluble as America's Negro problem have disappeared in the short space of 15 years.

The U. S. R. R. has achieved this feat by simply applying the doctrine of self-determination, the formula to which Wilson gave such valiant lip service only a few years ago. Minorities within this nation have the right of self-determination without reservation. The constitution even goes far enough to guarantee the right of any group to secede from the Soviet Union whenever it sees fit. Not one of them seeks to withdraw. Quite to the contrary, the nation is unified in thought and action as never before. The advantages gained from their association together kills any separatist tendencies in minority groups. Speaker after speaker at the Moscow celebration pointed out that the new order prevents any exploitation on racial or national lines. Speakers explained that the success obtained in abolition of such exploitation after centuries of bloody failures by the czars is due to the new economic order brought into being by the 1917 revolution. The new planned economy has no place for exploitation of man by man and hence removes the basis for national or racial exploitation, they said. Certainly the facts are that one-time oppressed minorities are now full-time partners in the rapidly emerging state. No longer are Jews and others barred from holding offices or discriminated against in public or private services. All inferiority stigmas have been removed.

No amount of railing at Russia will remove the fact that this nation has solved the one problem that is paramount in the minds of millions of American Negroes, as a Russian remarked to me. The U. S. S. R. has shown the way to the rest of the world in the abolition of unemployment and raising the status of the worker. Its solution of the race problem is no whit less important to Negroes.

ROGERS TAKES GUIDE READERS ON INTERESTING 'TOUR' OF WORLD'S UNUSUAL PLACES; NOW IN FRANCE

French Transfer Station Named "Negro-Woman"—Says Ancestor Of Basques Were Colored

By J. A. ROGERS

Guide's Foreign Correspondent

Biarritz, near the Spanish border is the most aristocratic of the bathing beaches of Europe. The rich flock there in the summer months from all parts of Europe, North and South America, and the entertainers, musicians, tradesmen and other migrate with them. Several of the largest deluxe dressmakers and jewellers of Paris have branches here that are open in the summer.

J. A. ROGERS

As may be imagined it is a fine, clean, resort wonderfully kept with beautiful promenades and bathing beaches. Built on a hill it has a remarkable sea-view almost equalling that of the French Riviera.

The Blooming Sea

Immense, fantastically shaped rocks, high out of the water, lay a little distance out. One of these rocks is spanned by a bridge. The tide comes in with terrific force and may be heard booming far away as it sweeps into the caverns it has undermined in the rocks.

To reach Biarritz from Bordeaux is a four hour ride through a region called the Landes. For the greater part of the journey one passes through turpentine plantations, minus the Negro peons.

Bairritz is off the main line and to reach it one must get off at a station called La Negresse (The Negro Woman). I am curious to learn just why that name but no one seems to know. In any case it serves as a reminder for the many Americans who must change there.

Ducks Army of Porters

Changing at this station for a coach of one compartment I note that I am the only stranger. When I arrive with grip in hand I am met with a delegation of porters, in gold-braided uniforms, from the de luxe hotels who are eager to take me in charge but I manage to duck my way out.

I decide to do my own scouting for room and board, and ask the attendant in the check-room to recommend me to a place. His friend has a little hotel and he is only too happy to send me there. He adds: "Real Basque cooking. You won't get any better in the big hotels and not dear."

Some 50c Dinner,

In this hotel, very clean, with waxed floors, I get a room with hot and cold running water for 60 cents. For dinner I had sup, fish, bread, a pint of wine, beef pot roast, asparagus and when I thought all was over, except the dessert, came a delicious half-chicken baked, string beans, three kinds of cheese, fruit, and a pleasing Basque maid to wait on me.

The price Fifty cents. Yet Biarritz is a very dear place for the tourist.

All of this part of France and adjoining parts of Spain is the country of the Basques. Who are the Basques? That is the puzzle of the anthropogists? Some say that they are the descendants of the Hittites; others that they are descended from the ancient Egyptians who once settled all this region; while one or two scientists say that they came from the ancient Iberians who lived here 2,000 or more years ago.

Negro Ancestors

It happents that the ancient Iberians were Negroes, as their remains in the British Museum and elsewhere show. In any case Basques are dark-skinned. Blonds are as rare among them as among Chinese or Indians. Many of them have quite Negroid foces, and look like fair mulattoes of the United States.

The Basques, who are very proud, strongly disclaim both French and Spanish connections. They insist that while the French and Spaniards of this region mixed with the Moors, they remained a "pure" race, "the purest on the continent."

They have a language of their own which bears no resemblance ton any other in Europe. It may have been the ancient Iberian language, used by Negroes ages ago. One fact is certain—so far as archaeology is certain—the earlist known inhabitants of this regions were what are called Negroes today.

Playground of The Rich

The Basque caps are as plentiful as fezzes in Egypt, Biarritz is hardly Basque. It is the playground of the rich of all nations. In May when I was there. it was too early and the Casino, hotels, beaches, etc. were deserted save for a stray English tourist or two window-shopping

Biarritz, together with Hendaye, and other smaller resorts are the last stronghold of the colored American entertainers in Europe, and a considerable number of them migrate here during the season.

Race Problem - 1932
Foreign (10-2-36)

Unions, Strikes, etc.

Behind the Scenes of Second International

By MARCEL CACHIN

PARIS.—The delegates to the session of the Executive Committee of the Second (Labor and Socialist) International, which took place on the 19th and 20th May, 1932, in Zurich, adopted a "left-wing" resolution in favor of "solidarity with the Soviet Union in case of an attack."

It is interesting to note that the "leftwing" abstained from voting for the resolution while the supporters of the extreme right who have always fought against the Soviet Union with the utmost bitterness did support the resolution. Under the circumstances a report of the discussion which preceded the adoption of the resolution would have been of great importance. However, neither, the explanation of Jean of the French Socialists, nor the "Vorwarts," organ of the German Socialists, published a word of what was said in the discussion.

The "left wing" played a subordinate part in the discussion only. Three of its speakers took the floor headed by Otto Bauer. Friedrich Adler, the Secretary of the Executive Committee, did not take part in the discussion at all. On the other hand, a baker's dozen of the representatives of the extreme right spoke in the discussion.

THE DISCUSSION.

The situation before the session was that imperialist Japan had invaded Manchuria and was threatening the Soviet Union. The question to be decided was, what must the Second International do under these circumstances? The following characteristic extracts from the speeches of the righ wing representatives throws an important light on the spirit in which the resolution was adopted:

(Vandervelde (Belgium): It is not yet certain that Japan intends to attack Soviet Russia. It is of great importance that the Second International should not forget its traditional attitude towards Soviet Russia. We must also not forget that at our congresses in Marseilles and Brussels we declared that the Soviets themselves represent a danger of war, that they are inciting to war, that they want war.

The Rusian Menshevik Dan: We are faced with two imperialist countries—Japanese and Bolshevist imperialism. We want to have nothing to do either with the one or the other.

Renaudel (France): Russia is conducting a policy of expansion which is threatening Asia. It is conducting an imperialist policy. We can not make any distinction between the dictatorship of the Soviets and the dictatorship of Mussolini. Let the Soviet Union appeal to the League of Nations for the appointment of a court of arbitration. There is no higher court of appeal than the League of Nations. And for the rest, Soviet Russia is almost as much to blame at Japanese militarism.

Gillies (Great Britain): For thirteen years there has been talk of the threat to Russia. That slogan won't work any more. We must have confidence in the League of Nations which will settle the conflict.

The Russian Menshevik Abramovich: We must under no circumstances make common cause with the Bolshevists. After the completion of the Five Year Plan Stalin might very well get the idea of waging war in the Far East.

Liebermann (Poland): I must admit that up to the present I have believed in the neutrality of Poland in case of war, but now I don't dare to support this view any longer. However, this does not mean at all that if Soviet Russia is attacked we must support it unconditionally.

Hilferding (Germany): I am no supporter of a Japanese victory and a defeat of Soviet Russia. On the other hand I am not in favor of the opposite contingency. A victory of the Soviets over Japan would be just as destructive for European democracy and would probably result in the setting up of the proletarian dictatorship to the banks of the Rhine.

Soukup (France): Japan is not waging war against the revolution, but against Russia which might just as well be Tzarist.

The Austrian Delegate, Otto Bauer, spoke on behalf of the "left-wing" and declared that the Soviet Union must be defended unconditionally. The delegate of the I.L.P., Brockway, spoke in the same spirit. The Swiss delegate Grimm made the following important statement: The moral defeat of the League of Nations is so decisive that we should make ourselves ridiculous if we applied to it for assistance now. If the proletariat ever finds itself in this dilemma then its overwhelming majority will support Soviet Russia with its whole heart. In any case, the working class would prefer to be a hundred times more unfortunate together with Soviet Russia than to tolerate the capitalist system any longer.

* * *

AFTER this the three "left wingers" decided not to vote for the resolution at all, and **this resolution in which the Second International expresses itself in favor of "Solidarity with the Soviet Union" was thus adopted exclusively by Renaudel, Hilferding, Dan and the others who had immediately previously once again expressed their hatred and loathing for the Soviet Union.** All the delegates voted in favor of the resolution with the exception of four who withheld their votes.

"I cannot vote in favor of the resolution," declared Fenner Brockway, "on account of the speech made by Renaudel in moving it." Otto Bauer explained his attitude in much the same way, whilst the Swiss delegate Grimm declared: "I cannot vote in favor of the resolution, for if I sided with Renaudel and Hilferding I would endanger the unity of my party." Fritz Adler took the floor on a formal point of order only.

WHY NOTES WERE PUBLISHED.

In view of the fact that the organs of the various socialist parties have published no reports of this interesting discussion we have been compelled to use the "notes" of Renaudel himself who publishes them in his organ "La Vie Socialiste". But why does Renaudel break the dead silence maintained by his colleagues on the point? He answers this question himself when he declares that "the resolution becomes more valuable when the details of its adoption are known."

Renaudel is aiming at two things with his publication of the main trend of the discussion. On the one hand he wishes to reassure the right wing and the bourgeoisie concerning the resolution. The publication of the utterances of the supporters of the resolution prior to its adoption puts the matter in its proper light. The discussion shows clearly that the social democratic leaders have not altered their attitude towards the Soviet Union in the least and that they intend to continue their bitter struggle against the social revolution which is being carried out in the Soviet Union. Renaudel wished to prove that the international social democracy fully maintains its old attitude towards "Soviet Imperialism" and that the bourgeoisie has no cause to worry.

* * *

THe second reason is indicated in the remarks of the Swiss delegate Grimm concerning the attitude of the working masses towards the Soviet Union. It was a warning to the session not to forget that "the overwhelming majority" not only of the Communist, but also the social democratic workers "will wholeheartedly support Soviet Russia". This situation had to be taken into consideration in formulating the resolution. It was not possible to affront the working class openly. The open crimes of Japanese imperialism made this still more impossible, for the unprovoked attack on Shanghai and Manchuria and the threat to the Soviet Union were so obvious that a terrific scandal would have resulted from an attempt to conceal these crimes completely. For these reasons the famous resolution was adopted as an alibi by the leaders of the extreme right wing of the Second International.

On the eve of the International Congress Against War these revelations made by Renaudel showed the real attitude of the leaders of the Second International. However, the social democratic workers present at the Congress declared without beating about the bush, that it is necessary to fight for peace and defend the Soviet Union without the reservations, the excuses and the hypocrisy of the leaders of the Second International

SMITH NAMED CONSULTANT IN RUSSIAN P.O.

By LOREN MILLER

MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.—Part of the hopes of the U.S.S.R. to build the most efficient postal system in the world rest in Homer Smith, 32-year old ex-postal clark of Minneapolis, who has been engaged as consultant on rationalization by the Soviet communications department. He is now attached to the central post office in Moscow.

Smith is one the 22 colored American who came here to assist in the filming of "Black and White," a contemplated Meschrabpom film which has been postponed until next spring. Prior to coming here he had been in communication with the postal authorities and on the postponement of the picture was hired at once. He is the only American specialist working in the postal department. The fact that he is a Negro was not taken into consideration by the Soviet Union as the color line does not obtain here.

Under the old regime, Russia's postal communications were in a chaotic state. The Soviet state has long been desirous of introducing a modern system but the pressure of industrial construction has been so great that as late as 1931 the postal system was the same as that of 100 years ago. The necessity for modernization has become pressing because of the tremendous increase in volume of mail due to the rapid reduction of illiteracy since the revolution.

It is planned to improve the system to a peak of virtual perfection during the Second Five Year Plan which will end in 1937 and for that reason Smith was chosen. He is now attached to the Moscow office and every effort will be made to make Moscow a model city. Other sections of the Union will then copy the Moscow model.

The obstacles ahead of the postal improvements are great due to the fact that many of the smaller nationalities had virtually no post before the coming of the Soviets and some of them had no written language. Interviewed by an AFRO-AMERICAN representative, Smith asserted that he believed that in time the Soviet Union would accomplish its objective of the best system in the world.

"The new system will be modeled some[illegible] on the American one," Smith said, "but there is every reason to believe that the U.S.S.R. will surpass the efficiency of America in the post. America suffers from the fact the trains, buses, airplanes are privately owned and that the government must conduct negotiations with them. Here the government owns all such means of communication and the chances for correlated efficiency are much greater."

Smith said that many American methods will be introduced. plans to recommend such changes as will make the system adaptable to the peculiar conditions that obtain in Russia. He is a graduate of Minnesota University

studied journalism and was employed in the post office of his city for more than ten years. Smith was in charge of special delivery service there. His contract with the Soviet government continues for one year with the option of renewal and carries a high salary with a room furnished here. He will be shifted to other cities as fast as those places are ready for his services.

Labor—1932

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The Russian Menshevik Abramovich: We must under no circumstances make common cause with the Bolshevists. After the completion of the Five Year Plan Stalin might very well get the idea of waging war in the Far East.

Liebermann (Poland): I must admit that up to the present I have believed in the neutrality of Poland in case of war, but now I don't dare to support this view any longer. However, this does not mean at all that if Soviet Russia is attacked we must support it unconditionally.

Hilferding (Germany): I am no supporter of a Japanese victory and a defeat of Soviet Russia. On the other hand I am not in favor of the opposite contingency. A victory of the Soviets over Japan would be just as destructive for European democracy and would probably result in the setting up of the proletarian dictatorship to the banks of the Rhine.

Scunkup (France): Japan is not waging war against the revolution, but against Russia which might just as well be Tzarist.

The Austrian Delegate, Otto Bauer, spoke on behalf of the "left-wing" and declared that the Soviet Union must be defended unconditionally. The delegate of the I.L.P., Brockway, spoke in the same spirit. The Swiss delegate Grimm made the following important statement: The moral defeat of the League of Nations is so decisive that we should make ourselves ridiculous if we applied to it for assistance now. If the proletariat ever finds itself in this dilemma then its overwhelming majority will support Soviet Russia with its whole heart. In any case, the working class would prefer to be a hundred times more unfortunate together with Soviet Russia than to tolerate the capitalist system any longer.

* * *

AFTER this the three "left wingers" decided not to vote for the resolution at all, and **this resolution in which the Second International expresses itself in favor of "Solidarity with the Soviet Union" was thus adopted exclusively by Renaudel, Hilferding, Dan and the others who had immediately previously once again expressed their hatred and loathing for the Soviet Union.** All the delegates voted in favor of the resolution with the exception of four who withheld their votes.

"I cannot vote in favor of the resolution," declared Fenner Brockway, "on account of the speech made by Renaudel in moving it." Otto Bauer explained his attitude in much the same way, whilst the Swiss delegate Grimm declared: "I cannot vote in favor of the resolution, for if I sided with Renaudel and Hilferding I would endanger the unity of my party." Fritz Adler took the floor on a formal point of order only.

WHY NOTES WERE PUBLISHED.

In view of the fact that the organs of the various socialist parties have published no reports of this interesting discussion we have been compelled to use the "notes" of Renaudel himself who publishes them in his organ "La Vie Socialiste". But why does Renaudel break the dead silence maintained by his colleagues on the point? He answers this question himself when he declares that "the resolution becomes more valuable when the details of its adoption are known."

Renaudel is aiming at two things with his publication of the main trend of the discussion. On the one hand he wishes to reassure the right wing and the bourgeoisie concerning the resolution. The publication of the utterances of the supporters of the resolution prior to its adoption puts the matter in its proper light. The discussion shows clearly that the social democratic leaders have not altered their attitude towards the Soviet Union in the least and that they intend to continue their bitter struggle against the social revolution which is being carried out in the Soviet Union. Renaudel wished to prove that the international social democracy fully maintains its old attitude towards "Soviet Imperialism" and that the bourgeoisie has no cause to worry.

* * *

THe second reason is indicated in the remarks of the Swiss delegate Grimm concerning the attitude of the working masses towards the Soviet Union. It was a warning to the session not to forget that "the overwhelming majority" not only of the Communist, but also the social democratic workers "will wholeheartedly support Soviet Russia". This situation had to be taken into consideration in formulating the resolution. It was not possible to affront the working class openly. The open crimes of Japanese imperialism made this still more impossible, for the unprovoked attack on Shanghai and Manchuria and the threat to the Soviet Union were so obvious that a terrific scandal would have resulted from an attempt to conceal these crimes completely. For these reasons the famous resolution was adopted as an alibi by the leaders of the extreme right wing of the Second International.

On the eve of the International Congress Against War these revelations made by Renaudel showed the real attitude of the leaders of the Second International. However, the social democratic workers present at the Congress declared without beating about the bush, that it is necessary to fight for peace and defend the Soviet Union without the reservations, the excuses and the hypocrisy of the leaders of the Second International

SMITH NAMED CONSULTANT IN RUSSIAN P.O.

By LOREN MILLER

MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.—Part of the hopes of the U.S.S.R. to build the most efficient postal system in the world rest in Homer Smith, 32-year old ex-postal clark of Minneapolis, who has been engaged as consultant on rationalization by the Soviet communications department. He is now attached to the central post office in Moscow.

Smith is one the 22 colored American who came here to assist in the filming of "Black and White," a contemplated Meschrabpom film which has been postponed until next spring. Prior to coming here he had been in communication with the postal authorities and on the postponement of the picture was hired at once. He is the only American specialist working in the postal department. The fact that he is a Negro was not taken into consideration by the Soviet Union as the color line does not obtain here.

Under the old regime, Russia's postal communications were in a chaotic state. The Soviet state has long been desirous of introducing a modern system but the pressure of industrial construction has been so great that as late as 1931 the postal system was the same as that of 100 years ago. The necessity for modernization has become pressing because of the tremendous increase in volume of mail due to the rapid reduction of illiteracy since the revolution.

It is planned to improve the system to a peak of virtual perfection during the Second Five Year Plan which will end in 1937 and for that reason Smith was chosen. He is now attached to the Moscow office and every effort will be made to make Moscow a model city. Other sections of the Union will then copy the Moscow model.

The obstacles ahead of the postal improvements are great due to the fact that many of the smaller nationalities had virtually no post before the coming of the Soviets and some of them had no written language. Interviewed by an AFRO-AMERICAN representative, Smith asserted that he believed that in time the Soviet Union would accomplish its objective of the best system in the world.

"The new system will be modeled somewhat on the American one," Smith said, "but there is every reason to believe that the U.S.S.R. will surpass the efficiency of America in the post. America suffers from the fact the trains, buses, airplanes are privately owned and that the government must conduct ne-

gotiations with them.

Here the studied journalism and was employed in the post office of his city government continues for one communication and the chances for rene al for more than ten years. Smith correlated efficiency are much was in charge of special delivery service there. His contract with the methods will be introduced. He year with the option of plans to recommend such changes and carries a high salary with as will make the system adaptable room furnished here. He will be to the peculiar conditions that ob- shifted to other cities as fast as tain in Russia. He is a graduate those places are ready for his ser- of Minnesota University where he vices.

Race Problems 1932

Unions, Strikes, etc.

INTERNATIONAL NEWSREEL PHOTO

SOVIET INSTRUCTOR—Lovett Fort-Whiteman, former Chicagoan, not only numbers the children of Russian citizens among his pupils, but also teaches American and English children who reside in Moscow, Russia. He is shown at the blackboard in his classroom at Moscow university. Whiteman was born in Texas, and is one of the most brilliant soviet propaganda agents. He was located in Chicago for many years.

AMERICAN
ABERDEEN, S. D.

FEB 28 1932

WHEN FORCE IS FOOLISH

The current issue of The Nation tells how East St. Louis, Ill., received a good lesson in Americanism recently.

It appears that this particular city placed a severe ban on all radical moves, permitted no communistic or similar meetings on street corners or otherwise and, as a crowning act, last December 11, the city's police force raided a private residence suspected of harboring radicals, confiscated papers and arrested sixteen persons—four Negro men, five Negro women and seven white men—suspected of holding a Communistic meeting.

The raid called forth the following editorial from the St. Louis Post Dispatch:

A raid by a squad of East St. Louis police last Friday evening on a residence where a meeting of alleged Communists was being held suggests the following points:

1. It shattered the First Amendment to the Constitution, guaranteeing citizens the right peaceably to assemble.

2. Conducted without a search warrant, it violated the Fourth Amendment, guaranteeing the right of citizens to be secure in their homes against unreasonable searches and seizures.

3. It was brutally conducted. The police rushed into the house firing off tear-gas shells as if they had come upon a nest of dangerous criminals.

4. It was terribly bungled. One police officer was struck in the face with a wad from a shotgun and, with two others, suffered the gas. Another fell dead, presumably from heart disease.

Being unlawful, stupid, and tragic, the raid runs the entire gamut. It sets a record.

In the justice-court trial which followed the raid, the defendants were charged with vagrancy. Justice of the Peace J. C. Brady sentenced N. P. Logue, one of the defendants, to sixty days in jail on a charge of vagrancy, in spite of Logue's testimony that he had been a resident of East St. Louis for thirty-four years, that he had worked as a steamfitter since 1920, that he was a union member, and that he was employed both at the time of the raid and the day before the trial. Three defendants accepted pleas of guilty and were sentenced to six months in jail, but their sentences were stayed on their promises to stay away from Communist meetings. The cases against other defendants were continued and later dismissed.

During Logue's trial one Morris Charney was arrested on chages of inciting to riot. The officer who dragged him from the courtroom reported that he had overheard Charney make a derogatory comment on the proceeding. Bond was set at $5,000, in default of which Charney was kept in jail.

Attorney Wolf, of the St. Louis Civil Liberties Committee, representing Logue and Charney, asked for writs of habeas corpus. As a result of this action, the climax came on January 8, in circuit court at Belleville, Illinois, when Circuit Judge Henry G. Miller granted the writs of habeas corpus and spoke as follows:

The arrest of these men (declared the judge) comprises the most dastardly act ever perpetrated by the East St. Louis police department. I happened to be on the streets of East St. Louis at the time of the Logue trial. I noticed that the police department had every man they could summon in the middle of Main Street in front of the court where the trial was being held. They were armed with every type of weapon that they had at their disposal, acting as if the world was about to be plunged into a riot.

With Justice Brandeis of the Supreme Court I say that we Americans have more to fear from lawless acts of law officers than from others who may be planning cursory acts with the purpose of executing them.

Such action on the part of the East St. Louis police department makes this a time for strong language. The arrest of these men was contradictory to the traditions of the American Constitution. I know of no occasion when police may invade a home to get they know not whom, guessing at the reason for which they will make the arrest. It is conceded that there were no warrants on which to make the raid.

The surest way to spread propaganda and to enlist sympathy for any doubtful cause is to attempt to suppress it—to choke it into silence—or to arrest and persecute its promoters.

The world still loves a martyr and the best way to make a creed immortal is to persecute or kill its crusaders.

Moreover, our constitution guarantees freedom in action, speech and religion.

The inherent good sense and sobriety of the American public as a whole can still be relied upon to reject any and all false doctrines of its own volition, but these can never be squelched through the employment of force.

Above all, besides being utterly foolish to attempt force, it is wholly un-American.

EXTEND WELCOME TO WORKERS' DELEGATION

Two Negroes are among the American delegation of sixteen workers who will be welcomed Sunday night when they return aboard the Ss. Berlin after a six weeks' tour of the U. S. S. R. They will be greeted at Pier 42, North River, with a mass reception organized by the Friends of the Soviet Union. There will be a parade and a meeting at Starlight Park, the Bronx.

Latamore Dudley, a Ford worker, who was injured in the Dearborn demonstration on March 7, and Warren Guyton, longshoreman from Philadelphia, are the Negro members of the delegation. The group left this country on April 19 to participate in the International May Day celebration at Moscow.

James W. Ford, Red Union Official, Sees Soviet Benefiting Minorities

Amsterdam News 3-2-32
New York N.Y.

Communist Plenary Session Urged Aid for Revolutionary Workers in Orient and Africa, He Tells Unity League

Reporting on the proceedings of eighth plenary session of Central Council of the Red International of Labor Unions held recently in Moscow, James W. Ford, member of the central council of the R. I. L. U., addressed 500 delegates attending the conference of the Trade Union Unity League of Greater New York at Madison Casino Saturday. Mr. Ford's report covered the international situation and the tasks and problems of the American section of the R. I. L. U.

After outlining the economic and cultural advances of the working class in the U. S. S. R., where the 'advantages of socialist economy over the capitalist system is being proved in practice," Mr. Ford contrasted the two systems of economy. "The capitalist system," he charged, 'plans war against the Soviet Union. Japanese imperialism, acting as the spearhead of the international imperialists, is moving towards the Soviet Union.

"Only in a revolutionary way can the workers of the United States halt this movement," he said. "They can do it by stopping shipments of munitions to Japan, by support of the anti-imperialist colonial movement, through organization of the unemployment movement and the organization of the class unity of the trade unions. This can only be done on the basis of the united front of the workers in the shops and factories."

The plenary session, Ford reported, urged support by revolutionary workers in capitalist countries of the labor movements in the colonies of the Orient, Africa and Latin America. The European working class, he said, was much interested in the struggles of Negro toilers and the progress being made by the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers in Hamburg, of which Mr. Ford was formerly secretary.

Looking over the field in America, Ford observed an increasing radicalization of the Negro masses and called attention to "the need to organize the Negro workers for their vital interests and for class interests, for a fight for class solidarity between Negro and white workers, for joint effort in the impending struggles which face the American working class.

Other speakers at the conference included William Z. Foster of the Trade Union Unity League and Joseph Zack, secretary of the Greater New York T. U. U. L.

NO COLOR LINE IN SOVIET REPUBLIC; TRAVELERS ARE WELL RECEIVED BY GERMANS

By CHATWOOD HALL

R. C. Coit
7-13-32

MOSCOW, U. S. S. R. June 30—In the early forenoon of a late June day, 22 colored Americans stood on the platform of the Helsingfors station in Leningrad, Soviet Union. They had just stepped from a train into a small army of assembled, smiling, cheering Russians. A brass band blared a din of welcome into a land where there is no prejudice. Porters hustled the baggage to the station through a jostling crowd.

Kansas City Mo.

Twelve hours later, these same Americans were sitting in the dining room of the Grand hotel, one of the leading and largest hotels in the Russian capital, Moscow. More curious Russians ogled and smiled; but the ogling was not contemptuous nor were the smiles sneering. Waiters rushed choice food to the banquet table, set in the middle of a dining hall in which in former days only the elite were privileged to enter.

Kansas City Mo.

Home Nothing Like This

All of this was new, like a pleasant dream, like waking from a nightmare, like another planet to the dusky Americans. Homeland—where for generations their ancestors had been born, had toiled and fought and died—was never like this. Although they were on the same planet, it did not take these colored Americans long to realize that they were in another world, where blind, unspeakable race prejudice and class distinctions are ruthlessly hunted down and exterminated without benefit of quarter or counsel or toleration.

History records no more incredible fact than this—that a group of natives of another country actually find a greater, more sincere welcome, a greater freedom and tolerance in a far-distant land among strangers than they do among their fellow countrymen in their native land. Picture, if you can, a group of American Negroes—regardless of their culture, patriotism, or what not—dining unannoyed or unmolested in the dining room of, say the Willard hotel in Washington, D. C., or the Stevens hotel in Chicago, or the Jefferson hotel in St. Louis. A bevy of uniformed lackeys would surround, and probably insult any sepia-skinned American who crossed the portals of those establishments before he could reach the dining room.

Much Courtesy

From the moment that this group of Negroes crossed the gangplank of the steamship "Europa" in Brooklyn on June 14, an aureole of comparative freedom environed them. The straight-jacket of racial prejudice that embraces their race from the cradle to the grave loosened its stifling hold.

The German crew aboard the ship treated the voyagers with due courtesy and respect; and we were made to believe by lying propaganda, only a few years ago, that the "Huns" were brutes.

In Berlin the travelers had more freedom and privileges and deference than they could even hope for in Washington, the seat of their government; and we were told, only a few years ago, that the Germans were uncivilized and threatened to destroy civilization.

In far-away Finland, the story was quite the same. What greater paradox could there be than this—that the farther away from home that these Americans went, the greater grew their freedom of movement and less grew their friction in social intercourse?

But Russia! One need not agree with the social experiment being made in Russia, but anyone who comes to Russia with an open mind and an objective attitude must agree that it is the only country that is sincerely and earnestly attempting to destroy race and class prejudice and distinctions. Negroes visiting or living in the Soviet Union appreciate this fact greatly, due to their underprivileged economic and restricted social status in other parts of the world. When white Americans prate fulsomely about their democracy and their land of the free, at least 22 colored Americans are going to be able, from eye-opening experience in this and other lands, to look askance and to hurl the lie back into the faces of the hypocritical prevaricators.

STAR
Rockford Ill.

SEP 4 1932

RUSSIA'S CROSSROADS

Two episodes indicate a changing attitude on the part of soviet Russia toward the United States, and indicate more deeply a growing clash between the economic program of the soviet and the communist desire for world revolution. An American inventor, reading that the Russians were the only people who at Geneva stood out for total disarmament and himself being a confirmed pacifist, took to Moscow a war gas secret which he contended could wipe out whole civilizations. The scientist is of good repute and his invention probably would have done about what he said it would. Moscow heard him out, expressed great interest, and told him to go back and show the United States government what he had. Russia, it was said, did not want to embarrass herself with the United States by possessing a foreknowledge of the proposal.

The other episode: Negro communists taken to Russia to enact roles in a communist motion picture film showing the position of the negro in the United States protest that work on the film, which was to be shown with revolutionary intent in America, had been halted by order of the soviet government on the ground that it would be unfriendly propaganda against the United States and might endanger future relations.

In short, soviet Russia is coming to the turning of the ways. It may follow its new economic policy toward state capitalism (or socialism) and a rapprochement with this country, or it may permit the communist international to continue running it as a political rather than an economic unit, with its purpose world revolution rather than Russian progress. The communist aims are becoming increasingly a handicap to Russia and it will be interesting to see whether communism has been so deeply emplanted in the mujik's breast that he will sacrifice his own immediate good for a distinctly vague future revolution for the "good of mankind." We suspect that the mujik is psychologically put together very much like the rest of us and that he will prefer sugar in his coffee. But the communist party will die hard. It would be poetic justice if it died as hard, and in much the same fashion, as czarism.

Labor - 1932

Unions, Strikes, etc.

Race Problems - 1932

Europe

(10-2-36)

N. Y. HERALD

DEC 19 1932

12,000 Gather At Engdahl Urn For Memorial

Reds Fill Bronx Coliseum, Hear Eulogies of Leader Who Died in Moscow

Bands Play Soviet Music

Meeting First of Dozen Slated Throughout U. S.

An urn bearing the ashes of the late J. Louis Engdahl, Communist leader, who died in Moscow last month, was exhibited, under guard of a squad of gray uniformed men wearing red brassards, to 12,000 Communists who filled the Bronx Coliseum 177th Street and West Farms Road, last night while a workers' chorus, 500 strong, chanted Communist anthems. The meeting was the first of a dozen Engdahl memorial meetings to be held throughout the country under the auspices of the International Labor Defense, the ashes to be exhibited at each meeting.

A few skaters, expecting an evening of exercise on the Coliseum floor which is flooded for their benefit during the winter months, were turned away at the doors by police and determined young men wearing red bandanas about their heads.

"There is no skating tonight, comrade," one of them told a young girl in a winter sports costume. "These men come to bury a dead leader."

When more than a dozen groups bearing pennants of different organizations, all red, were seated in the building a band played Communist music until Mrs. Ada Wright, mother of one of the seven Negro boys whose death sentences in Scottsboro, Ala., was recently reversed by the United States Supreme Court, appeared in the center of the guard of honor bearing Engdahl's ashes in a marble urn.

While the column circled the Coliseum floor and spectators stood with bared heads, a chorus composed of women workers chanted a Communist funeral march. Behind the guard of honor, organization banners were massed and two Chinese, bearing a banner declaring themselves to be the "Chinese Workers' League," preceded three Japanese claiming to be members of "the Japanese International Workers of the World."

Into a microphone which filled the Coliseum with his words, James W. Ford, diminutive Negro, who was the Communist candidate for Vice-President, termed the Communist support of the Scottsboro Negroes as "the greatest step toward the liberalization of the race in America since the Civil War." The audience, whose haberdashery was almost entirely red, gave him a tremendous ovation.

Throughout the program, during which the band played such tunes as "Red Brigadier," "The March on the Red Front," and "Red Chorus," all Soviet tunes with English words, numerous delegations gave short cheers for their favorite agitators as each addressed the throng.

Says Soviets Take Pains to Show Racial Good Will

Anti-American

Baltimore, Md

Scott Nearing Says Country's Policy is to Wipe Out All Racial Lines.

BALTIMORE, Md.—That one of the main policies of the present Soviet regime in Russia is to definitely wipe out all racial lines and completely eradicate racial hatreds, Scott Nearing told an audience of more than 1000 people at the Maryland Theatre Sunday night.

Mr. Nearing, who is regarded as "America's most distinguished radical," and who was driven out of such universities as the University of Pennsylvania, Swarthmore College and the University of Toledo for his economic teachings, declared in answer to a question, that the people of Russia now go out of their way to impress the fact that there is to be no more racial prejudice.

Much Improvement

The speaker, who has visited Russia on several occasions, declared that there was plainly evident a growing state of improvement. What has happened, he pointed out is that Russia became a great frontier, and that while conditions in this frontier did not compare with the luxuries we have in this country today, it was much better than they were on the American frontier when we had extensive frontier life. He said he found people there much better dressed than on former visits. The Russian people are enthusiastically behind the new order, he says, for like the frontiersmen who braved the western wilds to start a new country, they are willing to make sacrifices to build a new and better order.

Must Come to It

Dr. Nearing declared that capitalism in America was destined to hold on and cause much more suffering in this country. We have not had enough yet, he said, but "when you've got your fill of your Hoovers and your Roosevelts, you've got your fill of your J. P. Morgan and your steel trusts—and I am sure you haven't yet—turn your attention to Russia and its planned economy. You won't turn away until you have done the same job here."

Moving Pictures Relating to

Kansas City Workers Block Anti-Negro Film

(By a Worker Correspondent)

KANSAS CITY, July 20.—A signal victory was achieved by the Communist Party and Young Communist League in Kansas City, through the driving out of the vicious Negro-hating picture, the "Birth of a Nation." This picture playing at the Pantages, a downtown theatre, was scheduled to be run until Thursday, but the Party got out a leaflet denouncing the picture and calling on the workers, both white and Negro, to demonstrate in front of the theatre Wednesday, at 5 p. m.

Quite a number of preliminary mobilization were held for this demonstration and as a result the news spread throughout the Negro section. The theatre owners, alarmed by the prospect of a huge, militant demonstration in front of their place—**pulled the picture off the screen on Monday night, or three days sooner than it was scheduled to leave.**

"Birth of a Nation" Showing Is Checked

Defender Leads Fight

Chicago Defender

After a run of four days at the Cinema, theater, during which it subjected the theater to a storm of protests from civic leaders of Chicago, headed by The Chicago Defender, "The Birth of a Nation," termed the most atrocious picture ever made, closed its doors Wednesday.

Last week when news of the arival of the picture was carried in the orm of advertisements in the daily ıewspapers of Chicago, The Chicago Defender, through its bureau of pubic welfare, headed by Edgar G. 3rown, immediately sought a statement from Mayor Cermak as to his attitude toward this picture and its showing here. It was pointed out that "The Birth of a Nation" violates a city ordinance, which prohibits the showing of any picture which holds a race up to scorn and ridicule, and violates a state law which forbids the showing of a picture depicting a lynching.

While efforts were being made by various civic committees to get an interview with the mayor, the picture began its run, advertising that children would be admitted free. Friday, Mayor Cermak received Mr. Brown, Alderman R. R. Jackson of the Third ward and Attorney Earl B. Dickerson. He informed them that he had instructed the board of censors to go into the situation fully and if they found that there was authority for them to close the picture they were to do so.

Acting on these instructions The Chicago Defender was notified Monday that the management of the Cinema theater had been ordered to close the run of the picture Wednesday.

This brings to a close another fight by The Chicago Defender to protect the interests of the people of this city. The Chicago Defender was the only newspaper in the city that carried an article opposing the showing of this picture, and aroused public sentiment against it so strongly that the theater was picketed Tuesday afternoon by a group of Race and white "workers" carrying banners demanding that all Jim Crow pictures be adolished and that segregation and discrimination be wiped out entirely.

The manager of the Cinema theater, a modernistic "art" theater, situated on the North side, told The Chicago Defender representative that he had no idea that "Negroes opposed the picture," or that there was anything in it to arouse resentment. He stated that although he had booked the picture to run through the New Year, he was gladly complying with the request of the censor board to close the run rather than offend any group.

FIGHT "BIRTH OF A NATION"

Hundreds of men and women paraded in front of the Cinema Art theater at Chicago Ave. and Michigan Blvd. Tuesday in protest against the showing of "The Birth of a Nation" at that theater. The show was stopped by city orders Wednesday.

Chicago Defender
Chicago Ill 12-24-32

Race Problem—1932

United States.

The Filipino Freedom Bombshell

A TERSE, STINGING DEBATE of forty minutes—and the House of Representatives, by a vote of 306 to 47, passes a bill to grant independence to the Philippines on July 4, 1940. Literary Digest

The fate of a nation, of 13,000,000 persons, of American power in the Far East is passed upon by the Lower House, angrily protests Representative Underhill (Rep., Mass.), in only forty minutes.

"No graver news has come to Great Britain and Holland since the days of the Great War." 1-16-32 Thus one Administration official is quoted by Arthur Krock in the New York *Times*.

Far Eastern Experts of the Administration contend that this action of the Lower House, if supported by a two-thirds vote of the Senate, may upset the whole Far Pacific balance. As interpreted by Mr. Krock: Vol. 113, No. 3.

"With the Dutch East Indies troubled, with India seething, with China broken by civil war and invasion, and with Japan consolidating her own Monroe Doctrine on the Chinese mainland, a notice from the House that the United States is ready to remove its stabilizing influence for the white man's stake in the Orient (these officials say) is tantamount to open encouragement of every author of disorder. New York N.Y.

"It withdraws, in their opinion, the base on which the London treaties of 1930 were laid."

Supported by sugar and farm interests and the American Federation of Labor, the independence bill, introduced by Representative Butler B. Hare (Dem., S. C.) provides—

"On the Fourth of July immediately following the expiration of a period of eight years from the date of the inauguration of the government of the Philippine Commonwealth, American sovereignty will be withdrawn and the complete independence of the Philippine Islands formally recognized."

ACCORDING to the Washington *News*, a similar bill may soon be passed by the Senate "with not more than ten votes against it." The Presidential veto seems inevitable to most dailies, but they point out that a two-thirds vote of both Houses is sufficient for passage over this veto.

Papers loyal to the Administration foam with rage. The New York *Herald Tribune* says the House "stands discredited" before the country, in turning a deaf ear to the protests of Republican leaders and the written opinion of Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson, who had declared in a letter to Senator Hiram Bingham (Conn.): "To every foreign eye it would be a demonstration of selfish cowardice and futility on our part. . . . It would not be to the interest of world peace, but to the contrary."

Cables to THE LITERARY DIGEST from Manila indicate that the American-controlled papers oppose the granting of independence now, while the Filipino-owned *Philippines Herald* and *Packakaisa* rejoice in the swift action of the House.

The American-owned *Manila Bulletin* declares:

"The vote was primarily one for American independence, American freedom from the competition of duty-free Philippines products, and American freedom from competition of Filipino labor. It was a depression vote cast by an addled House on the eve of a general election when the whole country is harassed to desperation.

"It was not primarily a decision on the Philippines' preparedness, not a vote of confidence in Far Eastern peace and stability. It was basically a get-out and put-out declaration."

The Filipino-owned *Philippines Herald*, rejoices:

"The passage of the measure in the House indicates an overwhelming willingness of the American people and their constituted representatives to redeem America's pledge to the Filipinos."

Packakaisa, printed in the Tagalog dialect, says:

"The overwhelming vote in the House should be a warning and a challenge to Hurley and to the Hoover Administration. Altho it is possible that the Senate may insist upon the passage of its own bill and the House upon the Hare bill, in which case a deadlock may develop, it is more probable that a readjustment in the nature of a compromise on independence after a period of ten or twelve years may be reached, and this should avert a possible Presidential veto."

DESPITE the denunciations, the gnashing of conservative editorial teeth, the epithets hurled at the House by the press, there are vigorous defenders of the Hare bill. The New York *Daily News*, tabloid offspring of the Chicago *Tribune*, bluntly declares that those twelve-and-a-half million Filipinos "hate our customs, ideals, hearts, livers, and lungs." Furthermore:

They Need Us in Their Business

—Halliday in the Providence "Journal."

"We are trying to build up the Philippines at the expense of many of our farmers, and of Cuba, our natural and near-by sugar reservoir.

"Further, in holding the Philippines we are holding a bear by the tail. Should we have a war with Japan, the Philippines would be Japan's most logical first point of attack."

THE Raleigh *News and Observer* gives unqualified approval of the action of the House. Recapitulating our third-of-a-century misadventures there, this Democratic spokesman asserts:

"A chain is no stronger than its weakest link, and the weakest link of the United States is the ownership of the Philippines.

"It has brought us trouble and cost and no good, except to certain people who wish concessions and profit.

"The Filipinos have as much right to control their own country as the people of the United States had in 1776 to control this country."

The Baltimore *Sun* emphasizes the need of deliberate, far-seeing, step-by-step action:

"If the Philippines wish their freedom, and that seems clear, then they are entitled to it; but this country is obligated, after all these years of control, to see that there is a decent transition, with every attention to both the political and economic welfare of the islands."

Negroes More Outspoken A Century Ago Than They Are Today

Plaindealer 1-29-32

When the free Negroes were advised a hundred years ago to go to Africa they replied to their traducers that they would never separate themselves from the slave population of this country as they were brethern by the "ties of consanguinity, of suffering, and of wrong." Today, however, the Negro in the North turns up his nose at the crude migrant from the South who brings to the North the race problem but along with it more thrift and actual progress than the Northern Negro ever dreamed of.

When in 1816 free Negroes like Richard Allen, James Forten, and Robert Purvis, were referred to as a foreign element whose social status might not be secure in this country, instead of permitting the colonizationists to shove them aside as criminals to be deported to a distant shore, they replied in no uncertain terms that this soil in America which gave them birth is their only true home. "Here their fathers fought, bled, and died for this country and here they intended to stay." Today when such things come up to you find Negroes appearing upon the scene to see how much pay they can get to assist in this undoing of the race.

Further emphasizing this thought of resistance a few years later, Nathaniel Paul, a Baptist preacher of Albany, informed the colonizationists that the free Negroes would not permit their traducters to formuliate a program for the race. You may go ahead with your plan to deport this element to make slavery secure, but we will never emigrate to Africa. We shall stay here and fight until the foul monster is crushed. Slavery must go.

"Did I believe it would always continue," said he, "and that man to the end of time would be permitted with impunity to usrup the same undue authority over his fellow, I would disallow any allegiance or obligation I was under to my fellow creatures, or any submission that I owed to the laws of my country; I would deny the superintending power of divine Providence in the affairs of this life; I would ridicule the religion of the Savior of the world, and treat as the words of men the ministers of the everlasting gospel; I would consider my Bible as a book of false and delusive fables, and commit it to the flames nay, I would still go farther; I would at once confess myself an atheist, and deny the existence of a holy God."

And these Negroes of a century ago stood their ground and fought the pro-slavery deportationists to a standstill for with the exception of a few pioneers the emigrants to Liberia were largely slaves manumitted on the condition that they would settle in Africa These freedmen could have no ideals but those of the slaveholding section from which they were sent. They established, therefore, a slavocracy in Liberia. If Liberia has failed, then it is no evidence of the failure of the Negro in government. It is merely evidence of the failure of slavery.

The Negroes attacking the monstrous jim-crowism almost a century ago fearlessly questioned the constitutionality of such a provision. Speaking through Charles Lenox Remond of that day, they said, "There is a distinction between social and civil rights. We all claim the privilege of selecting our society and associations but, in civil rights, one man has not the perogative to define rights for another. These (race) distinctions react in all their wickedness—to say nothing of their concocted and systematized odiousness and absurdity—upon those who are illiberal and mean enough to practice them."

In our day, however, I find some highly educated Negroes approving such jim-crowism. For example, no many years ago an outstanding Baptist preacher, dabbling in politics in West Virginia, suggested to the whites that they enact a jim-crow car law in that State, and we had difficulty in crushing that sentiment. A few years thereafter I heard one of our bishops say that we should not object to such esparation, for we want to be by ourselves. When this distinguished churchman died the traducers of the Negro lauded him to the skies; and thoughtless Negroes, thinking that he deserved it, joined in the loud acclaim. I could not understand the psychology of these people, and evidently must be the ignoramus that the grafters and politicians say that I am, for I read the obituary notice of this distinguished churchman with unwonted joy and praised God that, although a politician may be apparently everlasting, he does not become eternal.

The trouble with the Negroes of today, as I have said before, is that they have not the moral courage to fight. They are now seeking the line of least resistance, each one trying to feather his own nest. The so-called educated Negro is the worst coward of the whole group. His "education" has emasculated him.

Not long ago I saw a striking evidence of this among eight young women selected from as many Negroes colleges in the South to take a special course at another. While they were in Washington I happened to meet them where they were being entertained. In the conversation which developed the question of the segregation of the races came up, and seven of the eight condoned or approved it. If it were not for segregation, they thought they could not find employment. They had been so thoroughly miseducated by tradition and precept that they could not think of or had never heard of the Negroes who have useful positions where there is no segragation.

Going out of Kentucky into Ohio in a jim-crow car a few months thereafter, however, I witnessed a demonstration to the contrary. In facetious fashion, showing how lightly he took the humiliation of his race, the Negro porter yelled:

"We now cross the Mason and Dixon line.

Pull down the jim-crow sign.
Ladies, put on your powder and paint
And begin to look what you aint."

Just at that moment a stout, husky, drak-brown Negro hod-carrier of fifty or fifty-five leaped from his seat and, showing fire in his eye and giving expression to stirring emotion in his bosom, cried out:

"Yes, we are crossing the Mason-Dixon line and I will never cross it again! I will never raise my children in the land of jim-crow!"

We would not agree with him in the thought that all of us must leave the South or that those who are elsewhere should not return to that land to assist the helpless, but the spirit of that illiterate man is the only thing that will save the Negro. People may suffer from humiliation and persecution, but if their spirit is invincible they will eventually triumph. For such a spirit, however, we cannot look to the so-called educated Negro. Cuch training as our traducers have provided for Negroes makes them feel that they do not amount to anything and that their case from within is hopless. The Negro, then, is taught to fall back on the superstition that God will miraculously cause something to happen. In one respect he is right or if the Negro does not get busy, it is going to happen very soon, but what will happen will not be what the Negro is praying for. The Negro must learn to answer his own prayers.

C. G. Woodson

RACIAL EQUALITY

We hear so much of racial equality and political and social equality that it may be well to take a mental inventory of our own characteristics and see if we are really sold on the subject ourselves. It is hard to make the other fellow believe that which we ourselves doubt. We talk much of Race pride and Race respect; let us analyze our conception of those terms.

As a whole do we have faith in the future of the Race? Do we respect and honor its members, individually and collectively? Bear in mind that this thing we call "prejudice," as applied to the individual, has many loose strings that must be severed. But you must make this study of yourself before you can be sold to yourself on the question of racial equality.

Unless you can make yourself believe that you are the equal of any other race you cannot sell yourself to the other race. Let's examine your wares and see what you are trying to sell: Race pride, Race loyalty, Race respect and Race ideals.

Pride may be variously donned, but the general definition, "A sense of one's worth and abhorrence of what is beneath or unworthy of one's self," is sufficient. As a Race, do we qualify on this point?

To respect one's self means that at all times and in all places our conduct and our dealings with others are above reproach and that we understand and appreciate those fined sensibilities which strengthen and maintain that quality we call Race pride.

Loyalty may be defined as "constancy, fidelity and faithfulness." Are we faithful to ourselves and loyal to our fellow man? This is for you to determine, for if you are not faithful and loyal to yourself, you can't sell these qualities to members of another race. You must have faith in that which you are trying to sell or you will be unable to make your argument forceful enough to convince your prospect.

Ideals we will define briefly as "a standard of perfection; of beauty or moral excellence," and you must possess ideals if you are to sell them to another race. How do you regard your women? Do you consider them equal in beauty, virtue and honor to the women of other races? If not, you will be handicapped as a salesman of Race attributes.

As an individual it is obvious that your success in obtaining Racial equality will be determined by your ability to sell to yourself the inherent qualities mentioned above. So long as you harbor Racial prejudice within yourself, just so long will you be unable to get the recognition you are fighting for.

We must abolish the inflexible, shallow and arrogant caste system which we have set up within our Race; that system which has directed discrimination against members of our own group, to the disparagement of us all. For "as a man thinketh, so he is," and it necessarily follows that we must think and be convinced within ourselves that equal rights and privileges are the heritage of every citizen, regardless of race, creed or color.

Distinctions are essential, of course, in determining relative values within racial groups, but these distinctions must be based upon ability, character and civic morality, and not upon the accident of birth which ofttimes carries with it a social situation too delicate to explain. Let us study ourselves and remedy our defects; let us reflect honor and credit both on ourselves and on our Race; let us PRACTICE Racial equality as well as PREACH it—and we will win out in the end.

MONTGOMERY, ALA.
ADVERTISER

MAR 17 1932

United States.

SOUTH "IN SORRY PLIGHT"

Courier 4-2-32

MR. EDWIN R. EMBREE is quoted as having made some very caustic remarks the other day, when he appeared as speaker before the Tennessee College Association. Mr. Embree, be it remembered, is president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund. He is a former Kentuckian and was absolutely at home, geographically speaking, when he arose to address a Tennessee audience.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. Embree is quoted as saying that the South is in a sorry plight, that it is low in culture, high in crime, and far below other sections of the country in those items that make up a civilized state. This is a rather sweeping indictment of the South by a Southern-born gentleman.

We do not know what statistics Mr. Embree held in support of his statement. In all probability, he had a mental picture of some of the things that are happening in the South today. In all probability, he had the Scottsboro case in his mind; or better still, he probably had in mind the recent shooting occurring on a college campus in the State of Missouri; or he probably had in mind such crimes as were committed in Indiana about a year ago. Still again, he might have had in mind such a crime as is reported from El Dorado, Ark., where it is reported a young white man has signed a confession, admitting that he attacked a 19-year-old white girl, a student at Magnolia A. & M. College, battered her head with a rock and hurled her to death under the wheels of a moving freight train.

Mr. Embree has been supplied with plenty of material, manufactured in the South, to support his contention that the South is in a sorry plight. Economically speaking, the South is in a sorry plight. They make little or no money in the South, due to short-sightedness perhaps, or perhaps due to an inherited idleness brought on by slavery, an institution which considered it entirely Christian to work black slaves under a lash while white masters sat under shade trees and umbrellas. Mr. Embree probably realized that an idleness inherited over a period of two hundred or more years is hard to eradicate in a half century. Economically, the South is in a sorry plight. It must follow that the South is also in a sorry plight in those items that make up a civilized state. Where there is a low economic status, there is a correspondingly low social status, and a correspondingly low and inadequate political status.

If Mr. Embree indicted the South, he must have done it with malice aforethought. He must know that the South is in the hands of the whites. If the South is in a sorry plight, it is due to the management of the whites. The whites control the economic system, they control the political situation, they control the social order, and God knows, they contribute enough to the criminal character. How on earth can Negroes rise higher than the standards set for them by the people who are in control? It is perfectly natural then, that the Negro in the South is also in a sorry plight because he is under control of men and women who contribute to that plight, and the Negro, be it said, is absolutely helpless to remedy that situation. If the South is to answer Mr. Embree, that answer must come from the white South. This is one accusation, at least, against the South for which the Negro is not responsible.

The Negro Economic Problem In The South

As the Southland enters upon another crop season, with attendant plans, policies, relief measures and planting schemes, recognition should be given to the economic status of the negro tenant farmer, one of the most serious problems that confronts our country today. The welfare of the negro is a matter of vital concern to a great many business men, as they occupy an important place in both agriculture and industry because they are consumers and workers in both branches.

Realization of this fact prompted the Julius Rosenwald Fund to have an investigation made some months ago. Dr. T. J. Woofter, Jr., of the University of North Carolina, recognized as one of the leading economists and statisticians in the South, made the investigation and from his report we obtain a wealth of valuable information. Dr. Woofter deals with the problems both from the agricultural and the industrial standpoint.

There is a great reservoir of labor on Southern farms today, the report shows. The population, both negro and white, is rapidly increasing by excess of births over deaths. Approximately 80,000 more negroes and 300,000 more white people are born each year than the number who die in this area. The increase is taking place in a region which under the present system of agriculture will not adequately support those now living there, so that the excess is drained off to the cities.

* * *

As a part of the general agricultural situation the negro farmer in the South relies on the one-crop system. He is subject to grave flunctuations in the price of cotton and tobacco and does not raise a sufficient proportion of his own food and feed, although there is a change for the better already under way through constant educational matter by farm agents. The negro is involved in the tenant organization, is dependent upon exorbitant credit facilities and until recently, has been subject to unsatisfactory market conditions.

In so far as the negro is a part of the general problem of agriculture in the South, such steps as are being taken to help agriculture in general should result in his improvement, if care is taken to see that these general programs are as effective for the negro as for the white farmer. But it may be that additional efforts can usefully be made.

The special suggestions of Dr. Woofter were: (1) Agricultural education in negro schools and state colleges should be generally strengthened; emphasis should be laid on agricultural economics especially in farm management and marketing. Private as well as public funds can play an important part in this work. (2) Continuing attention should be paid to extension facilities in order to increase productivity and promote better farm management, especially by improving the caliber and increasing the number of farm and home demonstration agents and through the Federal Board of Vocational Education. Negro agents are especially effective in reaching negro farmers. (3) Efforts should be put forth to include negro farmers in cooperative marketing projects. Special efforts are needed to make the negro realize the value of cooperative marketing and enter into the activities of these associations. (4) Experimentation should be undertaken to discover better and more economical methods of handling production credits for negro farmers. (5) Efforts should be undertaken to widen land ownership by negroes, both individually and collectively, and to strengthen communities of negro land holders.

* * *

In industry as in agriculture, profound changes affecting the negro have been taking place in recent years. In the South, whites now compete with negroes for such occupations as domestic service, carpentering, bricklaying, plastering, painting, and barbering, most of which formerly were largely traditional negro callings. Negroes in large numbers have moved Northward to enter a wide range of urban occupations. By 1920 one-third of the negro population was in cities, and the census of 1930 showed an even larger proportion.

Losses in one class of occupations have been offset by gains in others, but the shifts have worked great hardships. The losses have been in certain skilled trades and in municipal employment in the South, and in jobs such as waiters and barbers, both South and North. The greatest gain in negro employment was in the steel, meat packing, rubber, and automotive industries. Questionnaires indicate that the major plants which employed negroes before 1920 have since continued to employ them in about the same number.

The committee notes that there are obstacles to the rise of negroes into the higher paying jobs, but both the census of 1920 and the fact-finding report of Dr. Woofter indicate an increase in negro employment in skilled and semi-skilled occupations.

Since the South has made wards of the black race, we should be more particular of our guardianship, and work towards the end of helping them and thus bettering our country generally.—Anniston Star

EMBREE HOLDS SOUTH IS IN 'SORRY PLIGHT'

Rosenwald Fund Head Tells Tennesseans Section Has Too Many Mediocre Colleges.

N. Y. Times

NASHVILLE, Tenn., March 26 (AP).—The South, in spite of its romantic past and future possibilities, is described as "in a sorry plight" by Edwin R. Embree, president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

3-27-32

Mr. Embree, a former Kentuckian, came here to speak before the Tennessee College Association.

"By every objective test that can be applied," he said, "the South is far below other sections of the country in those items that make up a civilized state.

"In material wealth, every one knows the South is at a disadvantage. In crime and disease, its record is worse than the national adverage. But worst of all, the same is true of those factors that concern culture and things of the mind, the real realm in which I had hoped and pretended that the South was maintaining her unique position."

He referred to the South's low standing in education and the "shocking extent to which the men of ability and ambition emigrate to other parts of the country" to seek careers.

Mr. Embree offered the "very specific suggestion" that the "South build up at least one university of the very highest standard," advocating a concentration of "resources and brains now dissipated over a hundred mediocre colleges."

He mentioned the University of Virginia, the North Carolina centre, including the State University and Duke; Atlanta with Emory, Tulane in New Orleans and the Nashville group with Vanderbilt and Peabody, as "five places in the South that have distinguished histories and possibilities of real greatness."

MACON, GA.
TELEGRAPH

APR 6 1932

Our "Foreign Entanglements"

The vote of 306 Congressmen to liberate the Philippines, as against only 47 opposing, in the House on Monday, is indicative of the development of public sentiment to that point where something definite may be done about this important matter. The bill for liberation in eight years now goes to the United States Senate, where a similar bill is pending.

How in the world this country could have ever obtained its consent to go gallivanting six thousand miles across the Pacific ocean, right under the noses of Oriental countries, to take over these islands in the first place, is a matter that in the light of present-day conditions makes us wonder, if nothing else. It brings to mind the story about the white man asking a Negro what he thought about something, whereupon the Negro replied that a Negro doesn't think; that "the white man thinks and the Negro wonders." In this case it now appears that the white man didn't think, either.

What became of all our "foreign entanglement" doctrine away back in the good old 90's, when we not only went away over there to straighten out the Philippines and regulate them, but paid twenty million dollars to Spain for the privilege? What was it George Washington said about foreign entanglements that held so good in later politics, that made it impossible for us to have anything to do with world peace, and with that Philippine record written against us in the skies?

Japan on her recent rampage in China was thought to have an Oriental dominion complex; it was believed by some that she meant to take over China piecemeal while the other countries were prostrate, debt-ridden and hungry, and as she captured and organized China, she would be able to convince the greatest country in the world from a standpoint of man-power as to how their interests coincided, and to form a league there, sometimes voluntary and other times compulsory, whereby China would furnish the soldiers and Japan would furnish the officers and financing—and the two thus joined would ask the United States to come into their company on a basis of helping them maintain the Monroe doctrine in their section; and the maintenance or assertion of the Monroe doctrine there would undoubtedly force the United States in good grace to retire from the Philippines and all other possessions in the Pacific that the Orientals might deem inimical to their interests. It would to say the least of it, be an exceedingly embarrassing situation for the United States if this proposal were made by Japan. And why shouldn't it be made? And if it should be, what position could we take that would comport with honesty and fairness and consistency, except to acquiesce? And if it is possible for us to be precipitated into such a compromising position as being asked out of the Orient and have to get out in order to save our faces and preserve our Monroe doctrine for the Western hemisphere, why isn't it good sense to get out beforehand?

We think the sentiment created for world peace, initiated through the vision and courage and mentality of Woodrow Wilson, formed the nucleus that stopped Japan in her recent orgy. It is true, the League of Nations appeared impotent, and Japan flouted and discounted it before the world. But after the record is considered, there is a feeling that the League of Nations, representing world sentiment in the concrete, and bringing that to bear, had more to do with causing Japan to ease out of her plans than anything else that was done. Prior to the World War, there would have been no such organization as the League to express a world sentiment, and there would have been no stopping Japan.

We are heartily glad of the prospect of liberating the Philippines. We hope some arrangement will be made for trading there on a basis acceptable to all the powers, and that their independence may be guaranteed by all powers enjoying trading facilities with them, so as to relieve us of part of the responsibility for their independence. Japan has every reason to want them, and they should not be left to the tender mercies of this nation which we believe has done much that was right in China, but in the wrong way. Let us retire from the Philippines while it can be done gracefully, and with "foreign entanglements" guaranteeing their independence.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
News
APR 4 1932

EDUCATED NEGRO FACES DIFFICULTY

Better Understanding Between Races Urged At Session Of Pastors Here

The educated negro today frequently does not fit in anywhere and is not only misunderstood by white people, but, in turn, misunderstands them, and one task facing leaders among both races is bringing about a better understanding between the two races, declared Dr. J. W. Goodgame, pastor, Sixth Avenue Negro Baptist Church, in a talk before Birmingham Pastors Association at First Methodist Church Monday morning.

Dr. Goodgame's talk followed an address by Dean Brooks Dickens, of Miles Memorial College. Dean Dickens was introduced by Dr. J. E. Dillard, program chairman, which had arranged for the meeting a series of talks on interracial relations.

Dean Dickens, pointing out the extent of the pastors' influence in the community, urged them to work for more conservatism and less reactionary feeling, particularly among the lower and middle classes of each race. He said there is no conflict between the intelligent whites and and intelligent negroes.

Pointing out that modern conditions has brought about a change of attitude between the white and negro races, Dr. Goodgame said there was likewise a division among the ranks of the whites and urged the negro be given the right to vote in order that he might help the white man in solving his problems and in working for the betterment of the South. Earlier in the meeting Dr. Goodgame spoke of the negro's pageant, "Heaven-Bound," and asked the pastors' cooperation in attracting attention to its performances here.

Attention of the pastors was called by the secretary to the fellowship dinner of pastors and Sunday school leaders to be held at the Southern Club at 6:30 p.m. next Monday when Dr. P. M. Hopkins, secretary of the World Sunday School Alliance, will be among the speakers.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
News
APR 7 1932

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Expressions from readers upon topics of current or general interest are welcomed. Writing should be on one side of the paper only and should not exceed 300 words. Anonymous communications will not be printed and letters unaccompanied by self-addressed, stamped envelope will not be returned. The News reserves the right to shorten letters of excessive length.

A CORRECTION

To the Editor The News:

In your issue of April 4, 1932, you carried an article on the meeting of the Birmingham Pastors Association at the First Methodist Church on Monday morning, which article sets out the following as said by me:

"The educated Negro today frequently does not fit in anywhere, and is not only misunderstood by white people, but, in turn, misunderstands them, and one task facing leaders among both races is bringing about a better understanding between the two races."

These lines do not convey the thought expressed by me, and therefore place me in a very embarrassing position. In substance, the impromptu talk made by me was as follows:

"There was a perfect understanding between the ex-slave master and the ex-slave at the close of the war. As the years passed, there appeared what was known as the educated Negro, who had a misapprehension of the use of education, and he acted very much like a peacock. Everything had to move or evolve around him. There was also at that time an element of white people that was afraid of this educated Negro, and out of this fear groups were organized to rid communities of his presence. However, education has now become so amplified that the educated white people hold no fear of the educated Negro. Education fits him for better citizenship; he is no longer an antagonistic element on the race question.

"If the Negro of Alabama were given the right to vote, he would make a better citizen, a more contented citizen, and in fact would be of more service to the best interest of the state. Even in Georgia and Mississippi the Negro is allowed to vote. Why should Alabama continue to hold us down? If the Alabama Negro were given the right to vote he would help you in your effort to place the kind of men in office who would better conditions. The pastors representing the white people are in position to give relief."

I am incapable of sponsoring the thought advanced in the paragraph I have quoted from your news article, and those who know me best are aware of this fact.

I am, therefore, thanking you most heartily for this very timely and needed correction.

J. W. GOODGAME,
Pastor Sixth Avenue Baptist Church (Col.).
1523 Avenue F. South.

"What Has He Did?"

President Hoover, "prevented by the press of public duties" from being present at the recent annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, sent a message of greetings to the conference, in which he expressed his "earnest hope that its deliberations may bear fruit in the well being and advancement of the colored race in our country."

That type of expression might be termed "palaver" in Africa. In the United States we call it "soft soap," and more outspoken New York would plainly term it "hooey."

It is a fact well known and for three years entirely obvious that the President stands for everything which the N.A.A.C.P. opposes. In listing the worst enemies of Negro humanity "in our country," the N.A.A.C.P., might conceivably start off with the occupant of the White House.

It is President Hoover who nominated Judge Parker to the Supreme Court, and even now has another anti-Negro candidate, B. B. Montgomery, up for marshal in southern Mississippi.

Mr. Hoover is Grand Kleagle or Dragon of the Lily-Whites, and assistant gazabo of those who believe in segregation in government departments under the civil service. Marines are still in Haiti and Nicaragua.

Next week, Mr. Hoover will make the graduation address at Howard University. His name does not appear on the commencement notices but the grapevine telegraph reports that he has accepted.

What possible statement can this President of the United States make after three years of hostility, that is of value either to us or the nation. We fear that he can say little.

Mr. Hoover's left handed campaign for colored votes reminds us of a brilliant Baltimore lawyer and speaker, who was recently candidate for the post of exalted ruler of Elks. The steam roller was all set and wheels well greased to elect him by acclamation, when a sincere but ungrammatical brother Elk threw the meeting into convulsions by an unfavorable analysis of the candidate's record in which he frequently asked the question, "What has he did?"

United States.

Bernice, Not Disclosing Her Racial Identity, Gets 'Cracker's' Opinions

Courier 1-23-32

Pittsburgh, Pa.

DIALOGUE AND IMPRESSIONS ON "NEW ORLEANS LTD."

By "BITS" SHELTON

He was born in Tifton, South Georgia. But that is no more his fault than the fact that he was born with a skin that could flush as red as the clay on the roadside embankments upon the slightest provocation, instead of the black skin he so thoroughly detested.

The thing for which we do hold him most accountable is that he has remained there some 30 years sublimely content in his ignorance, making no effort to grope his way through the darkness to the light of day.

This was his first trip north of the Mason-Dixon Line and he was returned home with a storehouse of impressions of his brief trip to Philadelphia and New York.

My reservations called for K-24, Seat-7. This man sat directly opposite.

"How fah y' goin'?" he finally asked, a courteously apologetic note apparent in his voice, as though he did not wish to become an annoyance; yet, it was obvious that sitting there facing a living sphinx was hardly the pleasantest anticipation on such a long and tedious journey (especially for a southerner, who is by nature friendly and hospitable—having of course more leisure time on his hands to indulge the not distasteful pastime of "making friends"). So, if conversation would break the monotony of gazing out the window, or getting headachy from reading at long stretches of the time, in a moving vehicle, he was willing to attempt it once more.

"North Carolina," was the monosyllabic reply.

"Ah'm goin' to Atlanta," he drawled. "That's a long ride."

"Yes, it is."

"Y'know, this was mah first trip noath an' ah've got a powerful lot to tay-ul m' motheh when ah get back home.

"You know the most amazin' thang ah saw whal ah was in Pheeladelphia?"

"What was that?" curiously.

"Ah was eatin' in one of those play-ces—whatchou-all call it, you know, wheah you put yoah money in—? Hoahn n' —?"

"The automat, you mean?"

"Thay-ut's it! Th' o-atomat. Hoahn a' Hahddahts. Sa-say, that's a wonderful play-ce! . . . But y'know what? Ah saw a gre-ayte, beeg, burly, black nig-geh (and O, the venom with which he poured out that expression!) stay-unding beside the wha-teeh faountain, an' a white lady walked up—and you know that nig-geh nev-eh moved!"

I was smiling now. I couldn't help it. So to disguise it I added quickly, but calmly, "O, yes, they patronize quite a few of the restaurants there."

"Way-ul, that's the reason they don't have any respect fo' ya-ll up noath. You treat y'niggehs too goo-ud! If thay-ut had happened daown wheah ah come from ah'd a walked up theah and knocked that niggeh clean across the street an' neveh say-ud a word. That su-ah made mah blood boil. Why, daown in Geawgia, we don't ask a niggeh to remove his hay-ut, we just walk right up and slay-up it off his haid and go on about our business . . . "

"Yes, I understand you still employ crude and primitive tactics down there. (And in a country which stresses intelligence and places a premium upon education." Here I had looked out of the window and permitted the words to drift as though I were musing, rather than berating—or even admonishing.)

Occasionally the trend of discussion led into other channels such as depression, which the man claimed was unheard of where he "came from," religion and marriage. (My new acquaintance was unmarried, I learned.)

The religious question he refused to touch to any degree because: "Ah don't know what yoah religion is, an' ah wouldn't want to hurt yoah feelin's.

"You-ah English aahn't you?"

"Wht makes you think that?"

"Ah c'n tay-ul by yoah talk."

"I was born in Philadelphia. And I'm a Catholic. But I'm not stopping you from voicing your thoughts so long as you really believe what you say. After all, the various denominations represent only the different interpretations and the varied expressions of faith in the one big spiritual force known universally as Religion. But which, in this country, has been given little enough attention in the past decade and a half. Money being the glittering substitute. Out of money they've built a little gold god—and that little fellow is fast forsaking them, so now they're forced in their frenzy to seek another. If you doubt that they are seeking—and apparently desperately seeking, just attend one of those evangelical meetings being held the country over (and being capitalized upon by the average evangelist, in true Americo-racketeering style!) In the new Convention Hall in Philadelphia sat something like 14,000 people one Sunday evening (and equally as many at the afternoon services I am told). All around me sat members of the aristocracy, educators, laymen and charwomen—all colors and many creeds. They are probably subconsciously seeking something we are told is 'Utopian.' But certainly their presence there was not without significance."

The man sat forward and never moved his eyes from my face as I talked. "Y'know, you-ah awfulleh idealistic! Ah'll bet you don't believe in lynchin'? Yet, lynchin' is too good f-niggehs! . . . You think that's terrible don't you?" as he must have caught the ill-disguised contempt creeping into my eyes and voice. But you prob'ly don't understay-und. Theyah sorry niggehs. You prob'ly don't come in contact with niggehs much, so you wouldn't understay-und.

"I attended school with colored boys and girls." (Every time I specified the race at all, it was as "colored" or "Negroes," until, you can believe me, before I reached my destination, he was speaking of them as "Nigras," and in a much less vicious tone). We have mixed schools and when I was a youngster I never knew of this difference which seems to be so pronounced today. The propaganda subtly spread by our teachers only begins its slow poisonous effect as we grow old enough to recognize the full portent. That's true of our home training too."

"You mean niggehs in the same school with white children?"

"Um-hm,' casually

"You mean, you actually sat next to a niggeh in school-ul?"

"Ye-up. And studied with some of them, too."

The man almost gasped and then informed me: "Why, thay-ut's unheard of wheah ah come from! Back home we have seprut schools, seprut theaters, and sep'rut churches—"

"And yu worship a separate God,' I interrupted; finishing his statement for him.

"O, no. You don't understay-und, Miss. Theyah sorry niggehs wheah ah come from. They-ah lazy, and they'll steal! Miss, they'll steal in spite of everathing! Just you lay anything around near them and go off an' leave it an'they-ah baound to steal it!"

"Um-hm. That's the unfortunate part of it; they rarely ever steal enough to amount to anything; anything that gets them very far . . . Now, if they would just get hold of a few of Mellon's millions—." Here even this Georgian had to laugh.

"Ah 'clare! you ah th' most liberal-minded white person ah eveh talked to in mah life! Now fuh-instance, you don't approve of le-ynchin', I c'n tell that by th' expression on yoah face, now do you?"

"I think lynching too good for any fiend! However, the point is, you can try a man for his crime—for which he may or may not be morally responsible—but when you appoint yourselves a tribunal and charge a man with being black—then rate his crime and punishment accordingly—where's the fairness?"

"Do you have a sisteh? A youngeh sisteh, I mean?"

"Yes."

"Way-ul, supposen she was walkin'-along a lonely road, and some beeg, black—"

"I think I've answered, that," I cut in. Of course, I'd feel like killing. And that — regardless of the color of the man's skin. However, that's no reason why you should feel you must take up the cudgel and rally together a mob. But my personal feelings are not important. The important thing is that we have a government in this country (the best we've got at present, anyhow); there are laws for every state and locality —should these laws be outlawed by a seething erratic mob taking matters into their own hands?"

You-ah-awfully interestin' to talk to. You have awfully high ideals too. Most anyone c'n tay-ul that tho, by almost just lookin' at you. You seem friendly enough, but a sense the reserve under that smile of yoahs. It's unusual to find such qualities in so young a girl nowadays An' you know, I re-ahlly b'lieve youah sincere about it too . . .

"But you don't understay-und Miss; it's a feelin' of neighborliness! We're all—."

"Clannish," I cut in. "Just another ndication of the primitive state of levelopment. No wonder the Negroes flock north. They haven't a Chinaman's chance against a trick scale of Justice. That same group instinct, tho, could be made a powerful factor in building up a splendid community, and a wonderful influence upon the Negroes in that locality. Why, you've already said that you find the Negroes are more loyal to whites than to their own . . . "

"O, yeay-us, theyah fine, when kep in their place . . . They do all th work for us. We neveh have to lif ouah hay-und. We only pay oual niggehs $1.50 a week . . . But we-al always givin' somethin' — an' they look for it too. Now, I bought some prey-uhsents to' take home, 'cause some of them neah-by will come in

the back gate, an' ah'll go in the kitchen and talk to 'em. An' the first thing they'll ask me: Did you bring muh Chre-ismus prey-uhsent. Misteh Bray-unch?

"'Notheh thing ah saw!" suddenly, "A white man walked up and shook hands with a niggeh just as though he was a brotheh or close fre-yund. Ah just had to stay-und theah and look! Why, we neveh shake hayunds with a niggeh!"

I forget now whether this man said that the government, or the railroad should send "box cars up theah and cart all those sorry niggehs back south wheah they could work the ground and find enough to eat all winteh. It's a shay-ume theyah up theah starvin.' You know they cayunt stay-und the hardships of the noath, like the white man can."

"That's because you've spoiled them with kindnesses and ndulgences, and thereby weakened their resistance. A well calculated plan!" as though playfully taunting.

The man moved a bit uncomfortably, adjusted his collar and drawled: "You can be awfulleh sahcay-ustic."

"Sarcastic? Why? Guilty conscience? still as though taunting."

"But tell me. Do you suppose these Negroes who do leave the south are coming north for better educational opportunities, or economic advantages?"

"The man laughed outright. "Niggehs wantin' an' educay-shun? No! All they want is a play-ce to sleep and plenty to eat and theyah the happiest people on earth!" (Here we made the man admit that the happy, carefree attitude and homely philosophy were not alone peculiar to the Negro, but rather generally characteristic of all southerners.) "... But don't ask 'em to work an earn theyah boahd. Uhn-unhng They've got a pay-un in th' neck oah in th' arm, oah they've just come out a th' hospital ..." (Here the man certainly was not exaggerating There are some just like that!) "Let me tell you," he continued quite eagerly, "there isn't anything in the universe the niggeh wants like social equality!" He almost exploded it, and I laughed unfeignedly amused (while he proceeded to mistake that for a complete endorsement of "How utterly absurd!").

"I laughed," I explained, "because I believe I don't know what you mean by 'social equality'. O, I know. I've heard it used quite often in arguments, discussions and lectures. But as I understand it the term is purely relative.

"... Now, if you mean that they are seeking equal opportunities for educational, cultural and economic advancement; that they are seeking opportunities to commercialize their capabilities,—if you mean they are seeking recognition of their achievements, and the pleasure of associating with those who speak their language in their respective fields of endeavor and accomplishments; if you mean they hope for the ultimate in a spirit of fairness—and perhaps to help kindle the spark of Christian brotherhood with all mankind—in time, then I'd say that is human enough, and that apparently, they are more far-sighted than they are accredited with being ... As for 'social equality', I may talk to you readily enough on this train, yet very likely would not care to invite you to my home as my equal—socially. You see the personal element is involved when you limit it merely to social life.

Somewhere in through here he spoke of his mother again, and of the gift he had bought her the day before at Wanamaker's. It was a Bible. On the fly leaf was the name of his mother "Mrs. L. P. Branch" (if I correctly recall. As I was only able to jot down notes when he would go off to the smoker at rare intervals). He had invited me to have luncheon with him, but I politely refused, going to the diner alone upon the last call. A number of Annapolis "middies" were "on board," and it was worth noting that whenever I passed them, no matter where they were going, or what doing a

INTERVIEWER

BERNICE D. SHELTON

Courier contributor, who reports herewith an unusual interview with a Southern white man, who told of his views concerning the Negro, thinking he was talking to another Nordic.

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the moment, they stepped aside and stood perfectly and courteously erect! This, of course, was part of their training, and not the least worthy.)

The approach of the young porter on the train (who likewise had been courteous and attentive to me throughout the ride) was occasion for the man to resume his favorite theme. (My, but we certainly have a deep and abiding attraction for the white man. Deny it as he will, he fears our growth and progress!)

This same porter had come up to me of his own accord, just before we pulled into Washington and offered: "I may be able to give you another seat after we leave Washington, if you would care to change." I thanked him. However, the car filled up when it stopped in Washington. (This was a train going through to New Orleans.)

I permitted the conversation to lag by a few um-hms and uh-uhns, drifting off into silence. The train stopped, the man left to go elsewhere in the car, and I bought another magazine and began reading G. B Shaw's Russia. He returned and picked up his paper.

Again he was off. He asked what I thought of Shaw; of Russia; he made observations about the old-fashioned Pullman service; the green drapes; the slow, crude method of arranging the berths. Then it must have occurred to him that the "Negras" didn't have any of these comforts such as they were, so he explained the "Jim Crow" system to me. Of course, I didn't "understayund." But when he had finished I said as though a light had suddenly dawned upon me: "O, that's what we call 'segregation' up north. But you know, that's not without its advantages down here, because it forces the Negroes to strive to acquire little luxuries like machines for their own comfort and convenience. And I understand they have some mighty fine homes and cars that they have worked and paid for! (With the emphasis on the "worked and paid for.")

"Why right in Philadelphia I happen to know that there are over 31 colored lawyers and four or five times as many physicians and dentists. Doing fairly well too. Some of the physicians have white as well as colored patients ... They were not all born in the north either. I also happen to know that some of the finest enterprises among Negroes in that city were started by southerners. They have a bank there organized by a man born in your state, I believe.

"Moreover, it has been my experience to learn that many a colored student with a brilliant mind and a promising future has been discouraged from taking engineering courses because of black skin.

"This country stresses high-powered efficiency, doesn't it?" I inquired.

"Well, anytime a Negro scholar is graduated from one of our universities ahead of a white classmate, you can wager he is just about three times as brilliant as the latter. In the first place he has to work twice as hard to be placed on a par with him; therefore, he still has another lap to go to out-distance him, but when he does, the white student is just out-distanced, that's all. And to give the Negro what is due him, he is ofttimes better equipped to do the job than the man given the preference—because he has had to work three times as hard to make the grade in school."

The man sat back, dropped his chin against his chest and looked up at me from this position: "You must think ah'm terrible, don't you? You think ah'm awfully prey-uhjudiced, don't you?"

"O, I'm not holding that against you. You are not responsible for your attitude. By your own admission you've never done much traveling further north than Georgia—neither has your mind. Most of your travels have been confined within that state and the east coast of Florida where all the people with whom you come in contact harbor just those same views ... You are simply the product of your own environment ... Your views and concepts can scarcely be called your own. The narrow limitations of the place have constricted your vision and stunted your growth and as Omar Khayyam might say those before you have succeeded in 'moulding you nearer their hearts' desire!' You say you are going to travel more. Well, I'd like to suggest when you do start out, try starting out with an open mind; rid yourself of as many of the concepts you now have, as possible. You will find the "going" lots more fun! because you are going to meet many different groups with almost as many different reactions, and its only with an open mind that you can find room to appreciate the other fellow's ideas, and tolerate his methods and viewpoint. I know," I laughed "because I've been put through that mill myself ..."

The train pulled into the station. The man was helping me on with my coat as the porter walked up and I asked him if he would "kindly take my bags." We shook hands, as he told me quite cordially what an extremely pleasant trip he had had going back thus far. I turned and said: "When you go back to Tifton, you might tell them that some Negroes from the south do come north for an education, for better opportunities; that they are not all sorry, and that you have met one respectable Negro. I am a colored girl!" The man uttered not a sound. The broadened smile seemed frozen in place. His face was flushed. I walked away. Then wondering if I had made myself clear, turned and inquired if he understood what I had just said. He had not found his voice, but he nodded—the smile still "in place." Thus I left. But I wouldn't have taken a fortune for the expression on that man's face!

On the way up the platform I told the porter briefly about the man, and he laughed. (The thing that had impressed me most about this young man was the impersonal manner in which he catered to the passengers on his car. He had a nice smile, but it was rare.) He replied that he would probably be questioned about me on his return to the car, but he intended to dismiss it with: "I don't know anything about the young lady, she looked no different from any other woman in the car to me." He carried my bags and conducted me all the way through the white waiting room where a machine awaited just outside the door.

The Big Meddler in China

The American people have had a deal of excitement the past week, not because yellow Japan and yellow China have virtually gone to war, but because President Hoover and our State Department, with the ofay penchant for poking, have stuck their noses into the Far Eastern situation.

The ostensible reason is that American interests in Asia must be protected, but if we could see behind the screen, we would probably find that Mr. Hoover or some of his friends—the Mellons or the Chase National Bank of New York—have private investments in China, which it is proposed to defend at public expense with American marines and soldiers.

Actually, it seems as if Japan, who kept out of the World War and hasn't had a good scrap since she licked Russia a generation ago, has waited until Europe was well soaked in depression and distraught by mutual fears and jealousies, then launched an attempt to annex part of China a la European and American style.

Right or wrong, they are all yellow folks together, and Japan will undoubtedly insist that Nordics attend to their own business.

Uncle Sam will probably be reminded that Japan didn't raise the roof when our marines annexed Hawaii, Haiti and Nicaragua, and stole the Panama Canal site from Columbia.

Japan may even ask what English, French, and U.S. thieves are doing occupying the so-called International Settlement of Shanghai, which they have taken from China against China's wishes.

The public must see the mistake of electing as president a man like Mr. Hoover, who has owned, and may even now own, large tracts of land or concessions in foreign countries, so that we are constantly liable to be embroiled in every disturbance there.

Japan is wise. President Hoover may bluster, but he isn't going to put us into another war—not if we have another election first.

United States.

LOOSE MORALS, SE Cansler TYPICAL OF NEGRO

'Y' OFFICIAL FLAYS UNFAIR ARTICLE BY WHITE COLUMNIST

Countless Negro Men Have Established Homes With Wives As Queen of Own Household, Mr. Cansler Replies to Uninformed White Woman Writer.

(Editor's Note—Mr. Fritz Cansler, who wrote the following article is executive secretary of the Denver Branch of the Young Men's Christian Association. Mr. Cansler's article is the result of a feature story entitled "Women of the Negro Race Independent," by Mrs. Walter Ferguson Scripps-Howard Feature Writer. Mr. Cansler says that he feels that the statements as made by Mrs. Ferguson should not go unchallenged, and hopes that all over the country will be aroused c storm of disapproval against the type of journalism which causes writers to distort truths. His article in detail follows:

By FRITZ CANSLER

"Women of the Negro Race Independent" was the caption of a newspaper article appearing on the magazine page of a morning newspaper of recent issue. The story, embellished by the photograps of the staff writer, in this case a woman, contained so many absurdly ridiculous statements that in spite of the sex of the writer, only the word "asinine" provides fit description. She took her cue from a statement of another of her sex just as prone to go off at a tangent on matters concerning which her be gratifying to all of his many friends everywhere and especially to those who are proud of the advancement of the race.

uvenile court, who "The only entirely economically independent women in the world today are the American Negroes."

Imagine, if you can, a writer with the qualifications which are supposed to be required of one employed as a staff writer on a daily newspaper, making such unsupported statements as these: "Because she is economically independent, she is the kindest parent in the land. The heart of the Negro woman is as large and all-inclusive as the sky. She has no social background, no traditions of caste, no memories of wealth. She has always worked for a wage in the home of other women, and often supported a lazy husband besides. But in her cabin there is ever room for one more baby and it makes no ence whether that baby is affectionate birth or not. Her humanitarianism does not hinge upon morality,' and so on and on, ad nauseam, of one who knows and loves the truth, even as it applies to the Negro.

The trouble with the writer in this case, as is usual with the supercilious Nordic, is that the world has gone forward carrying it with all classes and groups of people, and her mentality, alone, is stagnant. Cherishing a fondness for the poor benighted Negro, largely a creation of myth and legend, tolerant therefore toward his failures and shortcomings, which, invariably were attributable to low economic status and the lack of consideration given him by those whom once he served, the Nordics are unwilling to view the changed and changing status of a race which has for three and one-half generations been in position to observe and know the ins and outs of the white man's civilization, and for three generations been in an untrammeled position to imitate and copy both his vices and virtues.

The assumption that "she has always worked for a wage in the homes of other women," that lazy husbands are common, and that her home is a cabin, and that sex lapses are the rule, gives definite intimation as the sources of the information upon which the writer bases her article. "Scarlet Sister Mary" and novels of this ilk are responsible for more loose thinking, and in this case, more libelous writing than any of us dream of.

What this writer needs is to dust the cobwebs from that portion of her brain which controls her reactions to peoples of a different racial group and start out with an open, uncluttered mind upon an expedition of exploration. She needs an efficient guide to conduct her to homes in her own city presided over by Negro women that she may see that her conception of the present-day status of the Negro is hopelessly archaic and insufficient. She needs to be reminded that all Negro women are not forced to work in the homes of "other women," and that they do not lightly tread upon all of the accepted moral standards and that the "innovations" which are the common property of all American citizens do not necessarily transform her into something "less fine," either here or in "certain Eastern centers,"

The status of the Negro women as well as the Negro men has been changed by modern trends, and new ideas of what constitute morality are abroad in the land, but to read the writer of the exasperating article one would think that the Negro alone has slipped from his moorings, Hollywood, Reno, Arkansas and Tia Juana to the contrary, notwithstanding.

And then, finally, the lady, if she is not satisfied to remain the willing victim of her bias and misinformation, should seek to be inducted into the society, which is everywhere available, of a group of Negro men. In spite of efforts everywhere to degrade, debase and to inflict with inferior complexes by laws and customs, embodying insults and injuries of glaring and open sort, as well as with the more insidious and underhand, the Negro man has retained his poise, good humor and sense. Pushed to the lower rounds of the ladder of economic opportunity he has established homes, educated his children and enthroned his wife in countless cases as the queen of his household, with every protection and consideration her womanhood suggests. Half baked stories of this sort do boundless harm to a race which has made unbelievable strides against the relentless currents of opposition and discouragement. Writers prone to such grievous errors should be denied access to the columns of a newspaper daring to lay any claim to a policy of decency and fairness.

WEALTH IS CAUSE OF "RACIAL PERIL"

Memphis Commercial Appeal

University of Virginia Scientist Is Awarded Association's Prize.

NEW ORLEANS, Jan. 1.—(AP)—The urge for wealth that gave the white race world supremacy has created a new kind of "racial peril" that may threaten white rule, the American Association for the Advancement of Science was told today.

The seeming paradox that the more you pay on a debt in times of depression the more you owe your creditor was reported by Prof. Irving Fisher, economist of Yale University.

The annual $1,000 prize for an outstanding discovery was awarded to Dr. Carl Caskey Speidel of the University of Virginia.

He is the first scientist to make a nerve grow so that all its secrets are visible from its "birth" to maturity.

Photographic sound records were exhibited to show rapid spread of a new form of partial deafness due to noises of the machine age.

The new "racial peril" includes yellow, brown and black races and arises from rapid increase of these races in response to the white man's world wide demand for labor and markets, said Dr. S. J. Holmes of the University of California.

It is now financially profitable for the whites to encourage increase of the world's colored races, for these races help produce the white man's wealth and buy his goods, he declared, but this policy may result in an intensified struggle for existence between the colored races and the whites.

"The tendency of industrial development to cause dominant peoples to be swamped out by the descendants of more primitive stocks who are utilized as laborers is one which every wisely-governed people should consider with great care," Dr. Holmes continued.

"Just as bad money drives out good money, so a low standard population tends to drive out a high standard population.

"The white race's policy of exploitation has contributed not only to the increase of the white race but it has aided also the increase of its rivals," he said.

"In the present period of the world's history, the white race, after having spread over and exploited very considerable portions of the earth's surface, and after having wrought unspeakable havoc as a result of its domination, has now come to minister to the welfare of its colored cohabitants, because it is finding them a valuable financial asset.

"It may be financially profitable for a time to encourage population growth in alien lands."

The Nation's Honor Roll for 1931

FOR the sixth time, as its roll of merit for the year just passed, *The Nation* presents a list, by no means a final one, of American men and women who have, by public service, contributions to art or science, or additions to the gaiety of nations, deserved in some measure the thanks of their fellow-citizens.

Public Service

ALANSON B. HOUGHTON, former Ambassador to Great Britain and to Germany, for his constructive courage in urging statesman-like policies of peace.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Senator from Wisconsin, for his exceptional record in Congress, and especially for his efforts on behalf of the unemployed.

The WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM, for organizing and conducting the transcontinental peace caravan, and DOROTHY DETZER, its secretary in Washington, for the remarkable day-by-day devotion and ability with which she has directed the executive work of this organization.

The COMMISSION ON LAW ENFORCEMENT AND OBSERVANCE, otherwise known as the WICKERSHAM COMMISSION, for its informative reports in which were revealed and denounced the brutal treatment accorded minors in prisons, the general viciousness and many shortcomings of our prison system, and the lawlessness of public officials.

The SOUTHERN COMMISSION FOR THE STUDY OF LYNCHING, for its careful investigation of and its thoughful and highly useful report on America's worst national crime.

MAYOR JAMES J. WALKER of New York, FRANK P. WALSH, AARON SAPIRO, GOVERNOR FLOYD OLSON of Minnesota, and every other public-spirited American who has taken part in the long and so far unsuccessful fight to secure a pardon for Thomas J. Mooney, fifteen years a prisoner in a California penitentiary.

PHILIP F. LA FOLLETTE, Governor of Wisconsin, for his constructive and provocative address to the State legislature on the economic crisis.

GEORGE W. MAXEY, Justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, for his courageous dissenting opinion in the case of the Kraemer Hosiery Company vs. Louis F. Budenz, in which he held that labor organizers no less than other Americans are entitled to enjoy the right of free speech.

Journalism

LOUIS F. STARK, for his sympathetic and comprehensive report on the pitiful living conditions among the Kentucky miners, and the NEW YORK *Times* for publishing his articles.

H. L. MENCKEN, for writing, and the BALTIMORE *Sun* for publishing, an article denouncing the Salisbury lynchers, a fearless and effective polemic written in the face of threats by Salisbury business men to withdraw their business from Baltimore.

The BUFFALO *Evening News*, for its admirable work in improving conditions that amounted virtually to peonage in the employment and housing of laborers on State public works.

Books and Plays

EUGENE O'NEILL, for "Mourning Becomes Electra," a tragedy which is not only the best of its author's work but one which adds new dignity to the American drama.

ALLA NAZIMOVA and ALICE BRADY, for their impressive embodiment of Mrs. Mannon and Lavinia in the O'Neill tragedy.

S. N. BEHRMAN, for "Brief Moment," a suave and intelligent play which demonstrates its author's right to a place in the great tradition of high comedy.

EVELYN SCOTT, for "A Calendar of Sin," the first novel of the year, a long and highly moving story of the pitiful folly of the human race.

MORRIS R. COHEN, whose "Reason and Nature" seems destined to rank as a brilliant milestone in American thought.

EMMA GOLDMAN, for "Living My Life," a burning, partisan, and utterly fascinating chronicle of one of the world's most famous and most consistent rebels.

The anonymous authors of "Washington Merry-Go-Round," for giving us an honest and human picture of the many individuals who make up our national government.

Art and Architecture

The artists and anthropologists who assembled and presented to the public the EXPOSITION OF INDIAN TRIBAL ARTS, displayed in New York City in December and now to make a tour of the country in the interests of the colorful and appealing arts and crafts of the American Indian.

The designers and builders of the GEORGE WASHINGTON MEMORIAL BRIDGE, and particularly the Chief Engineer, O. H. AMMANN, for creating the most beautiful suspension bridge built in the neighborhood of New York City since the Brooklyn Bridge.

OTTO SOGLOW, for "Pretty Pictures" and for his Little King who shows weekly in the *New Yorker* how pleasant and simple it is to be a ruler if you only know how.

Music

MRS. HARRIET LANIER, who until her death on October 27 was the patron of the Friends of Music, and ARTHUR BODANZKY, the director of this organization, which for ten years has given New York some of its finest musical performances.

ARTURO TOSCANINI, Italian conductor of an American orchestra, who displayed in his defiance of and contempt for the compulsions of Italian fascism a fine championship of the ideals of artistic freedom.

Science

PROFESSOR HAROLD C. UREY and DR. G. M. MURPHY of Columbia University, and DR. F. G. BRICKWEDDE of the United States Bureau of Standards in Washington, for their discovery of the hydrogen isotrope, a new atom which will prove important in the study of atomic structure.

DRS. F. B. DOWNING, W. H. CAROTHERS, and IRA WILLIAMS, for the discovery of "duprene," a synthetic rubber suitable for commercial production.

Dr. Moton's Faith

It was no defiant gesture but an expression of deepest faith made a day or two ago when Robert R. Moton, Tuskegee's principal and as stout a heart as we have produced, said that he could not, most likely would not, love and serve a God he thought unjust to his Race. That takes us back to the challenge of Moses to his God in a moment of doubt as to God's judgment on matters not then understood by the greatest leader of distracted man.

Dr. Moton, like his Race, must wait upon the manifestations of the inscrutable decrees of God, for, as Dr. Moton, a great heart of so large a faith, understands, few deliverances now desired could be compared to those gone before. The great educator directs a work which was planted by his illustrious forerunner of the precious seed of faith. It grew no less by expectation than by hope and its triumph was a joyful reward of the excellencies of a steadfast heart.

The words of Dr. Moton were brave, not boastful. He had in mind, no doubt, that his listeners would perceive in them no shadow of change of faith but so stout a belief in the judgment and justice of God that the speaker could declare his conviction as a show of earnest and immovable trust in Omnipotence with the approval of his Rock of Salvation. Dr. Moton is deeply religious, an educator after the manner of his bringing up, and once was a singer no less sweet than David.

His utterance in New York, hotbed of indifference to the way of God, marked him once again as a man of supreme courage. Few men have been under so many trials, few ever faced difficulties so severe, and few were ever more instant in courage, which is wholly of the soul. Bravery is not foreign to his gentle nature, but courage, which surpasses all other elements of faith, is in him, and his words reveal him in the fundamental immovability of the faith that lifted him to the favor all about him.

"Faith is a grasping of Almighty power:

The hand of man laid on the arm of God,"

and such as we have here in the touching word of trust we see in the constancy of Dr. Moton's.

Man will continue to question. The impatient will continue to doubt and advance reason to challenge that wisdom the proof of whose excellence is found in the suddenness of its execution. God is not unfair to the Negro, but He must be grieved to see how unfair the Negro is with himself. The test of faith is the patience that can wait and exercise no surprise at the completeness of the change in the estate of man.

No leader in such a cause as Dr. Moton so bravely advocates and defends can rise to acceptability without the implicit faith of understanding than Robert R. Moton.

And few are sounder in the works of under-

shaken belief, for the cords are three whic bind men to God, belief, faith and trust. Faiti is spoken constantly by those who understand

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVE. SUN
JAN 29 1932

United States

America's Green Pastures

Amsterdam News

The Salisbury Affair

By THE REV. ASBURY SMITH

The author of these meditations on the Salisbury lynching and the "Negro question" was born near Salisbury and is a graduate of the Salisbury High School. He is now pastor of the McKendree Methodist Episcopal Church, Baltimore.

GRANT that the Eastern Shore has slid into "the orbit of the more flee-bitten half of Virginia," that it is populated by "poor white trash" and "morons," that it is ruled over by "low grade political hacks" and "whooping soul savers." Grant that Mr. Mencken's soul came from "a hyena, a rattlesnake, or a skunk" and that his body was smeared with "poisoned entrails, fillet of a fenny snake, eye of newt, toe of frog, wool of bat, tongue of dog, adder's fork, blind worm's sting, lizard's leg, scale of dragon . . . and all cooled with baboon's blood." After both of these questionable definitions are granted the humiliating fact remains that the atrocity that happened at Salisbury could just as easily have happened in any part of Maryland or in any one of the States in the United States.

The race hatred that has smoldered on the Eastern Shore for the past two months and flared up in the lynching of Matthew Williams is woven into the fabric of our entire national life. When we realize that in the past forty-eight years there have been 4,761 lynchings involving forty of our forty-eight States and that during this period Maryland has produced thirty of these atrocities, we begin to see that more than the Eastern Shore is involved. The admirable cartoon of Mr. Duffy in *The Sun* could with devastating accuracy have been titled "My Country 'Tis of Thee" or "America, the Beautiful."

In all the world there is no parallel to the lynching custom of the United States. It has become a national characteristic that any section of the world which wishes to humiliate us holds up to the scorn of civilized people. The lynching of Matthew Williams reflects not alone on the good name of Salisbury, the Eastern Shore, or Maryland, it reflects on the good name of the nation. The constant recurring of lynching in the United States does more than cast into question our respect for the law and the effectiveness of the Christian religion, it calls into question our right to be called a civilized people.

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IN one of our churches in Baltimore a group composed of high school and college young people after a discussion of the lynching in Salisbury decided by a narrow margin that "It was never justifiable to lynch." On the way home from the meeting one of the young girls of superior intelligence and high personal ideals said, "They did right to lynch that nigger. They should lynch a whole lot more of them. We need to lynch some right here in Baltimore." If someone says this shows the absolute failure of the Christian gospel, I am the first to admit the accusation. But I am not willing to allow all the blame to be laid upon the church. It is equally a blot upon our public schools, one of whose primary duties is to teach good citizenship. It is a blot on our press, which proudly claims to be the molder of public opinion. It is a blot on our homes, where hate instead of understanding has been taught.

Mob lynching is race hatred in action. No one can begin to understand the 4,761 lynchings in the United States until he knows the prevailing attitude of the white man toward the one whose skin is black. After a bloody Civil War this nation passed the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, freeing Negro slaves and giving them the rights of American citizens. But in spite of the fact that the Negro was given citizenship over sixty years ago there is no place in this country where he can receive his full rights as a citizen.

From New York to New Orleans, from San Francisco to Savannah, the universal demand of the white man is that the "nigger be kept in his place." The "nigger's" place is the most menial of labor, the lowest wages, the most undesirable houses, the poorest education, and the half-worn clothes of the white people. The only unquestioned contact the Negroes have with white people comes when they wash, clean or cook for them. In no part of our nation do Negroes dare to frequent good hotels, attend first-class theaters, or accept entertainment by white men of the same cultural level.

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THE women of Baltimore have enough confidence in the cleanliness of Negro women to intrust to them the care of their children and the preparation of food for themselves and their families. Pies and cakes stirred by black hands are relished at the tables of our "best people." Strangely enough, these same "best people" resent greatly trying on coats Negroes have touched, wearing gloves Negroes have tried on, or buying hosiery that Negroes have examined. So strongly do they feel on this subject that

they have recently brought enough pressure to bear on Baltimore's department stores to compel them to prohibit the few Negroes who have money enough to be able to buy first-class goods the privilege of spending their money as they wish. It is too much to expect consistency when it comes to race prejudice.

The desire "to keep the nigger in his place" seems to be founded upon the idea that if the "niggers" are down the whites are up. The old slave psychology, kicked out of the door, has come back through the window and is unquestioned master of our household. It is easier to outlaw an institution than a state of mind. The white man all over the country still thinks of the Negro as his born servant. Some of my friends protest to me that they have no prejudice. They really love Lottie and Tillie. Yes, at the wash tub or in the kitchen.

Everybody in the South and North is glad that slavery as an institution has gone. We know that the Negro is of greater benefit and causes less trouble free than he did as a slave. We recognize the fact that slavery was economically unprofitable and morally degrading to both blacks and whites. What is true of slavery as an institution is true of slavery as social compulsion.

It is evident that no man is made wiser by another man's ignorance, no man is made more healthy by another man's sickness. On the other hand, it is true that the ignorance of one man vitiates the knowledge of another and the sickness of a black man scourges his white neighbor. Whether we like it or not we are bound to the Negro in the common interest of culture and health. The South recognizes this and many Southern States spend as much money for education and health among Negroes as among whites.

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AT this point Maryland lags behind, spending in 1929 only $28 per pupil for the education of its Negroes in elementary schools, while it spends $47 per pupil for the education of its white elementary pupils; and spending $57 per pupil for Negro high school education, as against $98 per pupil for white high school education. To add to this evident unfairness the State by law forbids Negroes to attend any institution of professional grade that receives State aid, and thus denies Negroes access to all higher education in Maryland. This to me seems a more serious infringement of the rights of citizens of the State of Maryland than the much condemned disfranchisement of the Negro in the South.

The best economists today are telling us that it is erroneous to think that one man's riches can be successfully founded on other men's poverty. With the coming of the machine and the demand for large buying power, it is economic folly to try to keep the Negroes, who comprise one-tenth of our population, in economic servility. When we try to keep the Negro poor we really make ourselves poorer. You can't keep a man down in the ditch unless you stay in the ditch with him.

No doubt someone will rail at my suggestions as being an attempt to make the "nigger equal" to the white man. That is far from my mind. I do not want to make the Negro equal to anybody, white, yellow or brown. What I am pleading for is the emancipation of the Negro from his economic, political and educational slavery. I plead for equal wages for equal work, for education of as high grade as given the white citizen, for equal opportunity in civil service competitive appointments, for free use of all public places, for housing conditions that will make for health and morality, and for equal justice before the law. In short, I plead for the extension of all the privileges of American citizenship to the Negro.

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"BUT you would not want your daughter to marry a Negro." Certainly not! Neither would I want her to marry Henry L. Mencken (if he were not already in that blissful state). But that does not mean that I want Mr. Mencken to wash my clothes, cook my food, live in a miserable hole, wear the last year's suit I cast off, or get off the street car when I get on. I have the greatest disrespect for Mr. Mencken, but I ask no privilege for myself that I do not fully grant to him. He is born an American citizen, and I want him to have his full American privileges—even to the privilege of cussing me if it does his soul any good.

The truth is that it is not those who want racial justice who have brought about the intermingling of the races. The "nigger" haters who at short notice lynch any Negro who dares so much as to touch a white woman are the ones who freely intermingle the races by their illicit contact with Negro women. If there were a few lynchings of white men for being fathers of mulatto babies I would then begin to feel that those who believe in race purity were in earnest.

The thing that deeply impresses me about this whole race question is the fact that the hate and violence are all on one side. The white man has plenty of hate, but it is unusual to find any hate among the Negroes. I do not believe that history affords an example of any race of people who have suffered so much at the hand of another race with so little expression of violence and hate. Among the younger educated Negroes we sometimes see a flare of indignation, but even with them it soon cools in the stream of racial good nature. This characteristic of the Negro to suffer wrong without malice is well expressed by the statement of Booker T. Washington, engraved on his statue at Tuskegee, "I will not allow any man to drag me down so low as to make me hate him."

NAACP FIGHTS PLAN OF U.S. CONGRESS TO SHIP NEGROES BACK SOUTH

Whip 2-13-32

Chicago, Ill.

NEW YORK, Feb. 11. — A warning of opposition by the Negroes of the nation to a plan to return Negroes from northern cities to southern farms, has been sent to President Hoover and to leaders in the Senate and House of Representatives, by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The project, outlined in a special Washington dispatch yesterday to the New York Herald-Tribune by Mark Sullivan, is called a plan for the "deportation of Negroes into peonage," in the N. A. A. C. P. letter. The plan is called economially unsound because even the Negroes and whites now on southern farms cannot earn a decent living; discriminatory and heedless of the lynching, mob violence and jim crowism from which southern Negroes have escaped north.

The plan suggested as an alternative to the La Follete relief bill, would provide federal funds for trains to take "indigent Negroes from New York, Detroit, and Chicago back to the South from which they were lured through the ill balanced prosperity of a few years ago." Commenting on this the N. A. A. C. P. letter to President Hoover and the Congressional leaders signed by Walter White, says:—

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People speaking in behalf of twelve million American Negro citizens and in behalf of intelligent and fair-minded citizens of other races takes this means of going on record most emphatically against any such proposal, for the following reasons:

1. "The economic unsoundness of the proposal consists in attempting to return Negroes to communities which they left because in those communities they could not earn a decent living. The Negroes and whites yet remaining on the farms of the South are now suffering from the collapse of the cotton industry due to the boll weevil drought, and the low price of cotton. To add to their numbers will be merely to add to the numbers already facing starvation.

2. "The argument that Negroes will be "better off in the farming communities from which they came" entirely ignores the fact multitudes of Negroes still live in a condition actual peonage — of debt slavery maintained through commissary stores and the system of share-cropping which prevails, by which Negroes are kept in perpetual debt to their landlords and thus are held bound to the land. This proposal amounts to a deportation by federal subsidy of thousands of United States citizens into peonage.

3. 'The argument further ignores the fact that Negroes, like any other group of citizens, are entitled to seek advancement in whatever part of the country they may find it. Why should this proposal to return Negroes to the land be confined to one race. The vast preponderance of those who have left the farms is white.

4. "Besides the economic unsoundness of the project, it ignores the social conditions confronting Negroes in southern communities which furnished a main motive for their departure. I refer to lynching, mob violence, injustice in the courts, insult, denial of equal educational opportunity, segregation in public places and in general inhuman and degrading and insulting proscription. To propose to return Negroes, against their will, to such conditions is to invite the united opposition of the colored citizens of the nation.

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, through its 327 branches, the Negro press numbering more than 200 newspapers, church and fraternal organizations both north and south, as well as fair-minded Americans of other races, will vigorously oppose any such discriminatory action as that which is being proposed. Every legitimate means will be resorted to in opposing this economically unsound and essentially vicious method of putting upon Negro Americans even greater handicaps than those from which they are already suffering."

CHARLESTON, S. C.
NEWS

FEB 15 1932

In the Free Lands

Undoubtedly, as President Hoover, said, Mr. Lincoln "saved the Union," or helped save it, but did he really "free the country from slavery, preserve the solidarity of the Union, revitalize the nation, reinspire the people with a new purpose, and set for them a new distiny?"

One is not even sure that negro slavery has been abolished.

One reads in the New York newspapers that a society concerned with interracial relations reported the other day that everywhere in the great cities the negroes are uniformly discriminated against, at this time, in matters of employment. The poor negroes are having much more difficulty in obtaining food and shelter for themselves and their wives and children, in New York, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, than the white people are.

That was not so before Mr. Lincoln came along liberating.

In the severest panics before 1860 the owners of slaves saw to it that their negroes were fed, clothed and sheltered whether the poor whites had anything to eat and wear or not. That was the rule.

Did anyone ever hear of a Southern slave going hungry? Even when, occasionally, they were flogged they were fed, and starvation was never a form of punishment.

Obviously "freedom" is an excellent thing, the poor white people in the South were always free, but when a man is cold and wet and famished what does he care about freedom? Sometimes he appreciates a warm, cosy jail.

Of course Mr. Hoover had to say what he said, it was Lincoln's birthday, his remarks broadcast are always made on similar occasions, but one would like to know how free the colored people are on the sidewalks of New York? Vast numbers of them seem to be on the sidewalks.

The News and Courier adventures that on the sea islands of the South Carolina coast are tens of thousands of negroes who never voted in their lives, may never vote, and are happier, more comfortable, feeling better, than is the average negro in the states where freedom has been on tap more than a hundred years.

United States

MORE DARK MEAT

IT appears that Uncle Sam has an innate weakness for dark meat. The latest escapade involving our Nordic superiors comes out of Honolulu. It appears that an American woman, white and attractive, visited a popular amusement resort in company with her husband to give vent to their pent-up energies.

Some time around midnight, this American lady is reported to have left the presence of her husband and strolled out into the open spaces in a strange community and in a foreign land. Her own testimony discloses that she was absolutely alone. Just what she went out alone to do has not developed. Just why she did not complain to her husband that she wanted fresh air or a more wholesome environment is not disclosed. The thing that puzzles us about her behavior is the fact that she did not ask her husband to take her home or to some other place more in keeping with her conception of wholesome entertainment. If we are to believe her own testimony as reported in the newspapers of this country, she deliberately contributed to her own attack.

The testimony as disclosed in this country indicates that this lady knew her assailants even in the dark and in an automobile. She is reported to have referred to them by using their first names.

We are not drawing any conclusions, but we are stating a very ugly fact when we say that Uncle Sam seems to have an innate weakness for dark meat. It was in the Philippine Islands that the American forces left over a thousand illegitimate children, begotten upon the bodies of foreign women. And if memory serves us correctly, it was the son of a famous soldier who attempted to raise funds in this country to send to the Philippine Islands to relieve the condition of bastard children, fathered by American soldiers. We need not refer to the four or six million mixed bloods in this country as an indication of how Uncle Sam mixes up with dark meat. It seems impossible for the white men and white women to put into actual practice their theory of social separation. It seems to work while the sun is shining, but the theory collapses when darkness approaches. There must be something intriguing about a dark night and a dark man or woman, so far as our Nordic brothers and sisters are concerned.

Just what business this country can have in all these small countries populated by dark people is beyond us to understand. In the South Sea Islands, we are mixed up with the Haitians, Nicaraguans and Panamanians. Out in the Hawaiian Islands, we are mixed up to the point of shameful intercourse. It seems impossible for the white man of this country to stay at home and build up his own civilization, where it is showing signs of rapid decay. We have no sympathy for people who meddle in foreign districts or in foreign countries. We have no sympathy for people who lay themselves liable to attack and then complain of the very attacks they invite.

In all probability, the cry of "protected womanhood" in this country will arouse the ire and indignation of some people, but the case out in Honolulu does not strike us as being worthy of national notice or military attention. What we ought to do is learn to stay home and attend to our business. Strange to say, this country is fairly free of foreigners who attempt to change our social order, but there are few countries populated by darker peoples that have escaped invasion by American white men and women. They seem to have the habit of meandering all over the world, looking for dark meat.

If our ministers, white and black, are sincere in their effort to Christianize the whole world, it seems to us that one of the first steps necessary to be taken is an international understanding about this question of national mixtures, whether for economic reasons, social reasons, or religious reasons. Either mix and stop howling, or stand separated and keep quiet. Everywhere there is a reported copper mine, or oil field, or other rich metal resources, immediately our greedy Americans hop off to the spot and attempt to settle down. When their presence is resisted, they get into trouble and then ask for the American navy to draw along side for protection. If we don't want to mix with dark peoples, we ought not to want their resources, and if we cannot do without their resources, then we ought to embrace the dark peoples in daylight as well as in darkness, and stop howling about national purity.

WAR, MOVIES, COLOR LINE, U. S. PROBLEMS

White Pastor Says Negro Problem Grows; Church Fails In Duty

DES MOINES — White prestige is shattered and the period of undisputed domination of the white race has come to an end.

These were the conclusions of Paul Hutchinson of Chicago, editor of the Christian Century, who addressed the Iowa Convocation of Ministers at the First Methodist church Monday Jan. 11.

First Meeting

The meeting is the first ever to be held in the state where pastors of all denominations came together to discuss religious problems. The meeting will continue until Wednesday noon.

The white race shattered its prestige in the world war when it exhibited its slaughtering processes to Asia and Africa, he declared.

If that did not complete the shattering then the spread of movies from this country throughout the world has finished the job, he said. He condemned the modern movies as picturing American life as lived almost on an animal basis.

Discusses Race Issue

He discussed the racial issue as one of the problem of the times which should concern the clergy.

"We are going to have to deal with the rising tide of color," the Rev. Mr. Hutchinson said. "But we don't yet realize this problem in this country."

The problem is in this country however, he pointed out, since the young Negroes, who are educated are turning away from the Christian church and have an attitude of bitter cynicism against religion.

Charges Inconsistency

He decried the movement which sends missionaries to Africa to convert the Negro and yet refuses brotherhood to the Negro in this country.

The preachers today face tragedy day after day as they meet men of importance in industry with a gospel which does not meet the machine age, in the opinion of the editor.

The church, he declared, is failing to establish adequate moral control for the machine era. The business man is searching for a gospel whose ethical requirements will meet the new test with the employes, he said.

RACE PREJUDICE IN THE NORTH

By Bishop Wilbur P. Thirkield

The spirit of caste is growing in the North. Members of the Negro and other colored groups are being discriminated against, segregated, cast out not because they are low and bad, but because they are black. It is an impressive and most encouraging fact that progressive women and student groups in the South, under the leadership of the Inter-racial Commission, are definitely organized for inter-racial co-operation and betterment; for curing civil and educational unequalities and for war against the crime of lynching, so that among an ever-widening constituency there often appears a broader spirit of inter-racial sympathy and tolerance than is found among many white people in the North, who hold unreasoning and utterly unjustifiable prejudices, and in their relations to the colored groups are governed by the spirit of caste and even hate.

In the present economic crisis the Negro is the first group hardest hit. Coming north by hundreds of thousands at the call of factories and trade, in Chicago alone over 40,000 colored laborers on the South Side are now cast out. Evictions have left thousands in desperate straits. Communists have taken advantage of the situation and their inflammatory harangues in Washington Park have gradually drawn many thousands. When a colored woman tenant of seventy-two years was evicted for non-payment of rent, the mob brought on a clash with the police during which three men were killed and three policemen badly injured. Caste, Communism, discrimination, repression, create an ugly and perilous situation which hungry and desperate people may force to the front this winter in many Northern cities into which a million Negroes are now crowded.

The hope of the South as regards the abatement of race prejudice is in the women and in the student groups in the colleges. In nearly fifty years of my personal life, identification with the Negro group I see larger signs of hope than ever before, though recently an applicant was not welcomed at one of our Northern schools. If this young woman is shut out of the university, it would evidently be on the basis of prejudice and race discrimination. What an example to the South, which is now facing the race question with a broader sympathy and a finer spirit of race recognition and co-operation!

In view of this statement of facts and plea [in behalf of colored groups which now constitute two-thirds of the world's population], let me commend to people to whom all avenues to the larger life are open, this deeply significant word of Lord Bryce, after a profound study of the question: "Let the

gospel of Christ come to them as a beneficial power which can fill their hearts with new thought and new hopes; which may become a link between them and ourselves; helping them forward and averting those conflicts and sufferings which will otherwise follow; a bond between all races of mankind of whatever blood, or speech, or color; a sacred bond to make them feel and believe that we and they are all the children of one Father in heaven."

WOULD MEAN DEPORTATION TO PEONAGE

Journal & Guide

Strong Protest Sent To President And Congressman

2-13-32

OBJECTIONS LISTED

Norfolk, Va.

Proposal Is Believed Doomed By Its Opponents

Special to Journal and Guide

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Described as "a vicious proposal to relieve unemployment in the North by using Federal funds to take Negroes to the impoverished farms of the South whether they wish to go or not," a project to provide trains for such transportation of Negro families has met with instantaneous opposition.

A warning of opposition by the Negroes of the nation to the plan has been sent to President Hoover and leaders in the Senate and House of Representatives in Washington by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, with headquarters here.

The project was outlined in a special Washington dispatch on February 4 to the New York Herald-Tribune and other papers by Mark Sullivan, white, veteran Washington correspondent. The N. A. A. C. P. protest calls the proposal a plan for the "deportation of Negroes into peonage."

Economically Unsound

The plan is called economically unsound because even the Negroes and whites now on Southern farms cannot earn a decent living, and discriminatory and heedless of the lynching, mob violence, and jim-crowism from which southern Negroes have escaped north.

The plan suggested as an alternative to the La Follette relief bill, which the N. A. A. C. P. is supporting, would provide federal funds for trains to take "indigent Negroes from New York, Detroit and Chicago back to the South from which they were lured through the ill-balanced prosperity of a few years ago." Commenting on this the N. A. A. C. P. letter to President Hoover and the Congressional leaders signed by Walter White, secretary says:

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People speaking in behalf of twelve million American Negro citizens and in behalf of intelligent and fair-minded citizens of other races, takes this means of going on record most emphatically against any such proposal, for the following reasons:

Objections Listed

1. "The economic unsoundness of the proposal consists in attempting to return Negroes to communities which they left because in those communities they could not earn a decent living. The Negroes and whites yet remaining on the farms of the South are now suffering from the collapse of the cotton industry due to the boll weevil, drought, and the low price of cotton. To add to their numbers will be merely to add to the numbers already facing starvation.

2. "The argument that Negroes will 'be better off in the farming communities from which they came entirely ignores the fact that multitudes of Negroes still live in a condition of actual peonage—of debt slavery maintained through commissary stores and the system of share-cropping which prevails, by which Negroes are kept in perpetual debt to their landlords and thus are held bound to the land. This proposal amounts to a deportation by federal subsidy of thousands of United States citizens into peonage.

Why Select Negroes?

3. "The argument further ignores the fact that Negroes, like any other group of citizens, are entitled to seek advancement in whatever part of the country they may find it. Why should this proposal to return Negroes to the land be confined to one race. The vast preponderance of those who have left the farms is white.

4. "Besides the economic unsoundness of the project, it ignores the social conditions confronting Negroes in southern communities, which furnished a main motive for their departure. I refer to lynching, mob violence, injustice in the courts, insult, denial of equal educational opportunity, segregation in public places, and in general inhuman and degrading and insulting proscription.

"To propose to return Negroes, against their will, to such conditions is to invite the united opposition of the colored citizens of the nation.

Promises Opposition

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, through its 327 branches, the Negro press numbering more than 200 newspapers, church and fraternal organizations both north and south, as well as fair-minded Americans of other races, will vigorously oppose any such discriminatory action as that which is being proposed.

"Every legitimate means will be resorted to in opposing this economically unsound and essentially vicious method of putting upon Negro Americans even greater handicaps than those from which they are already suffering."

In a supplementary statement the N. A. A. C. P. declared: "This is a most vicious proposal and one which must be nipped in the bud.

"From our experience at Washington we are confident that immediate and vigorous protest will kill this proposal.

"This protest is being sent to the following leaders in Congress:

Vice-President Charles Curtis, presiding officer of the Senate; Joseph T. Robinson, majority leader of the Senate; James E. Watson, minority leader of the Senate; John N. Garner, Speaker of the House; John Q. Tilson, majority leader of the House; Bertram H. Snell, minority leader of the House."

La Follette Relief Measure

Meanwhile, in response to information sent out by the N. A. A. C. P., its branches throughout the United States are asking their representatives in Congress to support the bill for unemployment relief introduced in the Senate by Senator Robert M. La Follette, of Wisconsin, and in the House by Representative Edward P. Costigan. The bill, known as S. 3045, would appropriate $375,000,000 to be immediately available, 125 million to be expended by June, 1932 and the balance by July, 1933.

The N. A. A. C. P. national office urged support of the bill because the Negro was suffering more than any other group from unemployment.

"While the bill in its present form does not provide all of the safeguards against discrimination that the national office would desire," says the N. A. A. C. P., "nevertheless there is provision for revoking grants to the states if the funds are not properly administered. Under this provision we can protest against specific instances of discrimination."

The bill provides for a federal emergency relief board to administer the funds, to consist of the chief of the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor, the Director of Extension Work in the Department of Agriculture, the chief of the Vocational Rehabilitation Service of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, and two members to be appointed by the President.

About the Project

It was at the conclusion of a lengthy discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of the La Follette bill and of its political reception in Washington that Mark Sullivan said in his February 4th dispatch:

"A hard-boiled view which will be heard in a later stage of the debate is that it is a mistake to use government money to keep in large cities families who would be better off in the farming communities from which they came. It has been suggested that money to provide trains to take indigent Negroes from New York, Detroit and Chicago back to the South from which they were lured by the ill-balanced prosperity of a few years ago would be the best solution of that part of the problem."

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

EAGLE

JAN 30 1932

Dr. Einstein and Our Negroes.

Dr. Albert Einstein, the apostle of relativity, is pretty human in his sympathies. He did not hesitate to say a few dynamic words on the continued imprisonment of Mooney at San Quentin. His article in the Crisis, the organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is a new evidence of the professor's emotional versatility. To be sure, he puts the problem of the American Negro in a chill starry light, thus:

> It seems to be a universal fact that minorities, especially when their individuals are recognizable because of physical differences, are treated by the majorities among whom they live as inferiors.

A tragic outcome of this is the acceptance of the inferior status by the minority, according to Dr. Einstein's view. He congratulates the American Negroes on getting together on organizing to combat this inferiority complex.

In a measure such congratulation is justified. But the German philosopher, we think, has missed one factor in the equation. Our Negroes are not merely a marked out minority. They are nearly all children or grandchildren of the slaves of seventy years ago. Their racial progress has been wonderful. But the complex of subserviency dies very slowly, and the prejudices of Caucasianism have equal longevity.

"Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth," is probably the best motto for our Negro minority.

BLOODSHED WILL FOLLOW SHIPPING OF NEGROES BACK SOUTH

Tribune

2-3-32

New York, Feb. 19—Warning of starvation and bloodshed if Negroes should be returned to the south, as suggested in a despatch to the Herald Tribune from its Washington correspondent, Mark Sullivan, reputed to be close to the administration, a southern clergyman has written a frank letter to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The clergyman, who writes from Alabama, says in part:

We that are here can't hardly get bread. Our wages are as low as 10 or 15 cents an hour, and very little of that to do. Here are tens of thousands already here in the southern towns and the farmers don't want them because they would have to advance them. Then where is any room or food for the hundreds of thousands coming from the North? To ship them down here and turn them loose naked-handed in this depression, you might as (well) knock them in the head up there, for they are not wanted here by the southern white man because many of them will try to sustain northern rules when they come back south which will cause great bloodshed between white and colored here.

United States.

JOHNSON 'RED' IS CHARGED

East Tennessee News

(Special East Tenn. News Correspondence.)

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., Feb. 23.—The disturbing effect on racial conditions in the South, of white members on faculties of colleges for the training of Negroes further comes to light anent the startling expose made in an address before the bi-Sons of American Revolution, at Hotel Patten today, by Frederick W. Millspaugh, of Nashville. The speaker charged that an Internationalist club has been formed at Nashville, with memberships composed of white women and Negro faculty members. He charged that James Weldon Johnson, vice-president of the club is known to be a member of a free love cult, and the American Civil Liberties Union, an organization akin to the Communistic group and decidedly "Red."

According to the Chattanooga Times, influential daily paper of this city, Mr. Millspaugh attacked the formation of an Internationalist Club by white and Negro college folk at Nashville, with a Negro vice-president who is reported to be a member of a free love cult and the American Civil Liberties Union, as extremely dangerous.

The speaker told the attendants at the dinner that the club was formed with a girl missionary from Scarritt college as president and the Negro as vice-president.

The club, he said, is patterned after various other organizations of similar name in which matters of sex, birth control, companionate marriage and the "love art, whatever that is," are discussed. The motto of the club is "no creed and no color."

Speaking to a Times reporter after the meeting, Mr. Millspaugh said that the Negro to whom he referred was James Weldon Johnson, noted author, who has a place in "Who's Who," and that Johnson would be discharged from Fisk because of his activities along the lines charged against him. Inquiry at Nashville at night developed that Miss Mabel K. Howell, h[illegible] the department of Missions [illegible]ritt, is president of the club and Dr. Guy W. Sarvis, of Vanderbilt, is associated with the Negro society as vice-president.

"The Internationalist Clubs all over the country are going to far and making mistakes," said Mr. Millspaugh, prefacing his charge that many of them are hotbeds of radicalism. The Nashville club according to advices from that city last night, has held only one meeting thus far, when the Sino Japanese problem was discussed, but Mr. Millspaugh said that the Internationalist clubs elsewhere are rushing into sex and related themes of discussion.

"I can't conceive of the decency of discussion of those subjects between a young lady studying to be a missionary and a buck Negro from Fisk university," Mr. Millspaugh declared, telling his organization the the Internationalist club was an example of the communist activity against which the Sons of the American Revolution must fight.

Mr. Millspaugh, who was introduced as a candidate for the presidency-general of the Sons of the American Revolution, said he had looked up Johnson's record and found that Johnson "had been president of a free love fund had been connected with the promotion of companionate marriage propaganda, was a director of the American Civil Liberties union was a member of the committee against military education and was regarded in New York as a leading red and communist."

James Weldon Johnson, according to Who's Who, is 61 years old He holds the degrees of M. A from Atlanta university and Litt D., from Talladega college. He has practiced law and has taught in public schools in Florida.

For a number of years he was one of the field secretaries of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of New York. He recently resigned that position to accept a place on the Fisk faculty. With his brother, J. Rosamond Johnson, he has written for the light opera stage He was appointed U. S. Consul to Puerto Cabello, Venezuela, in 1906 and served as United Consul at Corinto, Nicaragua, from 1909 to 1912. He is a director of the American fund for Public Service, member of the Ethical society, a member of the Academy of Political Science, trustee of Atlanta university. He was awarded the Spingarn medal in 1923.

He is the author of the Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man, a novel; "Fifty Years and Other Poems," "Self-Determining Haiti" the anthologist of "the Book of American Negro Poetry," "The Book of American Negro Spirituals" and the "Second Book of Spirituals" and the author of "God's Trombones," a book of poems. He has translated from the French and Spanish and wrote the English version of the grand opera "Goyescas," which was produced at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York in 1915.

EMOTION VIEWED AS AID TO SOLVE RACE PROBLEMS

By C. ELLIOTT FREEMAN, JR.

BOSTON.—That the ultimate solution of the race problem will be an emotional one, even though the "sentimental interest in the colored man has just about died out," was the opinion expressed by Forrester B Washington, director of the School of Social Work in Atlanta, Ga., in an address at an interracial meeting held at the aristocratic Mt. Vernon Church, Sunday afternoon.

To prove the logic of his reasoning the speaker cited several instances where music and the emotions had helped to level racial barriers, even in a city like Houston, Texas.

"In our studies of psychiatry, sociology and like subjects," he said, "we learn that the family as a structure in civic life has a number of necessary functions controlling environment, lending economic security, providing an emotional haven and a real home for children, but how can it do its full duty by the child when not only the father is absent from his family, but 76 per cent of all the colored mothers in the United States also work all day?

Has Not Had Chance

"If the colored man hasn't been successful, and if many banks have failed, and many insurance companies have failed, and many grocery companies and like concerns have also failed, it is only because he has been shut out of education in such matters and has never been able to get a decent start."

"Nine out of ten of young college graduates, many with honors, cannot find work for which they have been trained, after they have been graduated. They usually are shunted into some menial task, such as being a red-cap in the South Station," said Mr. Washington.

"There is an element of self-preservation for you in the aid, not only of the colored people, but of all minority races, because world peace, if we may expect it eventually, will never occur as long as we have deeply bedded discontent in minority race groups which are earnestly striving for their future."

The meeting was held under the auspices of the Young People's Society, which was aided in its presentation by members of Temple Israel, St. Mark's Congregational Church and the Robert Gould Shaw House

Commenting upon a release recently issued by the N. A. A. C., telling of a purported effort on part of certain Congressmen in Washington to carry out a plan by which they might [illegible] Negroes back South from the North, East and West to the cotton fields and enforced labor, the *Louisiana Weekly* of New Orleans speaks as follows:

Probably not since the days of slavery, when mention was made to send the slaves back to Africa, has there been afoot a plan to herd the Negro in any section in America, and ship him to another. Authentic reports emanating from the N. A. A. C. P. disclose a satanic move by American imperialists to round up and take "indigent Negroes from New York, Detroit and Chicago back to the South, from which they were lured through the ill-balanced prosperity of a few years ago." Such a phantasma as this contemplation might be rightly construed as a pipe dream. The Constitution of the United States guarantees to the black man the same measure of freedom everywhere as it assures the white man. The recent deportation of thousands of emigrants to Europe must have no decided bearing upon the Negro, whose country this is, as much as it is the white man's. If, however, such a contemplation does mature, it will find the Negro ready to resort to violence, violence of such a nature that will mean the shedding of much innocent blood. We sincerely hope that this projected plan falls by the wayside, but should it happen to come to pass, it will be an incident that will never be forgotten.

This comment was headed "Stirring a Hornet's Nest," an apt and timely caption, the only criticism being that it might be made a lots stronger without over-characterizing the alleged plan. Sober thinkers see no possibility of he eventuation of such a movement.

NEW YORK [illegible] WORLD—Telegram

FEB 6 1932

"NOTHING TO HOARD"

Negro Delegate Sees Irony in Hoover Conference.

By the Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 6.—J. E. Spingarn, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a delegate to President Hoover's conference on hoarding, said today it was "merely ironical" to invite a representative of the Negroes when they "have no money to hoard."

"It is not unlike inviting a man dying of starvation to listen to a lecture on the dangers of extravagance," he said.

THE NEGRO AND HOARDING

The statement can be made without fear of any degree of successful contradiction, that the Negro racial group in the United States has no part in contributing to that ill which is proving so disturbing as efforts are put forth to restore our economic condition to normalcy, known as hoarding money. Any exposes of Negroes having placed a sufficient amount of "long green" in an old sock, or under the bed tick, or in the cracks of the house, which serves to bring forth condemnation in times like these, when hoarding is proving as unpopular as disloyalty to the flag, would be accepted without the slightest resentment, and there are those who would be in order for a "pat on the back" and a daub of "thrifty."

In the first place, opportunities for the Negro to invest what little money he has accumulated in years past has been exceedingly rare. Fake schemes instituted by tricky members of other races have served to filch the dollars from the coffers of the ignorant and unsuspecting element of the Negro group who were lucky enough to amass a little wealth. Stiff business competition, inability to form efficient organizations for operating business and difficulty in securing financial aid for their business concerns, are responsible in a large measure for the loss of money by apparently successful Negro business men of the Negro race. Many have passed from the scene of action with little more than enough to defray their funeral expenses.

Therefore, the warning against hoarding of money is of little concern to Negroes other than his desire to see a prompt compliance with the request to release the hoarded millions so that business may be revived as the money begins to circulate that he might gain employment and be given an opportunity to "earn his bread by the sweat of his brow."

DOCTOR H. H. PROCTOR IN THE NEW YORK HERALD-TRIBUNE

Doctor Proctor is well known in Atlanta as a leader in the race group and a friend of education. He is now the pastor of the Nazerine Congregational Church in Brooklyn, N. Y. During the summer of 1931, he made a tour of the South in a new and up-to-date study of the Negro situation especially as related to the migration of members of the race northward. His findings were published with conspicuous headlines and illustrations in the HERALD-TRIBUNE, and thus given wide circulation.

This study was given every assistance of those interested in both races and are of value to the careful student of the situation. He shows that the Negro is not temperamentally of the shifting type. He went North because he was called North in the time when the country needed him in factories and other industries to help them carry on during the World War. Being called North in such numbers there is now attraction for him in certain advantages which the North offers. Because of this there is a consistent movement in that direction but not sufficient to effect situations economically either North or South.

He notes certain gains of the Negro in the South since the migration began; this is largely manifest in the better race relations now felt in most of our towns and cities and which is affecting the rural communities. With the better feeling existing larger opportunities come to the race in industry and in education. This is particularly in evidence in the State of North Carolina, and in the cities of Atlanta and Nashville.

There are some things yet to be deplored and should be soon remedied: 1. The separate and less attractive accommodations for the colored in depots and on the railway trains. 2. In the matter of preventing the Negro the full privilege of the ballot. 3. In the matter of public education, and the relative amount expended. 4. In the lack of protection from mob violence to which the Negro seems almost everywhere exposed.

DES MOINES, IA.
TRIBUNE-CAPITAL

FEB 10 1932

WHO ARE THE HOARDERS?

A Negro delegate to the president's recent conference on hoarding complained that his invitation to participate was only "an ironical gesture," since members of his race, he said, have no money to hoard.

At about the same time, news columns carried the story of a burglary in a southern city, in which $14,000 was stolen from a barber shop vault.

This fund represented the savings of Negroes in the neighborhood; distrustful of banks, they induced the barber to lock their cash away in his vault for safekeeping.

Naturally enough, little is known of the identity of hoarders, even in their own communities and among their closest associates. Publication of accurate lists would produce some rather startling surprises.

Every once in a while, when some recluse dies, it is discovered that instead of being a proper object of charity, as many thought, he has been a concealer of cash.

And most of the $1,300,000,000 which is supposed to have been hoarded during the last year is probably in the hands of people who have not heretofore been addicted to the practice.

Einstein's Message

ALBERT EINSTEIN, famous physicist, in his message to the American Negro, which has been published in the February issue of the Crisis magazine, diagnoses the Negro's principal ailment when he writes that the most tragic part of his predicament is in the fact that the Negro himself acquiesces in the prejudiced estimate made of him and comes to regard people like himself as inferior.

ATTACKS JAMES WELDON JOHNSON AS "FREE LOVER"

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., (By the ANP)—According to an article published in the Times, white daily of this city, Frederick W. Millspaugh of Nashville, brought a message to the Sons of the American Revolution meeting here in the Hotel Patten that was filled with alarm over the activities of colored and white teachers in schools for Negroes in the South.

The chief object of Millspaugh's attack was James Weldon Johnson, who occupies the Spence chair of creative literature at Fisk university. Millspaugh, who knows nothing of Johnson, asserted that he had looked up his record and discovered that he was a member of a "free love" cult and also divined that he was a Red from his connection with the American Civil Liberties Union. Millspaugh got "his free love" notion from his interpretation of the purposes of the Garland Fund which Mr. Johnson headed at one time.

He also described how an international club had been formed at Nashville with a white woman as president and Johnson as vice-Pres. and pointed out the great danger that might ensue from permitting a white woman to be allowed in a position where sex matters might be discussed with a "buck Negro."

As the N. A. A. C. P. is bombarding Washington in opposition to a reported effort in Congress to send Negroes back South, there come reports that night riders are terrorizing Negroes in Texas and Oklahoma, hoping to scare them away from their homes. The *Boston Chronicle* notes this as follows:

Night riders in Texas and white farmers in Oklahoma are terrorizing the Negroes in their section. They are making life miserable in the hope that the Negroes will be scared away from their homes. Coincident with the chasing of Negroes from the South, Congressmen in Washington are formulating plans to return trainloads of Negroes to the South.

The N. A. A. C. P. is rightly objecting to the plan of the Congressmen and has sent letters of protest to President Hoover and Congressional leaders.

From the Zion Herald it is learned that two million Negroes in the cotton-growing sections of the South are in dire distress, and have not even the necessities of life.

It was not long ago when certain menial jobs in the South were relegated to Negroes. The economic upheaval has changed this and now the white laborers are competing with Negroes for these occupations they hitherto disdained.

Recent travelers in the South state that it is no unusual sight to see white men driving street cleaning trucks and doing many other forms of labor formerly done exclusively by Negroes.

United States.

The Unemployed Negro

By ANSELM JOSEPH FINCH, Prentiss, Miss.

The late Booker T. Washington once said: "If the Negro got anything out of slavery, he got it through the habit of work." Likewise, if any man accomplishes much of value in life he, too, does so "through the habit of work."

The Negro was brought from Africa's shores, not because anyone was particularly interested in . is taking on any of the white man's civilization in America, but rather to help add to American culture his earnest contribution by using his brawny arms in helping to make in reality the wishes and desires of his white leader.

In working for the white man and with the white man for more than 300 years, the Negro has acquired much of the white man's civilization, which beckons to the wants and needs of the white man. He reads in school every day the text books written by men and women of that race which spur him on; not only to become patriotic, but also a recipient of society's demands.

The Negro has accepted most admirably the work with the hoe, the plow, the pick and the shovel. He has for many years been taught by leaders of his race the spirit, "There is as much dignity in tilling the soil as writing a poem." He has labored and struggled on with this attitude towards life; sleeping and dreaming that all was secure; that this was his work; that his white friends would remain satisfied with the power vested in them to run the government and to hold the reins of control in their hands.

How absurd and preposterous was his dream: a mirage, a siren song. The Negro can no longer sleep and entertain a dream so fantastic which is both equivocal and grotesque, while the work to which he has always looked for the sustenance of life is gradually being usurped and monopolized by men of other races. The answer comes: The Negro has no special work. If not, he has been made to believe so by what he has been taught and received in the past. The white man has repeatedly stated that "the Negro's place is to do common labor (not so called now, however) and the white man's position is to lead and direct."

At a meeting of leading Negroes at Jackson, Mississippi, recently, under the auspices of the Committee of 100, it was revealed that in Mississippi, the State in which the late Governor Henry L. Whitfield asked the whites of Mississippi in his inaugural address to regard the Negro as a part of the State by giving him work that he might live decently, men and women of the Negro race who buy clothes in Mississippi, build homes in Mississippi, eat Mississippi food, recognize Mississippi's banking institutions, and who pay taxes in Mississippi, expressed most seriously the dissatisfaction now among Negroes who have been released from jobs which they have long held, in order that persons who now possess every decided advantage might enjoy every convenience of life at the expense of the "patient and humble Negro."

The Negro must live, despite the growing tide of racial prejudice. Teachers, preachers and other leaders who desire to quell the spirit of racial prejudice should not be indiscret and lethargic in their plea in behalf of the unemployed Negro. The Negro is miserable when unemployed. No one should be surprised at his turning "Red" during the day of starvation. Unemployment brings about dissatisfaction, distrust and promotes racial hatred.

The surest way of bringing back prosperity, as we speak of it, would be to give the Negro a chance to work and accumulate a few dollars, owing to the fact that he will certainly spend it by purchasing what he wants, while the white man squeezes the eagle with a grip which incapacitates its breathing, to say nothing of it ever flying away.

The Negro must eat; he must wear clothes; his health must be protected; he should be encouraged to educate his children; yet, with one stroke of the pen, he is informed that he must "make brick without straw." If he steals he is put in prison; if he asks for a job he is told that he isn't wanted; nevertheless, if he loafs he is put in jail and stigmatized as a typical representative of a "shiftless and good for nothing" race; if he seeks common labor he is styled as being careless with his judgment; and if he aspires to politics he is immediately termed "a dangerous character running amuck."

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The Negro poet sings:

Alas! and am I born for this
To wear this slavish chain;
Deprived of all created bliss;
Through hardships, toil and pain?

Mississippi is not the only State in which the Negro is thus subjected. Notwithstanding this, similar undertakings elsewhere should not serve as an incentive to the leaders of Mississippi towards acquiescence in this malfeasance.

Stony the road we trod,
Bitter the chast'ng rod.

White leaders! Resort not to the means of unfairness and diminish not the Negro's faith in you; remembering that work for all peoples is the most definite path toward peace, happiness and prosperity.

UNCLE TOM RIGHT ALONG

Greenpriest Reader
3-5-32

We received a notice last Saturday morning through the mails inviting us to attend the Bay View Baptist Mens' Forum at Logan and Russell Avenues and among other things announced on the invitation was the rare treat of "Mr. Hamilton a prominent Milwaukee attorney will address the class **"Taking Us Thru The Southland And Dear Old Virginny"**. Yes, the speaker is the same George W. Hamilton who is a Race candidate for the office of Alderman of the 6th Ward. No, we did not attend the meeting, nor do we know just what Mr. Hamilton said but we are assuming that he did take the White Folk thru dear old Virginny, in the most inimitable manner that is most pleasing to the White Folk from dear old Virginny. And after all what harm is there in playing the part of the regular Uncle Tom out on Logan and Russell Avenues because that is miles from the 6th Ward. Then too there is all to gain by takin' the White Folk thru Dear Old Virginny because clowning for the White Folk when the Black folk is not around is a sort of way to "break down barriers".

When we first saw the topic of Mr. Hamilton's speech, that he was going to take the White folk thru "The Southland and Dear Old Virginny" we could not reconcile this Uncle Tom spirit with his spirited Racial Conscious propaganda that he is peddling in the 6th Ward. But he must have reasoned it in this way, that to play Uncle Tom for certain White groups will always keep one in their favor, it will invite one to their inner circles, (if even only as an entertainer), it will give one the opportunity to be popular with the White Folk, especially those from dear old Virginny, and that to be the champion of Racial consciousness even above reason, will get the favor of the Black folk, at least until they cast their vote, for it is their vote that counts, and the candidate can go on being the Uncle Tom on Logan and Russell Avenues and still be the Black Moses of the 6th Ward.

The Only Antidote

There is but one effective and intelligent way in which to counteract Communist efforts at proselyting among American Negroes, and that method is drastic revision of the almost chronic American indifference to the Negro's plight. Give him jobs, decent living conditions, and homes. Assure him of justice in the courts and protection of life and property in Mississippi as well as in New York. Put an end to flagrant and unchecked disregard of the Negro's constitutional right to vote. Let labor unions—conservative and liberal *as well as radical*—abolish written or implied barriers against the Negro, doing so in sheer enlightened selfishness, if for no other reason, since it is self-evident that labor will never be free as long as black labor is enslaved and exploited. Let employers of labor even in this time of acute depression see to it that Negro working-men are treated no worse than white. In brief, the only antidote to the spread among American Negroes of revolutionary doctrines is even-handed justice.—*Walter White, in Harper's Magazine, December, 1931.*

Memphis, Tenn. Herald-Courier
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An Objectionable Plan.

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This plan was offered in the Senate during the debate of the LaFollette-Costigan bill, which proposed to appropriate $750,000,000 for direct and indirect relief of unemployment. If it was put forward in all seriousness, and is likely to receive consideration at the hands of Congress, we believe the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has made a timely and proper protest against it. That organization is correct when it declares the plan is economically unsound because the Negroes and whites now on Southern farms live none too well, and it is on good ground when it insists that Negroes, like any other group of citizens, are entitled to seek advancement in whatever part of the country they may find it.

There is a belief in the South that many thousands of Negroes have been lured to the North with false promises as to wages and with misrepresentations as to living conditions and social advantages, and that many of these Negroes would be glad to return to their old home sections if they could. This may be measurably true, but it would be a mistake to make it possible for thousands of colored people to return to the South at this time, when there is no way for them to a decent living. They are as well off where are. And even if there should come a time the Federal Government should provide trains to return indigent Negroes from the North to the South, not one of them should be returned against his will.

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The Negro Economic Problem In The South

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In so far as the negro is a part of the general problem of agriculture in the South, such steps as are being taken to help agriculture in general should result in his improvement, if care is taken to see that these general programs are as effective for the negro as for the white farmer. But it may be that additional efforts can usefully be made.

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United States.
ROCKY MOUNT, N. C.
TELEGRAM
APR 22 1932

Why Destroy Traditions

This newspaper does not subscribe to the views of Norman Thomas nor is it particularly enamoured with the verse of Langston Hughes, Negro. But Norman Thomas is a brilliant man, an interesting talker, and he is capable of presenting his views in such a maner that not even his most severe critics could become incensed with his ideas of the more perfectly ordered state. Langston Hughes is not, in our estimation, a great poet, but he is an exceptional representative of his race.

These two men were invited to address students at the University of North Carolina through the Young Men's Christian Association. They accepted and were heard. Thomas is a Socialist; Hughes is called a Communist and an Atheist. The Charlotte Observer and the Raleigh Times are most emphatic in their pronouncements against the policies of students and officials in permitting either to be heard. The Observer goes further by quoting two senseless verses Hughes wrote for a nondescript Chapel Hill publication as a part of his address when, according to the authorities at Chapel Hill, he said nothing of the sort in his talk there.

But all of this is wasted breath. What possible harm could either of them have done? The University of North Carolina is known and loved as a great center of liberal education, and it would be a pity, indeed, if that liberalism extended no further than to hear what is generally and publicly approved. There is much unpleasant to be heard in this old world. Much is sordid and depraved and foul, but it cannot be removed by the simple process of turning our backs upon it. Higher education is, indeed, most dangerous unless the pattern of instruction teaches the young mind to think. An accumulation of facts, gleaned from textbooks and college libraries, is soon forgotten; the sounds of college lectures die out in the distance, and they are wasted unless the student mind is set to work, is taught to differentiate and to weigh and to select. Students who are taught that all is well at home, and all that is not at home is not well will be as smug and as complacent and about as useless, as students, as it is possible to imagine.

One lecture from a Negro Communist will not destroy Carolina's youth; one hundred lectures would not. More than likely they would become tedious and boring. Students who listen to Norman Thomas are not destined to jerk the props from under anything.

We are marching, supposedly, toward perfection. The tempo of Chopin's music is too fast for the parade as it, occasionally, bends backward. There is much to be achieved, both at home and away from the warming influences of our hearthstones. This newspaper does not believe for a moment that Langston Hughes or Norman Thomas is qualified to lead the way, but we would not run them off because they do not speak flattering words.

This newspaper has no desire to congratulate the students at the University for their display of liberalism. No very great number, we venture to say, can remember what either Hughes or Thomas has to say. But there is no particular point in clothing them with triple asbestos merely because they wish to strike matches in open fields where there is not the least danger of setting anything afire.

U. S. Domination Of Darker Races Exposed By Buell

Courier 5-9-32
Pittsburgh Pa.

WASHINGTON, May 5—(CNS)—Raymond Leslie Buell, research director of the Foreign Policy Association, who was one of the principal speakers at the Howard University Institute of Political Science held here last week, has recently given a complete picture of the United States as an imperialistic nation.

Dr. Buell pointed out that America has a colony as scattered as that of the British Empire and as large both in size and population as that of many other large countries. In eight separate parts of the world the United States has large colonies, totaling 711,604 square miles, and 14,620,000 in population. In all of these except Alaska the predominant people are of a darker race. Included in such category is the Virgin Islands with 133 square miles of land and 22,000 inhabitants.

In 10 other foreign countries (including the predominantly Negro republics of Haiti, Liberia and St. Domingo) the United States maintains what is described as a "sphere of influence." The total number of inhabitants in the three Negro republics under American control and supervision totals over 5,000,000 stated the foreign affairs expert. In the other seven countries under American influence most of them have a mixed dark and mulatto population.

In the Negro republics treaty rights enable the United States to supervise the constabulary of the country, collect the customs receipts and exercise general supervisory control over other branches of the individual governments.

This arrangement has not been satisfactory in any instance, most of these countries insisting on autonomy. In Haiti and St. Domingo the presence of American Marines has further caused unpleasant relationships. And in Liberia intervention by America into an existing slave condition has been a source of international trouble.

As result of these disagreements a modification of at least the manner of control of these and other countries in the "sphere of influence" was predicted by Dr. Buell.

Christianity and G.O.P. Failed to Save the Negro

Frederick Douglass Died Disappointed when Republican Party Went Jim Crow. Protestant and Catholic Tremble at Social Equality. Communism New Subject Now. But After All, as Garvey says, Negro Must Save Himself.

By KELLY MILLER

A weak-willed people ever see a Messiah—a vicarious social salvator outside of their own merits. The Hebrew race, being constantly overpowered and overshadowed by their victorious neighbors, looked outside of themselves to the overhanging skies for the promised Savior. The analogy between the Jew and the Negro is striking in more ways than one. The Negro as we know him in the new world has never felt the conscious sense of nationality. He has always been despised, neglected and rejected of men. In his state of pitiful helplessness, he has looked beyond this vale of tears for vicarious salvation. His kingdom, indeed, was not of this world. He did not concern himself with terrestrial real estate so long as he could "read his title clear to mansions in the skies." We simply stand amazed at the resourcefulness of a simple-minded, unsophisticated folk when we consider the thoroughness with which they devised a protective philosophy. They not only knew how to labor and to wait, but to suffer untold weight of sorrow and tribulation while rejoicing in the postponed reward in the world to come. "You may have all the world, give me Jesus" contains a protective philosophy whose fundamental meaning strikes to the very root of Negro psychology when confronted by an impossible situation.

Kelly Miller

No Higher Power

Strong and vigorous races and nations rely upon themselves for salvation and never appeal to any higher power except as a religious gesture in time of calamity and distress.

The Negro has never, at any stage, freed himself from the messianic reliance. One listens with a mixture of curiosity and amazement to agnostic Negro orators and writers who vehemently aver they rest their cause on the ultimate triumph of right as a moral principle. But the righteousness of heaven is too remote and intangible for a leadership which can only comprehend flesh and blood. Negro leaders have always devised a more immediate and tangible Messiah.

Douglass Disappointed

Frederick Dougless looked to the Republican party as a vicarious savior of the Negro race. To him the Grand Old Party constituted the Ark of Safety. The function of a savior is to save. If salvation is too long deferred, we begin to doubt his power or willingness to bring it about. Frederick Douglass died a disappointed and disillusioned man. I heard him deliver his last great address which struck a note of despondency bordering on despair. The Republican party has belied his hopes. There is still a lingering hope in the minds of an unthinking leadership that salvation will come from political parties.

Church Can't Help

Negro religious and educational leadership has relied upon the philanthropy of the North to redeem the race from the besetting weight of ills. But the flagging spirit and waning interest of this vicarious philanthropy clearly indicates that little further dependence can be placed upon salvation from that direction. I myself, at one time, believed that the race could confidently look to the Christian religion, under the Protestant form, for salvation. But my views have been greatly modified by the sad experience of the past forty years.

The Catholic Church with its powerful organization could bring no greater glory to its name than to vindicate its divine claim by solving a problem which other agencies have given up as being insoluble. But as a Catholic statesman once said to me, the Church is able and willing to cope with every feature of the race problem except that of social equality. Ah, here's the rub.

Communism

Capital and labor all over the world are on the verge of fundamental conflict. The Negro stands hesitant between the two as to which side he may best look to for salvation. Whether he subordinates himself to capitalism or communism, he does so with the hope of vicarious salvation. In his weakness he feels that he must "Fly to the rock that is higher than I."

Garvey

Of all of the various brands of race leadership since emancipation that of Marcus Garvey alone sought to make the Negro his own self savior. The debacle of his statesmanship was due to the woeful inadequacy of the means at his disposal for the accomplishment of the colossal task he assumed.

Must Save Himself

The race today is without any effective leadership that leads to any definite objective. But all thinking leaders are now convinced that there can be no vicarious salvation. The Negro must save himself or be forever lost. The spasmodic independent efforts that are being put forth in business, politics, and social procedure show plainly that the Negro is now beginning to look within instead of without. Outside influences will assist and encourage him to more efficient self effort.

It is demonstrated folly to think or say any longer—"Lo, here or lo there, is the kingdom." "The kingdom of heaven is within you."

Social Equality Bugaboo

The venerable and respected Dr. M. W. Dogan, president of Wiley College, Marshall, Texas, is quoted as having said he feared that the action of the M.E. Conference in taking a firm stand in favor of racial equality in religion would be interpreted as a step towards social equality on the part of Negroes in the South. "It is not a desire," he said, "to have social contact but a desire for comfortable entertainment."

Ever since Booker T. Washington uttered his famous "one as the hand, but separate as the fingers" doctrine, this question of "social equality" has been one of the bugaboos which has prevented clear thinking and clear action on the race problem. Few colored or white leaders have faced it courageously and the result has been confusion and hypocrisy. Why not be frank and honest about this nefarious and un-Christian business of racial discrimination and jim crow? What every honest thinking Negro wants, and what every fair minded white man will concede that as an American citizen he is entitled to, is complete and unabridged equality, social and all kinds.

There are some, however, who interpret every honest expression in this direction as meaning that social equality is a mandate that would compel white women to marry colored men. This interpretation is not only dishonest, but it is cowardly. The Negro wants that social equality which will give him the same evaluation as a human being that any other human being has; he wants to sleep in public hotels like other men and women; he wants to ride on public carrriers and mingle with friends and conduct his business of living just like other human beings. He wants whatever social contacts he makes open, above board and honest. But in asking this freedom of American life he is willing to grant it to all whites who also want the freedom to chose their own friends and the people with whom they desire to associate.

When the sordid sex complex which has produced so many mulattoes in this country is taken out of consideration of normal human relations between races, there will be clear thinking and clear action. When the minds of the Christian element become less clouded and their spines more rugged, as was evidenced at Atlantic City last Saturday, there will be less fear of the consequences of complete racial equality of treatment of men and women in America.

The fact is the constant friction growing out of one race having to face humiliation daily, and the cowardly and shameful complexes it creates in the finds of some whites that they cannot trust their women in the presenc of decent and respectable colored men, is at the bottom of most maladjustments, social and economic, in this country. It is keeping the South poverty stricken; it is making hypocrites of Negro leaders; it is planting the seeds of cowardice and dishonesty in the minds of white youth, and it is corrupting American morals.

THE COLOR LINE

TAMPA.—Louise K. Conrady, who so glibly writes on the negro question, is evidently a northerner. Otherwise, she would understand that the colored cook who emphatically stressed her pride in being black, and her preference for her own race, was only endeavoring to camouflage a bitter necessity into a virtue.

While visiting in New York city, I saw negroes seated beside white people in street cars and theaters. In the railway stations there is no racial segregation. Consequently, white ladies are forced to share rest rooms with perspiring, malodorous black women.

Similar conditions exist in the West, Los Angeles' incomparable public schools are jammed with a conglomeration of the races. Negroes are permitted to occupy any seats in theaters there. As a rule, restaurants also ignore the color line. I know this from personal observation, for I lived three years in southern California.

As a further verification, permit me to call attention to the case of the ex-Follies' beauty, who is now seeking a divorce from a Los Angeles colored physician.

To say that negroes do not aspire to racial equality is the height of absurdity. Any one of them would gladly give his or her soul in exchange for the fair skin of one of the "white trash," with whom, according to Louise K. Conrady, a certain colored cook would not condescend to associate.

It takes someone who was born and reared in the South to understand negro psychology. A northerner never can. As I stated before in a previous letter to this column, it is not a blind, unreasoning prejudice that exists below the Mason and Dixon line, but a rigid principle.

BEBE LUCE.

KELLY MILLER SAYS:

THE BREAKDOWN IN NEGRO LEADERSHIP

The world is bankrupt for leadership. The World War upset the existing fabric of human order. Lenin, Mussolini and Mustopha Kamel are the only leaders of the reconstructed world who seem able to bring order out of chaos. The United States, England, France and Germany have failed to produce a single commanding leader who is able to grapple with the new order of things precipitated by this great conflict.

When we limit our horizon to the Negro group the breakdown is pathetic. Through tyranny and selfish greed both Liberia and Hayti have faded from the picture as national entities. In the field of domestic politics the race has been reduced to political nullity through the selfish ambitions, petty jealousies and venality of our political henchmen, our leaders. New opportunities are thrust upon us by virtue of the northern migration of a million Negro voters into states and communities of unrestricted franchise. Will the new leadership prove equal to the imposed task? We must await the coming of November for the answer.

Under the impact of modern science, the religious systems are weakening in their sway over human thought and conduct. The Negro church is deeply discounted by the too frequent failure of those who have come to the high places of spiritual leadership and authority. The recent drastic action within the great A. M. E. Church has brought that denomination to the dust and ashes of humiliation within the eyes of its own membership query in the eyes of the religious self-leadership into serious query in the eyes of the religous world. A bishop with an itching palm is an abomination before God and man. The young, high-minded youths of the race who grasp the vast opportunity of the religious estate which must shortly fall to their hands to administer must either purify or repudiate the Negro church. Herein lies the saddest plight of all. Men whom fortune raised to the highest ranks of prelacy, instead of leading their people in simplicity, righteousness and self respect, set themselves up as potentates exhibiting the tyranny ,licientiousness and unhallowed thirst for greed and power which characterized autocracy at its worst.

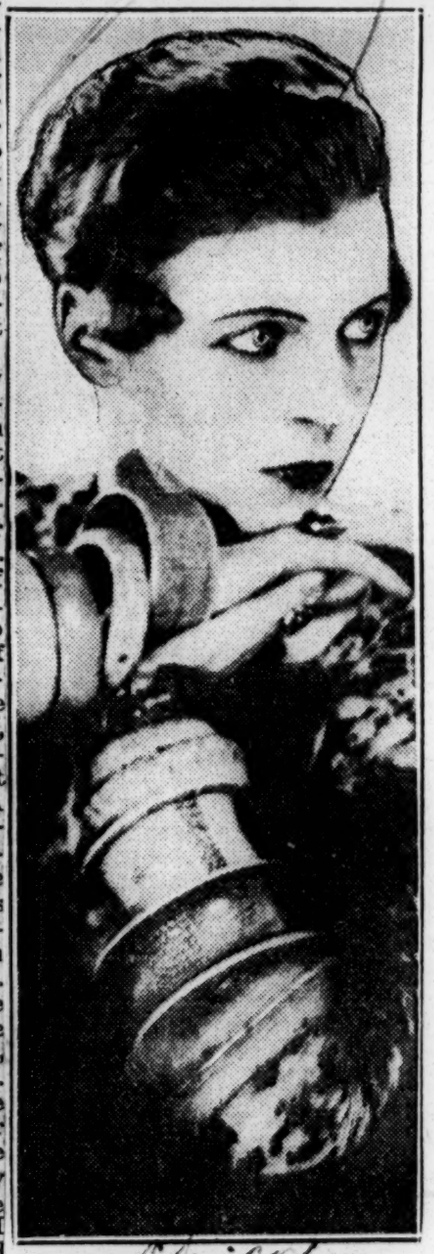
A few years ago, we were led to hope that the Negro would accomplish marvels by way of individual and associated business enterprises. We were boasting of the number and volume of business of our banks, insurance companies and building associations. Most of these have failed—some through unavoidable exigencies of business while others have been victims of incompetent or dishonest management. Our fraternities and secret orders survive only after internal bickering and expensive lawsuits where selfish and ambitious leaders waste the substance of the membership to gratify their petty rivalries and insane jealousies.

In the field of education, the whites generally exercise reserved control, leaving to the Negro only subordinate authority over intimate details. Recently several of our largest educational plants have been turned over to Negro supervision and control. We stand appalled at the internal commotion and external agitation now raging around Howard University, our principal institution of higher learning, and are tremulous as to the outcome of this noble experiment. The Negro race, one deeply regrets to say, seems calously indifferent as to the outcome of this paramount opportunity to demonstrate capacity for self direction in this most important function.

It should not be necessary to say that this indictment is not wholesale. The preacher of pessimism promotes no progress. One might go so far as to say that the majority of our leaders under the several catagories do not fall under condemnation above pointed out. But we expect that in this day of enlightenment, well nigh one hundred per cent of those elevated to leadership must be excellent, if not perfect. A corespondent answering my condemnation of the prelates of a great denomination, rejoined that a majority of its bishops were honest men. Great God, a majority is not enough. A grocerman would ruin his reputation among his customers by assuring them that a majority of the eggs in a basket or of the apples in a barrel are sound. Sound business calls for the approximation of one hundred per cent excellence.

All of the lines of failure above pointed out may be traced to the same cause: selfishness, tyranny, vanity, greed and petty jealousy. Will it ever be thus or must we needs turn to white leadership for salvation? I rather venture the hope that the race being made fully aware of its imbecilities will purge itself of these imperfections. I would give Negro youth who find themselves in the high places of leadership and authority the advice of Hamlet to his faithless parent: "Mother, assume chastity, if you have it not." The higher education of the Negro will prove to be an utter failure unless in the next half generation it produces a class of men and women who will guide, guard and govern the race along all lines of endeavor with the requisite competence, consecration and character.

Studies Negro



MISS NANCY CUNARD.

New York, May 2.—[U.P.]—Nancy Cunard, 36, claiming to be a descendant of the founder of the Cunard line, returned today from Boston to her quarters in a hotel in Harlem. She told the press she is making an anthology of studies of the Negro race and also is anxious to collect funds for the Scottsboro, Ala., Negroes recently convicted of attacking a girl on a freight train.

She said her mother objected to her knowing colored people and claimed she had been disinherited. She claimed her mother was Lady Cunard.

Lady Cunard wa sthe former Maude A. Burke of New York.

United States.

Did The Famous Criminal Lawyer Have a Change of Heart on Racial Lines When He Defended The Massie Case?

Call 5-27-32 Kansas City, Mo.

CALL GETS EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW

BY E. W. WILKINS

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LEANING comfortably back in one of the lounge chairs in the lobby of the Hotel Muehlebach Monday morning, Clarence Darrow, internationally famous criminal lawyer, made a statement as important to his Negro followers as was the verdict in the Honolulu "honor slaying" case.

I opened our talk by pointing out that many Negroes felt that he had betrayed their interests by accepting the defense of the people accused with Massie in the Hawaiian slaying.

Stipulated Own Terms

"Before I took this case," Darrow said, "I sent to my prospective client my argument in the Sweet case so that he would have no misconception of my attitude about race differences. I also stipulated in advance that if the racial angle were to be injected into this case, I would not accept the defense of the accused persons.

Call

"At no time was a racial argument made. It was a case in criminal law. My business is that of a criminal lawyer. It would have been just as absurd for me to refuse to accept this case because the dead Hawaiian was a "colored" man as it would have been for you to refuse your assignment to interview me because I am a white man.

5-27-32

Needs No Defense

"I am not trying to excuse myself to colored people for having participated in this case. Any colored person who reads and who knows my record is aware that I need neither excuse nor defense.

Kansas City

"After all," and he chuckled one of his characteristic dry chuckles, "I have to make my living, just as everyone else does. In spite of my activity on behalf of Negroes, very little of that income has come from them. Understand—that is not criticism. I have bestirred myself for colored people because I wanted to and have asked little or nothing in return. What they think of me, and this also applies to white and other people, doesn't make a great deal of difference, but I would, of course, appreciate their goodwill."

Shows His Years

I was ten minutes early for my appointment and had to wait for Darrow to finish his breakfast. When he came into the lobby from the restaurant, he looked very tired. Although he gives the impression of being tall, I discovered with some thing of a shock when I stood to shake hands with him that he is only very little taller than I, and I am a short man. He moves slowly and as though he feels sharply the weight of his 75 years. The lines in his face are deeply graven. When we sat down, he sank into his seat with the obvious gesture of a person needing rest.

His whole appearance bespeaks frailty, but that condition is overbalanced by the keenness of his eyes and readiness of his speech. His voice is low and a bit hoarse. Sitting next to him, I had to strain time and again to follow what he was saying.

Negroes Moving Up

"In my opinion, conditions in this country for the Negro are getting better. This is especially true of the South where the interracial commission has been doing some most commendable work. The stand of those white women down there in nailing the current lies about Negro offenders has done much to open the eyes of white people in general about what Negroes are really like.

"Negroes are moving ahead rapidly in education and should continue to do so. It seems to me that they will make the biggest strides forward if they develop an intelligent interest in politics. In the past, of course, they have made a big mistake by a blind adherence to the Republican party. They should vote for men and issues and forget about party.

Parker's Defeat a Milestone

"One of the finest things politically that has ever happened in this country for Negroes was Walter White's and the N. A. A. C. P.'s defeat of Parker. It showed strength and caused a new respect for the Negro vote. You have one man in Congress now. You ought to have 20 to 25 on the basis of your voting power. New York should send one; Cleveland should send one; St. Louis should certainly send one, and so on.

"Just now New York cannot be handled because Negroes' hands are tied with the present system of districting. If Negroes would get behind the kind of governor, however, who would remedy that fault, they could easily achieve national representation.

"Negroes in the mass are improving and they are also making tremendous progress individually. Men like Weldon Johnson, Roland Hayes, Walter White, and dozens of others—and I hate to start naming because there are so many Negroes of prominence who are bound to be left out of anyone's list—are simply big men, regardless of anyone's preconceived ideas of what colored people are like.

Negroes' Goal In Sight

"In any social order, the class which is away down the scale is going to try to find someone else lower than they are to kick around. In this country it is the unfortunate lot of the Negro, no matter what his accomplishments, to be the one selected for the kicking. This condition will not always obtain. With the advance the Negro has already made in spite of everything, I believe that it will be only a matter of further hard work on his part all along the line to achieve the goals which he seeks and should have."

The interview was over. As Darrow talked I had been more and more impressed wth the idea that here was indeed a man of genuine human sentiments uncolored by prejudice or by mawkish sentimentality. Here was a man who has open and bold opinions about things and people. Here was a man who was unafraid of criticism, unafraid of adverse publicity, unafraid of all the petty things which are shackles restraining the independent thinking and acting of most people.

Has No Illusions

His explanation of his work in the Massie case, a matter which has perturbed Negroes immensely, was simply a statement of fact, not by any means an apology, for none was necessary. His work in the Sweet case was the effort of a great humanitarian. I had expected to meet a roaring lion full of narratives of past achievements and casting eagerly about for new exploits. Instead I found a gentle voiced old man, kindly, tolerant, wearily critical, and wise with the wisdom attained from 75 years of colorful active existence.

Darrow has no illusions about the Negro nor about anything else. He left me with the impression that he felt that the world had a lot wrong with it, that we could all help remedy some of the outstanding faults by intelligent effort, and that whether we did or not, things would still move along somehow in spite of our criticisms.

CLARENCE DARROW

ELK SECRETARY SAYS 'PRESSION HELPING NEGRO

East Zemenc
Zeme

Says Hard Times Are Forcing Negroes to Learn A Lesson of Independence

6-9-32

CHURCH SHOULD TEACH PEOPLE HOW TO LIVE

Kentucky

Injustices Administered Race In Georgia and Missippi Affects Northerners

Zeme

PHILDELPHIA, Pa.—"This depression is binding the Negroes of this country closer together. The white man is forcing the Negro to learn a lesson that will mean more than anything else that might have happened to us," said James E. Kelly, grand secretary of the Elks, as he addressed the multitude of people gathered in the Erlanger theatre, 21st and Market streets, Sunday, as Quaker City, local and visiting lodges of the order met to pay homage to their dead.

"Such a thing should have happened to us long ago, for what the white man does to us in Alabama should be felt by every Negro in Philadelphia. It is a shame that the Liberty Bell cracked, for it is time for it to ring again. Injustice, both civil and legal, and all forms of segregation that even you in Philadelphia must be subjected to, loudly proclaims that it is time for the bell to ring again," he continued.

"Let me tell you here in this great city where the first note of liberty was conceived that you must never overlook an opportunity to vote for a Negro, because the white man is going to vote for his own every chance he gets. The church and fraternal organizations are the greatest means for propaganda, and they should launch a campaign that teaches our people not so much as how they should die, but rather how to live. If we live good here, then we can learn to live good yonder," he concluded.

Magistrate Edward W. Henry, grand treasurer of the Elks and exalted ruler of the O. V. Catto lodge, announced that he was here to help Quaker City lodge publicly celebrate the death of General D. Pression. He also stated that the lodge was going to put out a guide for Negroes seeking work and that news would be distributed to the world in general that if more domestic servants were Negroes, homes would not be fearful because of kidnappings coming from within.

"Negroes have never been implicated in any kidnaping plot, treason to the government of the United States or in any gang rule, and it is up to us to supply publicity telling the virtues of the Negro worker.

"Today we are serving notice on the world that we are fighting three menaces of the life of today—financial chaos, gang rule and communism. The lords of Wall Street must know that there must be a job for every man seeking it. The gangster must know that we are for law and order and the communist must know that the Negro will not be trapped. That we still are alive to and have faith in American ideals and are proud to be a part of the democracy."

The annual Lodge of Sorrow in commemoration of the deceased members of the Elks was held by Quaker City Lodge, No. 720, assisted by the Junior Elk Herd, No. 1; Keystone Temple, No. 448; Keystone Temple Junior Daughter Elks, No. 2, and Daisy Juveniles, No. 199, of the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World.

The officers of the Lodge of Sorrow were: Exalted ruler, John H. Graves, esteemed leading knight, Wm. H. Branch; esteemed loyal knight; James Chapel, esteemed lecturing knight; William J. Belamy; secretary, Ralph Jones; treasurer, Clarence Nottingham; inner guard, Leo Duvall; chaplain, Walter Johnson.

A program was presented before the solemn ceremony. W. C. Wingate was master of ceremony. Music was supplied by Mighty Monarch lodge, No. 45, A and B bands. The latter was under the direction of Lieut. Fred W. Simpson, and whose presentation of the Overture of 1812. by Tschaikovsky, was one of the highlights of the service. The Seventh Day Adventist choir, Keystone Temple Gleeclub, and the Spurlock male chorus sang.

Visiting lodges and temples were: Octavius V. Catto, Edward W. Henry, exalted ruler; John A. Watts lodge of Chester, Albert Reading exalted ruler; Susan Shands temple, of Chester; Pride of Camden lodge and temple; Quaker City temple and Phyllis Wheatley temple; Mighty Monarch lodge, No. 45, of New York, Gaylord Thompson, exalted ruler and the Henry L. Johnson lodge, No. 630, of the Bronx, N. Y.

John Marquess, exalted ruler of Quaker City lodge No. 720, delivered the eulogy for the dead of his lodge. Other speakers were Cora Dullivan, Bernice Taylor and B. J. Bunn.

THE NEGRO TAXPAYER.

Twelve million colored Americans will be called upon, and rightly so, to join with all other citizens in assuming the extra burden of taxation imposed by Congress so that the nation's budget might be balanced. This emergency measure, signed by President Hoover, provides for an increased charge on postage, amusements, the necessities of life, also on automobiles, perfumes and many other articles classed as luxuries.

If balancing the budget is essential to the return of prosperity it is the duty of every citizen to cheerfully shoulder the additional responsibility decreed by the executive and legislative branches of our government at Washington. Grumbling about the mounting cost of commodities during hard times will not help improve a bad situation.

The Negro, who constitutes one-tenth of the population, will be the hardest hit. He is the marginal man—the last hired and the first fired. If he raises his voice in protest it will not be against extra taxation but because of his financial plight. Paying one cent more to send an ordinary letter is a strain on one's resources when either out of work or earning just enough money to keep the wolf from the door. If the Negro were accorded economic equality he would be in a much better position to meet the multi-various assessments.

The inequalities to which the Negro taxpayer is subjected are not alone economic. They are also political and social. It was over the issue of taxation without representation that the colonies revolted against British domination. Yet the measure of representation the race is given in the Halls of Congress, at West Point, Annapolis, in the army and navy, in the state and municipal branches of government is negligible.

In some southern cities the discrimination against the Negro taxpayer reaches the height of absurdity. His children are housed in inferior schools, his teachers are paid much less than the white teachers, he is excluded from public libraries, public parks and other public institutions which he helps to maintain. He pays for something he does not get.

Wipe out all of these glaring inequalities and give the Negro taxpayer a square deal!

NANCY CUNARD'S "BLACK MAN AND WHITE LADYSHIP":

The Clash and Shock of Negro Race Prejudice Are Interestingly Discussed In This Article.

By FLOYD G. SNELSON

I am in possession of an autographed copy of the revelations of an intellectual young English white woman, Lady Nancy Cunard, scion of an old, respected and wealthy family of Great Britain, the daughter of the late founder of the Cunard Steamship Lines, whose vessels ply the Atlantic ocean between Europe and the United States. In this excellent piece of unusual reminiscence, Miss Cunard exposes the absurd indictments made against the Negro race without determinative reason, fairness or justice. She champions the cause of the black man and scourges the evils of race prejudice with no endearing terms. The following are a few excerpts from her skilful pen that are indeed timely and most interesting:

"I have a Negro friend, a very close friend (and a great many other Negro friends in France, England and America). Nothing extraordinary in that. I have a mother, whom we will at once call: Her Ladyship. We are extremely different, but I had remained on fairly good (fairly distant) terms with her for a number of years. The English Channel and a good deal of determination on my part made this possible. I sedulously avoid her social circle, both in France and England. My Negro friend has been in London with me five or six times. So far, so good. At a large lunch party at her Ladyship's house in Grosvenor Square, things were set rocking by one of those bombs that throughout her career Margot Asquith, Lady Oxford, has been wont to hurl. I was addressed, 'Hello Nancy, what is it now—drink, drugs or niggers?' There was confusion. A dreadful confusion between Her Ladyship and myself! For I was known to have a Negro friend—the drink and the drugs do not apply. Half of social London was telephoned to: 'Is it true my daughter knows a Negro?' etc.

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"To show that we are addressing ourselves seriously as a movement to the problem of race relationships, I would point to the fact that the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which is known all over the world for its helpful influence in promoting better interracial understanding; between the white and Negro races in America was originally established by the International Committee of the Y M. C. A.; and I would point further the insistence of the committee holding the World Conferences at Cleveland last summer that no discrimination should be practiced against delegates of any racial group in the hotels, Christian Associations or other such institutions in the city of Cleveland. Negro delegates were accorded the same privileges as other delegates in the best hotels and in Central Branch of the Young Men's Christian Association. It is further true that several outstanding local associations in the West and Central West are at present engaged in experimentation that will possibly lead to the community into the service of the Young Men's Christian Association without discrimination. It would be unwise to mention these places at the present time because publicity might hinder the movement that is in progress."

I may add to the statements of the general secretary that the Y. M. C. A. has responded to the appeal of its Negro constituency for representation in all departments of the world-wide and nation-wide organization. It has membership of the World's Committee in the person of Dr. John Hope, who, interestingly enough, is also the president of Dr. Woodson's Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. In the movement in the United States there is Negro membership on the General Board and there are nine Negro members of the National Council, as follows: Attorney R. L. Brokenbur, Indianapolis, Ind.; Dr. M. W. Dogan, Wiley College, Marshall, Texas; Dr. J. M. Gandy, Virginia State College, Petersburg; Dr. John Hope, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.; Dr.

NEGRO 'RIGHTS' UNDER CAPITALISM

(By Labor Research Association)

Besides being lynched, Negroes in the United States are the victims of discrimination, political, economic and social. Here are a few of the facts bearing on the discrimination and segregation practices of the white ruling class.

Political "Rights"

In at least ten southern states Negroes are completely disfranchised—denied the right to vote. According to U. S. census figures for 1930, nearly two thirds of the Negroes of voting age are disfranchised. The total Negro voting population in the country is 6,532,000 or about 9 per cent of the general population. But when diminished by disfranchisement, it amounts to only 3 per cent of the voting population.

There are many ways by which the white rulers disfranchise the Negroes, especially the impoverished masses of Negro workers and farmers. The leading ones in force in southern states are (1) literary tests; (2) property regulations and qualifications (in Alabama one must own 40 acres of land or $300 worth of taxable property before he may vote); (3) polls and other taxes; (4) requirement of regular employment; (5) requirement of "good reputation"; (6) grandfather clause; (7) requiring and understanding of the Constitution of the United States and ability to explain its sections.

But even more important in keeping the Negro away from the polls are the regulations surrounding the "white primary." Negroes are hardly ever allowed to vote in these primaries.

Even after the U. S. Supreme Court decision in the Texas primary case—hailed by the N. A. A. C. P. as a great victory. When Negroes attempted to vote in the Democratic primary on July 23rd, 1932, they were barred from the polls in many places.

In addition to these severe restrictions, guaranteed to keep Negroes away from the polls, the white overlords are in the habit of posting notices warning Negroes that if they show up at the election places, they will be marked men facing, in many cases, a lynch mob. Negroes who have attempted to exercise their theoretical "constitutional rights" have been shot down in cold blood.

Economic Discrimination

Employers show no regard for Negro workers. The latter suffer from a double exploitation because of their color. The general rule of the employers is that the Negro is last to be hired and first to be fired. The most recent report of discrimination against the Negroes is from the big Hoover Dam government construction job in Arizona, where Negroes are barred by the contracting firms. Contracts for other public works by city and state governments in the south have specified that only white workers are to be used, or a limited number of Negro workers.

Especially during the unemployment crisis, Negro workers looking for jobs are up against the fact that whites are taken on first. And, in many cases, according to the detailed reports of the National Urban League, the Negro worker will be fired and a white worker hired to take his place. For example, department stores in Columbus, Ohio have displaced Negro porters with whites. As a result of such practices, the per centage of unemployed Negroes is, in many cities, from four to six times that of white workers. In Louisville, Ky., 15 per cent of the population are Negroes yet Negroes comprise 50 per cent of the unemployed.

And in the securing of unemployment "relief"—such as it is—the Negro in many places comes last if at all. H. H. Lurie chairman of the unemployment sub-committee of the American Association of Social Workers, reports that Negroes have been excluded from the relief rolls of some southern cities, notably Dallas and Houston. In some cities, they were simply not notified of the relief registration dates.

Where the Negro does land a job it is usually of an unskilled menial kind. The discrimination against them in this respect is almost universal. Where Negroes are employed in industry, as for example in the Chicago stockyards, they usually do the roughest, dirtiest work, receiving for it less pay than whites.

Union Discrimination

Unions as well as employers discriminate against Negroes. Eleven international unions, affiliated with the A. F. of L., and 13 other unions including the four railroad brotherhoods, deny membership to Negro workers either through provisions in their constitutions or by their rituals. Other unions, while not barring them through constitutional provisions, actually keep them out. One of the most recent typical cases of a Negro worker attempting to join an A. F. of L. union without success was that of J. H. Jones, Negro carpet and linoleum layer. He lost his jobs because he was denied admission to the International Upholsterers Union. The unions of the Trade Union Unity League

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In at least ten southern states Negroes are completely disfranchised—denied the right to vote. According to U. S. census figures for 1930, nearly two thirds of the Negroes of voting age are disfranchised. The total Negro voting population in the country is 6,532,000 or about 9 per cent of the general population. But when diminished by disfranchisement, it amounts to only 3 per cent of the voting population.

There are many ways by which the white rulers disfranchise the Negroes, especially the impoverished masses of Negro workers and farmers. The leading ones in force in southern states are (1) literary tests; (2) property regulations and qualifications (in Alabama one must own 40 acres of land or $300 worth of taxable property before he may vote); (3) polls and other taxes; (4) requirement of regular employment; (5) requirement of "good reputation"; (6) grandfather clause; (7) requiring and understanding of the Constitution of the United States and ability to explain its sections.

But even more important in keeping the Negro away from the polls are the regulations surrounding the "white primary." Negroes are hardly ever allowed to vote in these primaries.

Even after the U. S. Supreme Court decision in the Texas primary case—hailed by the N. A. A. C. P. as a great victory. When Negroes attempted to vote in the Democratic primary on July 23rd, 1932, they were barred from the polls in many places.

In addition to these severe restrictions, guaranteed to keep Negroes away from the polls, the white overlords are in the habit of posting notices warning Negroes that if they show up at the election places, they will be marked men facing, in many cases, a lynch mob. Negroes who have attempted to exercise their theoretical "constitutional rights" have been shot down in cold blood.

Economic Discrimination

Employers show no regard for Negro workers. The latter suffer from a double exploitation because of their color. The general rule of the employers is that the Negro is last to be hired and first to be fired. The most recent report of discrimination against the Negroes is from the big Hoover Dam government construction job in Arizona, where Negroes are barred by the contracting firms. Contracts for other public works by city and state governments in the south have specified that only white workers are to be used, or a limited number of Negro workers.

Especially during the unemployment crisis, Negro workers looking for jobs are up against the fact that whites are taken on first. And, in many cases, according to the detailed reports of the National Urban League, the Negro worker will be fired and a white worker hired to take his place. For example, department stores in Columbus, Ohio have displaced Negro porters with whites. As a result of such practices, the per centage of unemployed Negroes is, in many cities, from four to six times that of white workers. In Louisville, Ky., 15 per cent of the population are Negroes yet Negroes comprise 50 per cent of the unemployed.

And in the securing of unemployment "relief"—such as it is—the Negro in many places comes last if at all. H. H. Lurie chairman of the unemployment sub-committee of the American Association of Social Workers, reports that Negroes have been excluded from the relief rolls of some southern cities, notably Dallas and Houston. In some cities, they were simply not notified of the relief registration dates.

Where the Negro does land a job … of an unskilled menial kind. The discrimination against them in this respect is almost universal. Where Negroes are employed in industry, as for example in the Chicago stockyards, they usually do the roughest, dirtiest work, receiving for it less pay than whites.

Union Discrimination

Unions as well as employers discriminate against Negroes. Eleven international unions, affiliated with the A. F. of L., and 13 other unions including the four railroad brotherhoods, deny membership to Negro workers either through provisions in their constitutions or by their rituals. Other unions, while not barring them through constitutional provisions, actually keep them out. One of the most recent typical cases of a Negro worker attempting to join an A. F. of L. union without success was that of J. H. Jones, Negro carpet and linoleum layer. He lost his jobs because he was denied admission to the International Upholsterers Union. The unions of the Trade Union Unity League

invite Negroes to membership on the basis of absolute economic and social equality with the white members.

Social Jim Crow

In scores of ways, Negroes are discriminated against socially. In Mississippi, a law penalizes even the "advocacy" of social equality between blacks and whites; in other states advocacy is a crime in fact if not in law.

In the field of education, the Jim Crow policy extends from kindergartens to universities. All through the south, separate schools are maintained for the children of Negroes. Seventeen states have school segregation, officially, besides hundreds of towns and cities in other states. The amount of money appropriated for Negro schools is almost invariably less than for whites schools, and the equipment is always inferior. Negro teachers are usually paid less than half that paid to white teachers. In South Carolina in 1928, total expenditure per pupil enrolled in the schools was $60.25 in the white schools and $7.65 in the Negro schools.

As is well known, there is complete segregation of Negroes all through the southern cities and towns as well as in many non southern cities such as St. Louis Los Angeles, Chicago and Cleveland Rents in the Negro ghettos are almost always higher than in the white areas and general housing conditions are worse. The death rate among the Negroes, partly as the result of the congestion in these [illegible] tes.

Segregation of Negroes is common in all parts of the country. In the North as well as the South, the color bar is raised in hotels, elevators, restaurants, stores, fraternal orders, clubs, theatres, and other places of amusement. In parks, [illegible] . A.'s hospitals, libraries, trains, recreation centers, movies, and many other places, the same practices are evident in degrees varying from state to state and city to city. In athletics, the same bar is up. Negroes are not permitted to compete with white men and women in the south, states the secretary of the Southern Amateur Athletic Union of the United States.

Marriage between the races is prohibited both by custom and by law. In 27 states, the ban is laid down against marriage. Savage legal penalties are imposed for the violation of the laws against intermarriage in some cases, those penalties include ten years in the penitentiary.

MAIL

Los Gatos, Cal.

SEP 15 1932

The Negro

(From the Christian Science Monitor)

One of the moving tragedies touching the present economic situation, in so far as it affects the United States, lies in the effect it is having upon the Negro race, which, taken as a whole, constitutes—with only the possible exception of the Indian—the most helpless aggregation of human beings within the confines of the nation.

Moreover, the problem touching the race differs materially from that touching any other element of society. It presents angles that are not presented elsewhere and offers difficulties that the restoration of normal conditions will not correct.

Every other race in the United States is here of its own volition. The Negro race was brought here by violence. The Negro was satisfied to remain in the wilderness of Africa and those who introduced him to a new sort of wilderness on strange shores and among people inherently different from his own, sustain a responsibility that, far from being observed, scarcely is recognized.

This distinction in the motivating causes which brought the Negro to America perhaps has not occured to one in a million persons of the present generation. The presence of the Negro is accepted as is that of any other race and only on rare occasions is there manifiested any special sense of responsibility. In the great majority of instances the Negro is left to shift for himself.

True, there are certain special educational provisions that reach a limited number, but for the millions beyond the school age, who are confronted with the problem of earning a living, there is little assistance.

As all persons know, the Negro was brought here as a slave, both the north and the south participating in the traffic, most of the slaves, however, being delivered into the south because climatic conditions there were more favorable. Fresh from the tropics, the Negro did not thrive in the north, though the slave traffic did thrive there.

Negro "Rights" Under Capitalism

By Labor Research Association

Tribune 9-9-32 Washington, D.C.

(Catholic political parties expressing the point of view of the white upper class support the general terror carried on against the Negro people. It is of utmost importance to note that the Socialist Pary at its convention in Milwaukee excluded social equality from its platform. The Communist Party in nominating James W. Ford, a Negro, for Vice-President symbolized the Communist position on the Negro question. "We stand unequivocally for full political, economic, and social equality," said C. A. Hathaway, chairman of the National Communist Campaign Committee.)

Besides being lynched, Negroes in the United States are the victims of discrimination, political, economical and social. Here are a few of the facts bearing on the discrimination and segregation practices of the white ruling class.

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Segregation of Negroes is common in all parts of the country. In the North as well as the South, the color bar is raised in hotels, elevators, restaurants, stores, fraternal orders, clubs, theatres, and other places of amusement. In parks, public conveyances, churches, Y.M.C.A.'s, hospitals, libraries, trains, recreation centers, movies, and many other places, the same practices are evident in degrees varying from State to State and city to city. In athletics, the same bar is up. "Negroes are not permitted to compete with white men and women in the South," states the secretary of the Southern Amateur Athletic Union of the United States.

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United States.

Reasons for Breakdown In the Negro Leadership

By KELLY MILLER

THE world is bankrupt for leadership. The World War upset the existing fabric of human order. Lenin, Mussolini and Mustopha Kamel are the only leaders of the reconstructed world who seem able to bring order out of chaos. The United States, England, France and Germany have failed to produce a single commanding leader who is able to grapple with the new order of things precipitated by this great conflict.

Kelly Miller.

When we limit our horizon to the Negro group, the breakdown is pathetic. Through tyranny and selfish greed both Liberia and Haiti have faded from the picture as national entities. In the field of domestic politics the race has been reduced to political nullity through the selfish ambitions, petty jealousies and venality of our political henchmen, our leaders. New opportunities are thrust upon us by virtue of the northern migration of a million Negro voters into states and communities of unrestricted franchise. Will the new leadership prove equal to the imposed task? We must await the coming of November for the answer.

Under the impact of modern science, the religious systems are weakening in their sanction over human thought and conduct. The Negro church is deeply discounted by the too frequent failure of those who have come to the high places of spiritual leadership and authority. The recent drastic action within the great A. M. E. Church has brought that denomination to the dust and ashes of humiliation within the eyes of its own membership and brought the question of religious self-leadership into serious jeopardy in the eyes of the religious world. A bishop with an itching palm is an abomination before God and man.

The young, high-minded youth of the race who grasp the vast opportunity of the religious estate which must shortly fall to their hands to administer must either purify or repudiate the Negro church. Herein lies the saddest plight of all. Men whom fortune raised to the highest ranks of prelacy, instead of leading their people in simplicity, righteousness and self-respect, set themselves up as potentates exhibiting the tyranny, licientiousness and unhallowed thirst for greed and power which characterized autocracy at its worst.

A few years ago we were led to hope that the Negro would accomplish marvels by way of individual and associated business enterprises. We were boasting of the number and volume of business of our banks, insurance companies and building associations. Most of these have failed—some through unavoidable exigencies of business, while others have been victims of incompetent or dishonest management. Our fraternities and secret orders survive only after internal bickerings and expensive lawsuits where selfish and ambitious leaders waste the substance of the membership to gratify their petty rivalries and inane jealousies.

In the field of education, the whites generally exercise reserved control, leaving to the Negro only subordinate authority over intimate details. Recently several of our largest educational plants have been turned over to Negro supervision and control. We stand appalled at the internal commotion and external agitation now raging around Howard University, one of our principal institutions of higher learning, and are tremulous as to the outcome of this noble experiment. The Negro race, one deeply regrets to say, seems callously indifferent as to the outcome of this paramount opportunity to demonstrate capacity for self-direction in this most important function.

It should not be necessary to say that this indictment is not wholesale. The preacher of pessimism promotes no progress. One might go as far as to say that the majority of our leaders under the several categories do not fall under condemnation above pointed out. But we expect that in this day of enlightenment well-nigh 100 per cent of those elevated to leadership must be excellent, if not perfect. A correspondent answering my condemnation of the prelates of a great denomination rejoined that a majority of its bishops were honest men. Great God, a majority is not enough.

All of the lines of failure above pointed out may be traced to the same cause: Selfishness, tyranny, vanity, greed and petty jealousy. Will it ever be thus or must we needs turn to white leadership for salvation? I rather venture the hope that the race being made fully aware of its imbecilities will purge itself of these imperfections. The higher education of the Negro will prove to be an utter failure unless in the next half generation it produces a class of men and women who will guide, guard and govern the race along all lines of endeavor with the requisite competence, consecration and character.

The Political Henchman: Work and Achievements

By KELLY MILLER

ACCORDING to the dictionary definition, a henchman is a servile assistant and subordinate; a mercenary campaign worker who acts under a political boss. This definition exactly fits most, if not all, of our political leaders. As partisans neither camp, they must needs receive orders from above and execute them below. They are in a controlled and not a controlling position.

Kelly Miller.

Henchmen are necessary in any effective political organization. The order of the bosses must be servilely executed. Unquestioning obedience is a necessary part of party discipline. Mark Hanna, perhaps the greatest of the bosses, said to an insurgent Negro "leader" before eliminating him from the equation: "I want men who will do what I tell them." Dr. R. R. Wright, Sr., is authority for this statement. We should not condemn the henchman. He is a necessary political evil. But the men who engage to play this role should understand the limitations of their function. The very acceptance of the assignment disqualifies them for leadership within the limits of the Republican and Democratic parties.

As at present disposed, the Negro can hardly be a leader, but merely a henchman. He cannot give orders but must take them. His reward is only such as befalls a good and faithful servant who does the bidding of the master. The henchman can never rise above the mercenary level of petty patronage to the more exalted heights of statesmanship.

On the other hand, the leader is one who stands unflinchingly for the application of certain principles to the group which he represents. He gives orders which he enforces by the demands of his constituency or by the integrity of his principles. He must speak with the authority of the people whom he represents. In default of a political constituency he must be backed by the organized power of wealth or of high personal authority.

Under the "lily white" movement begun under McKinley and completed under Hoover, the Negro no longer speaks with the authority of any political unit in the South. The last vestige is being lost in Georgia and Mississippi. Perry Howard is the last of the Mohicans. Bob Church holds on to a corner of Tennessee with bulldog tenacity. All other Southern Negro "leaders" have been reduced to the level of the henchmen, doing the bidding of their betters.

In the North, Oscar DePriest stands out like a solitary mountain peak in national politics. Speaking with the authority of his constituency he takes orders from no man and no party. He not only speaks for his local constituency, but for the race at large.

I do not mean to speak disrespectfully of the political henchmen. The epithet itself is an ugly one. But the Negro in general must play this role or remain wholly outside of the game. Many entirely worthy and high-minded men feel that they must needs wear the servile yoke in order to be of service to themselves or to their race. The situation forces them into such a pitiable position. But they should never deceive themselves nor the people into the belief that they are leaders.

The henchman never gains any important influence in the councils of the party when victorious. For twelve years we have seen Negro politiicans who vainly style themselves "leaders" standing outside of the door of power knocking in vain for an entrance invitation. The true leader enters without knocking. The henchman cannot secure any genuine recognition for his constituency. He must approach the throne of power with hat in hand begging for the crumbs of recognition which are withheld or grudgingly granted.

During the past three administrations the Negro henchmen have not secured from the three administrations any recognition of first-class consideration. They have not received appointment to office nor recognition of the just claims of their race by way of enactment or enforcement of law. On the other hand, the only worthwhile political advantage or recognition that has come to the race has been won by the N. A. A. C. P., which has stood in the place of genuine leadership, speaking to the conscience of the nation with moral authority and the righteousness of their cause. The association does not take orders from any man or party; it does not beg but demands. It belongs to no political party and therefore does not expect the petty offices that go to party henchmen, but demands the enactment and enforcement of righteous law without discrimination on account of race or color.

The last annual report of this organization contains a list of accomplishments of this organization for the past twenty-three years. Compared with these worthwhile achievements, the accomplishments of the Negro henchmen who style themselves "leaders" sink into insignificance. Indeed, one can scarcely point to a worthwhile single accomplishment to their credit.

The race stands greatly in need of a leadership that leads. The henchmen, like the poor, we have ever with us. They are the inevitable incidents of partisan party politics. They form a function that must be filled as the servants in a house. We should not begrudge them the crumbs of reward that fall in their servile lot. But the race can make no further political headway through the instrumentality of henchmen.

Chattanooga, Tenn. News
Wednesday, June 8, 1932

The South's Problems

(From an address by George Fort Milton to the graduating class of the University of Louisville, Tuesday, June 7.)

THIS new South of ours has many problems, some as old as our red clay hills. Everything of character and worth must have foundations and traditions, for the new must be rooted in the old. But likewise, if there be life in it, and not mere inert matter, the old must flower into the new. One duty of the educated man is ever to face forward. Antiquarians solve few problems. I suggest the value of the experimental urge. The slang expression, "try anything once," is but the distortion of a useful truth. Constant experiment is the foundation of progress. So many things are being poorly done. Try some other mode of doing it. It may prove a better way.

Here is, for example, the Negro problem, calling for the exercise of real forbearance and common sense. It is particularly the South's problem. We must face it, we must solve it, with justice, not prejudice. . . .

Then there is the problem of Labor. Of recent years, the South has been industrializing. There have been legitimate reasons for it, and some of another sort. In the South, the factory is closer to the market for its goods. We have power in ample abundance, and fuel at a reasonable cost. We have a generally lower rate of taxation than in the industrial sections of the East. . . .

But there is another side to the picture. In making their scales of wages, these Southern factories are entitled to take into account the South's lower cost of living. But some have put their scale much below what it ought to be, even after the difference in living costs has been applied. The time is sure to come when Labor will seek to readjust these wage scales, so that, after the application of the differences in living costs, workers performing equal work in the South will be paid as well as those of New England and of New York.

When this time comes—and there are symptoms of its beginnings—we must not be unheedful of the rights of Labor. A low wage scale will not prove an unmixed boon to the South. Human rights are quite as vital as those of property. If we do not protect our working men and women, who can prophesy the future of the South? . . .

Mention of the Labor problem leads directly to a consideration of the even more fundamental one of industrialization. There is no use for us to say that industrialization is good or bad. The South cannot escape it, even were this desirable. The question involved is: Shall the people of the South be the servants or the masters of the machines?

This is a problem of moment, probably as fundamental a question as ever faced a section of unfettered folk. The machine in itself is neither bad nor good, an instrument of neither ethical nor social signification. It assumes these qualities from the way in which it is used. It is a tool of production, a lever by which to lengthen the reach of the human arm, to lend cunning to the clumsy fingers of the average man. If we control it in the proper fashion, industrialization can be an infinite blessing to the South. And it can be quite otherwise. We can have man harnessed to the machine, spending his life the bond-servant of the tool. That which should strike off his shackles should become but another fetter to hinder his living a free and noble life.

As late as a century and a half ago, these green-clad mountains, these smiling valleys, these broad and fertile plains, were the abode of the Indian. During most of the last century, a touch of the frontier still lingered, and the South retained a place of individual prowess, of individual accomplishment and control; an agricultural section, rooted in and close to the nurturing soil.

There were certain rare qualities in a civilization thus cradled beneath the stars and lulled by the winds sighing through the trees. Man recognized his personal responsibilities, and the necessity for self-sufficing toil. He had a chance for self-communion. His picture-show was the woodlands, his "talkie" the sweet-throated birds. He was an individualist, probably unskilled in letters, but the master of his soul.

Now comes this great industrialization, this crowding together of multitudes . There comes a time when this individualist is taken into a modern factory and put to the never-ending task of drilling a hole in an iron plate. It may be that today he is better situated, that his children attend better schools, and he lives in a better home. But be not too sure about it. The change has a certain aspect of the tragic. The machine is ruthless to its servant. Only its master does it obey.

In the train of the Industrial Revolution have come an infinitude of problems—those of economics, of education, of sociology, of mind and heart and soul. I cannot chart them, and I dare not suggest definitive solutions. But I can, and do, hint the essential philosophy involved. If man is the master, and not the servant, of the machine, industrialization will benefit the South. But it must be controlled in the public interest. The brawn and brain and morals of man must not be sacrificed to cogs and cams.

Furthermore, we are faced with the need for political realists. Traditions, even those still faintly scented with lavendar and old rose, cannot settle the South's problems, social, intellectual or political. There used to be a saying that there were three things in which the South devoutly believed—Hell, calomel and the Democratic Party. Some of our moderns have come to doubt the temperature of Satan's fiery furnace. Some of our physicians are unimpressed with the eternal efficacy of calomel, and there was an election in the South in November, 1928. All this is good. The South is beginning to have twinges of realism. It is a consummation devoutly to be wished.

I personally am a believer in the political philosophies of Thomas Jefferson, as applied with the rough courage of Old Hickory, and made immortal by Woodrow Wilson's lofty thoughts. But, although a believer in the principles of the Democratic Party, it seems to me there has been no single Southern condition so harmful as the existence, election after election, of a Solid South. It is a compliment to no man or section that his vote be counted in advance. . . .

Finally, we must not be parochial in our viewpoint, our interests must not be constructed by latitude. It is as Americans that we must meet these problems, as Americans that we must seek to supply leadership for the South. Among other needs of the section, there is the outstanding one of thinking broadly about our problems, of ceasing to look at the blue sky above us from the bottom of our Southern well.

Chattanooga, Tenn.
TIMES

SEP 1 2 1932

SAYS NEGRO RACE LEADERLESS HERE

William Shepherd, Colored Finds Little Done to Aid His People.

The Negro race in Chattanooga is without a leader in the opinion of William Shepherd, colored, 1108 Central avenue, who in a statement yesterday said he "prayed for a Moses to lead this Negro race of mine out of political bondage."

Shepherd said he was neutral in the argument between the "so-called" Negro leaders in this city and that he recognized the necessity for some member of the race to take up worthy projects which will be beneficial to the Negroes. He said he didn't care to participate in the argument between the various politicians, but his observations were made as an "ordinary citizen interested in the welfare of my race."

Recently Shepherd said he had noticed "a number of write-ups of the so-called leaders of this faction and that faction, each attacking or defending the shortcomings of this leader or that leader."

"We as a race of people," Shepherd wrote, "can raise or give notes for millions of dollars to build churches for the soul welfare of our race that pays no dividends whatsoever, but keeps our race in poverty for generations to come." The crying need today is to put "these millions to a useful purpose to help suffering humanity," Shepherd declared.

"We can raise hundreds of dollars to have conventions and big demonstrations in a $1,000,000 building and yet 95 per cent. of our Negro men are on the sidewalks of this city and their families at the door of starvation," Shepherd said, adding that "to have men come forward in the face of this and claim leadership is beyond me."

"Whether he be a lawyer, doctor, preacher, politician or what not, I for one say Chattanooga has no leader among the Negroes," he continued. "I mean to say that our so-called leaders have put us in this predicament. We are as children in the wilderness, stranded. Now you churches, fraternal organizations, political, medical, charitable and all other organizations that are formed for the uplift of the Negro race should get together and stop fighting. Let's build an old ladies' home, a home for our wayward girls, open interprises to give employment to our race, build hospitals or raise funds to help crying conditions at Erlanger hospital, the Children's hospital and Walden's hospital. Let's not argue about being taxpayers, as I, for one, think the good white people of this city have done more than their part for our cause. Let's show them some appreciation by showing some effort on our part.

"We have already in our midst a little orphans' home sponsored by a young woman who is devoting all of her time to caring for the little fellows who have no one to care for them.

"You preachers, doctors, fraternal organizations, business men, charity workers, political associations and you who want to be leaders, there is plenty of work and a great field to do for those who cannot help themselves."

U.S. Leadership Has Broken Down Since the War

If majority of Bishops are honest men, that is not enough. A grocer would ruin his reputation by telling his customers only a majority of his eggs or apples are sound.

BY KELLY MILLER

The world is bankrupt for leadership. The World War upset the existing fabric of human order. Lenin, Musselini and Mustopha Kamel are the only leaders of the reconstructed world who seem able to bring order out of chaos. The United States, England, France and Germany have failed to produce a single commanding leader who is able to grapple with the new order of things precipitated by this great conflict.

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United States.

U.S. Leadership Has Broken Down Since the War

If majority of Bishops are honest men, that is not enough. A grocer would ruin his reputation by telling his customers only a majority of his eggs or apples are sound.

BY KELLY MILLER

The world is bankrupt for leadership. The World War upset the existing fabric of human order. Lenin, Mussolini and Mustopha Kamel are the only leaders of the reconstructed world who seem able to bring order out of chaos. The United States, England, France and Germany have failed to produce a single commanding leader who is able to grapple with the new order of things precipitated by this great conflict.

Kelly Miller

When we limit our horizon to our group the break down is pathetic. Through tyranny and selfish greed both Liberia and Haiti have faded from the picture as national entities. In the field of domestic politics the race has been reduced to political nullity through the selfish ambitions, petty jealousies and venality of our political henchmen, our leaders.

New opportunities are thrust upon us by virtue of the northern migration of a million Negro voters into states and communities of unrestricted franchise. Will the new leadership prove equal to the imposed task? We must await the coming of November for the answer.

Church Discounted

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The Dred Scott Case

IT IS a great misfortune that Beveridge passed away before he finished his life of Lincoln. As it is, what Mr. Bowers records about him deals a fatal blow to the "mythical Lincoln"—the Lincoln of the late Dr. Barton, who decorated him with angel plumes.

As I am afraid you won't get this book, I'll quote a little further to induce you to do so. Speaking of the discussion by Beveridge of the "Dred Scott decision," Mr. Bowers says: "Nowhere had he found more of the tangled underbrush of legend and falsehood, and again the understanding and belief of a lifetime were swept away. He began his research for the chapter still saturated with the poisonous propaganda of generations; here surely, he thought, he would find corroboration of the things taught him in childhood and in school. Of course the Dred Scott decision involved a wicked conspiracy between President-elect Buchanan, President Pierce and Chief Justice Taney to serve the 'Slave Power.' Of course the justices were large slave-owners; of course the opinion of Taney was utterly indefensible—and he knew it; and of course the Republican leaders of the country instantly met the opinion with vehement denunciation.

Naturally, wherever men met together, this 'monstrous act' of Taney was the subject of indignant conversation. Under the compulsion of facts, Beveridge was to change his mind. Very quickly under his investigation the charge of 'conspiracy,' born of the delay of the court, was relegated to the junk heap of political canards.

"And the justices? He went into their lives and records as meticulously as if he were examining them for jury service in a murder trial—and the slave-owning fabrication went glimmering. Taney had freed his slaves long before, and while two or three of the justices owned house servants, none were the great slave-owners they had been pictured by the abolitionists. Beveridge found them men of high-minded patriotism and great legal erudition. . . . This Taney, the infamous slave-driver of his lifelong imaginings, emerged from Beveridge's researches in a vastly different light. 'The more I study the matter, the more I think that you are right in your praise of Taney; he seems to me to have been an able, upright, patriotic old man,' he wrote to Professor Hodder."

CLOSE RANKS

Nothing is accomplished by division o action; there must be unity of purpose in orde to succeed in any given line. We as a group have the opportunity of bettering our condition if we but realize the importance of uniting ourselves in the interest of a common cause. We must assume our proper responsibility in things affecting the social and political status of the Race.

We are untrue to both ourselves and to our posterity if we fail to fight for the things that are right in public life and in public office. We are entitled to all that the government has to give any other citizen. We comply with every requirement that other citizens have to comply with. We are off of our knees; we are standing upright.

We yield to no one in our loyalty to the government of the United States and the laws of the several states. We bear arms in time of war; we work for the advancement of the nation in time of peace. Where men freely give their blood in a common cause there is no superiority.

Superiority in mankind is found among those who are willing to share the privileges of the government with those who are responsible for its maintenance. When the activities of the government are hedged about by the privileged class it is no longer the voice of the people. It is merely a false-sounding manifesto of a democracy that does not exist.

Our problem is to fight within the ranks, not outside. We are told that our revolution was the protest of Englishmen against an invasion of the rights secured by Magna Charta; that the interference of parliament with the colonists aroused the Anglo-Saxon in his new home to a spirit of revolt. We must constantly bring to the attention of this same Anglo-Saxon that the things that he fought for we are helping him to maintain.

If freedom was good for him, surely it is not bad for us. Liberty is the peculiar heritage of no race. It belongs to all the people. It is the God-given price of energy, effort and persistence. We believe that the failure upon our part to share in the responsibility of the government is treason on his part.

The time has come for us to close ranks on matters having to do with our common interest. Our politics may be one thing, but our racial interest must ever be the same. Things affecting one must be considered as things affecting all. In other words, we must have a program, one on which every black man can stand—for benefit of black people. Think this over; it is worth a thought.

PRIEST URGES REPENTANCE OF SINS AGAINST THE NEGRO

Catholic Speaker Says Whites Do Nothing to Atone for Crimes.

BLACKS SUFFER MORE THAN REDS

Danger Being Stored Up for the Future.

(ANP By the SIDELINER)

WASHINGTON—"As all colors of cows are cows and all colors of horses are horses, all colors of men are human and brothers."

Thus spoke Father James M. Gillis, C.S.P., editor of the New York Catholic World, in a coast to coast N.B.C. broadcast last Sunday afternoon on the Catholic Hour, sponsored by the National Council of Catholic Men.

His subject was "White Men and Colored." Next week's subject is "Gentile and Jew."

Father was caustic in his discussion of the wrongs and injustices which have been heaped upon the Negro, "simply because he is a Negro."

Among his statements were such remarks as these: "The white man and the black man are brothers. The Negro is wholly human, as has been proved by the fact that intermarriage between the two races has proved fruitful." "One-third of the whole of the United States population," declared Father Gillis, "has a strain of Negro blood. No matter how much the white man may revolt at the idea, that fact still remains." "A mulatto has been consecrated and ordained a bishop, that has been done in the United States."

Square Deal

Pleading for a square deal for the Negro, Father Gillis said: "All rights belonging to man must not be denied the Negro. Indignities have been heaped upon him because he is a Negro. In some sections he has been denied the vote, in some sections he is paid lower wages than the white man, for the same work, because he is a Negro. He has been refused admittance to certain trade unions, denied membership in white churches; he cannot attend schools with whites, except in the North, and the schools which are set aside for him are inferior to those made for whites, yet the black man pays his taxes just like the white man.

Jim-Crow Law

"Where the Jim-Crow law is in effect, he is taxed for entertainments which he cannot enjoy. One wealthy Negro's home in Chicago has been bombarded seven times yet he is denied redress. He is lynched.

"The Negro is considered as an alien, he is ostracised, he is considered as an outcast, like a leper. More indignities must be suffered by him incessantly and if he were to rise in rebellion, he would be shot down like a dog."

"Fellow citizens of the white race,' he pleaded, "let us consider. We have treated the Negro more unjustly than the Red man. No matter what we have done to atone for our crimes to the Red man, we are doing nothing to atone for our crimes to the Negro.

"If the curse of God can pass, as the Bible says, to the third and fourth generations, it will be true for the sins against the black man that it is up to us to wash them out. In the name of God, let us give him simple justice!!! We are storing up danger for our descendants."

Taunted in North

Father Gillis declared that "the black man is now progressively throwing off his shackles. He has been taunted by his leaders in the North into coming up North, and he has come North and he is feeling his freedom." He emphasized the lack of restraint which the Negro felt in northern sections, relative to schools, churches, etc.

He lauded the capacities of the Negro, saying: "Yes, they have abundant talent, talent which can be used for this Nation, or against it. Some of them have become Bolsheviks.."

He then quoted from a poem by Claude McKay, in a most resonant tone, saying that "if we must go down fighting, let us go down fighting back." "Pray God that he does not rise in rebellion," said Father Gillis. Father Gillis declared that if a poem of that nature had been written and read in 1776, "it would have been called 'patriotic.'" And then he added: "The black man has suffered more from us than we ever suffered from King George." And he concluded by repeating that: "The black man and the white man are brothers, so ordained by God."

His address was made at six o'clock, E.S.T., and came from Washington, under the auspices of the National Council of Catholic Men, with headquarters at 1321 Massachusetts Avenue, nw., here.

United States.

"WHITE AND TWENTY-ONE"

Recently, an automobile, carrying several white youths, passed one in which there were Negroes. The youths were in good spirits and out for a good time. On the tire cover at the back of their car, these words were painted: "White and 21."

As soon as they had passed the Negroes' car, the youths drove off the pavement on to the dirt shoulder, in order to throw dirt back on the Negroes. It was a hot day and the windows and windshield of the Negroes' car were open. The Negroes were outraged and furious. But they were helpless. The youths were "white and 21" and therefore above chastisement for wronging Negroes.

A few thoughtful people are beginning to fear that the selfishly reckless spirit, indicated by those words on the back of the youth's car, is becoming too prevalent in America. Such a spirit is dangerous for the country and for the nation. A similar spirit destroyed Rome. And most people still think such a spirit of wreckless disregard of the rights of others brought about Germany's undoing.

To many thinking men, the commuting of the sentence of the Massie defendants was the most significant act in international relations since the murder which precipitated the World War. Not only because it was wrong to pardon the criminals, but because it showed that the leaders and highest officials of America were ready to violate its courts; to stultify all of its principles of justice and fairness; and even to contaminate the presidential prerogative to save, from even a weak punishment, criminals guilty of a cold blooded murder, because they were "white and 21."

Last week, Jack Sharkey fought Max Schmelling for the heavyweight championship. Those who heard the broadcast, as well as those who saw the fight, were almost unanimous in the charge that Schmelling was robbed of his title. It is being said that Americans believed that the championship should be held by a native American and just took it.

Here in Texas, the same spirit is in the saddle, riding down the feeble rights of Negroes. Everyone knows how cruelly the criminal courts ride over the rights of Negroes. Then there are the official lynchings, where everybody knows the perpetrators, but lets them hide in a conspiracy of silence. And now a few hardboiled Democrats, who are "white and 21," are deliberately flaunting a decision of the United States Supreme Court because they do not want Negroes to vote in the primary.

"White and 21!" What's wrong with it, some will ask. As long as a man or race feels that being "white and 21" gives license to abuse the rights of others with impugnity, that man or race will go on sowing a crop of hate such as those youths sowed when they fouled the Negroes, or such as America sowed in Hawaii. The Negro and other growing races resent being bullied and abused by a man just because he's "white and 21." They challenge him, who is white and 21" to show his superiority by restraint and courtesy.

History of Segregation And Slavery Are Parallel

By Dr. CARTER G. WOODSON

SEGREGATION as the sequel of slavery is history repeating itself. At first there was some objection to systematized slavery, but the ndels. Now when the system became organized and apparently profitable exploitation, so many of the "faithful" were not particular about converting infidels to their religion because this might destroy the pet institution, inasmuch as there was an unwritten law that Christians could not be held as slaves.

Carter G. Woodson.

Later when the Negro slaves came upon the scene and so easily took to the exploiters' religion, the god had to be consulted again for a change of will; or the god they worshipped had to be destroyed and a new one set up to do what the exploiters wanted done. This is what man in his wickedness always does. Well might one say that god did not create man, but man created god.

Now when the exploiter had done this his god said unto him, "Although the Negroes may embrace religion you do not have to liberate them as you do others, because the black slaves belong to a different race." This settled the matter. Books were written to prove it, and preachers of the newly manufactured faith proclaimed it as a divine decree. Negroes, taught, then, to obey their masters because it was right in the sight of the new deity, accepted this faith and carried out their will, for only a few like Nat Turner dared to protest. And so it continued until the anti-slavery forces convinced the world that the institution was wrong in principle.

Segregation has followed the same course. At first certain churchmen objected to it because of religious teachings to the contrary. The god thus standing in the way, however, was promptly thrown down, and in his place was set up another to justify the regime. Negroes, having opportunity to learn religion and ethics only from their oppressors, accepted this as final, just as they had done in the case of slavery. And they will probably put up with it until some one with vision and the power of execution comes along and shows that segregation is a handicap to human progress.

Our religion will have little bearing on the situation, for a large number of the Negro ministry approve segregation in the church, and the defender of the present management of the Y. M. C. A. says that it is not considered un-Christian to exclude Negroes from their buildings because of their color and compel them to dwell in separate establishments. These institutions, then, have become anti-Christian from the point of view of Jesus of Nazareth.

Few of us realize, then, what crimes are committed in the name of this deity. He once ordained that the Negro should be enslaved Now he ordains that the Negro be segregated. This deity of the oppressor is so obliging, and he should ever be praised for coming to the rescue of his creators. He has always been at hand to do the thing the oppressor desires. After all then it has been more "advantageous" for the modern man to make god than that god should make him. For if god made man he might control him, but man wants to control god.

I would not have any objection to this program of the prophets of segregation who live on the profits of segregation if they did not pull me and all other persons of African descent down with them. If segregation resulted in the extermination of the active segregationists only, we would have reason to rejoice, for the oppressed would thereby be relieved of a heavy burden. The unfortunate thing is that while the Negro segregationists are made comfortable by the price they get, it works the ultimate destruction of the whole race thereby handicapped.

Someone will say that this thought is an exaggeration, but you do not have to go far to find the evidence. A man who cannot secure as good food, clothing and shelter as another man is handicapped in the struggle of life. A man who has to work for less than another and at the same time must pay the same rent, taxes, and the cost of educating his children will fall behind the other as the years go by. A man who must live in the germ-ridden districts with less of air and ease and comforts of nature cannot keep pace with the other who has no such impediments to overcome. A man who has to work longer hours than the man of leisure will never have time to think. From such handicapped people will come no thought, no vision, no program, no power of execution. They must gradually die out. The oppressor does not need to enact any laws to provide for their extermination. The only thing necessary is to bring to pass that these desirable conditions shall obtain, and the end of the Negro will rapidly approach while "psalm-singing" segregationists are piously expressing interest in the race.

ATTLEBORO, MASS.
SUN
JUL 12 1932

No Race Problem

Born in the South, reared in the South, living among negroes ever since I was knee-high to a duck, I have never yet seen a race problem that was not created by well intentioned non-Southern people, who tried to work out a question of which they had no basic knowledge, or sympathetic understanding.

Fundamentally, the attitude of the non-Southerner, toward the negro is that of the bachelor toward the baby. Bachelors, as a rule, are not keen about babies. The ethical bachelor wants every baby to have a square deal. He may even have his own very definite ideas about the kind of square deal that babies should receive. He may go so far as to sit down and work out in detail and put on paper, what he thinks about the rights of babies.

If he has money, he may be willing to spend large sums to advance the welfare of babies. But he may have no real love for babies. He may not have a way with him that babies like. Any baby that he may force himself to take into his arms, may squall its head off, because it feels out of place and uncomfortable, in contact with him.

The bachelor of that type wants everything in the world done for babies, but he doesn't want to do it. He will tell how it should be done. He will provide the where-with-all to see it done. Yet his theories may be all wrong, and he may cause every baby whose life he influences to have the colic.

The average non-Southerner does not like negroes, but the average Southerner does.

Not long ago, I heard a woman say warmly, "I just love our negroes." She meant it. She was a Georgia woman.

The negro is not easy to get acquainted with. He may seem to be, but he is not. He hides his real feelings behind a mask, when dealing with those who are not of his race, and with whom he does not feel at home. The negro, though apparently ingenious, is in reality secretive.

But the Southerner and the colored man understand each other. Their fathers understood each other; so did their grandfathers, their great grandfathers. It is perfectly natural for the Southern man and the colored man to understand each other. And folks who understand each other, like each other. Besides, instinctively, the Southern man feels a responsibility for the colored man. He has his own ideas of discharging that responsibility. Those ideas are not always satisfactory to the theoretical non-Southerner. They may not always be satisfactory to the Southerner.

Changing conditions bring changing states of mind. The Southerner and the negro will ultimately work out together the negro's problems, to the eventual welfare of the negro. The negro is valuable to the Southerner; and as the years roll on, he will become more and more valuable, and more and more appreciated.

The negro is improving at a remarkable rate of speed, when measured by the comparative terms of human progress. During my short life time, I have seen marked headway in the negro's improvement.

There is no race problem in the South. There never would have been, but for well meant outside interference. There never will be, if there is no more well meant outside interference. —W. W.

THE NEGRO MUST LIVE IN TWO WORLDS.

First, in the one of his own making with its budding literature and art, its newspapers, its churches, its lodges, schools and its social relations and intermingling, for here and here only he finds an opportunity to direct his life, satisfy his longing and ambition, and develop a four-square personality.

On the other hand he cannot fail to take due cognizance of the other world designated "white", and upon which, for the greater part economically, he has had to depend for sustinance. In order to live and prosper in a world whose material resources were appropriated and duly labeled long before he became of legal age the Negro has been forced to develop traits of adaptability, cunniing and often hypocricy which have been responsible for evolutionary charateristics seemingly more necessary than admirable 7-15-32

The dual existence of the Negro in the United States carries with it grevious handicaps, entails countless sacrifices and renders necessary inconvenience and much lost motion. In comparison, the white man, with his single standard, his simpler loyalties and his primary devotions, has a decided advantage in the race of life.

PATERSON, N. J.
NEWS
JUL 8 1932

"The Other Side"

Editor of the News.
Dear Sir:

Within the limits of our city there lives seven thousand unfortunate persons who are suffering miserably because they are unjustly misunderstood. I am not attempting to make a permanent adjustment of the unpleasant situation which comes as a result of this misunderstanding. I do believe, however, that a group misunderstood is a group unjustly treated and denied certain necessities which are essential for a full existence and the living of a good life. With this purpose in mind, I wish to counteract a very unfair attack upon the Negro citizenry of Paterson.

All writers of sociology agree that we live in a social world. This fact is so obvious that only one authority is quoted in support of this contention. Charles Horton Cooley, in his book, "Human Nature and the Social Order," states, "A separate individual is an abstraction unknown to experience, and so likewise is society when regarded as something apart from individuals." In other words, the Negroes, in whose behalf this article is written, do constitute a part of society. Their state of affairs therefore, whether desirable or undesirable affects not only that portion of society which they maintain, but the whole chain of circumstances which we call the social world. The Negro problem in Paterson not only affects the Negroes of Paterson, but it affects everyone and everything that goes to make up Paterson.

The fundamental question should be therefore, Are we concerned? There can be but one answer. Since society is a thing in reality, since the acts and conditions of persons in society reflect upon the complex whole of society, our answer must be in the affirmative.

If we are to agree with a renowned sociologist, Pitirim Sorokin, social stratification is a natural and perpetual trend of human society. Individuals of one social group attempt to, and do strive to reach the levels of the next highest group. This same fact holds true for the Negro. He is motivated by the desire for better homes, and higher standards of living. The log cabin is replaced by a frame house. The Negro not only smiles in appreciation upon hearing the St. Louis Blues, as a matter of fact some Negroes do not enjoy the St. Louis Blues at all, he also appreciates the opera "Faust" or "Aida." Even the casual observer will admit that the Negro does strive to adjust himself to the civilization in which he is found. Strange as it may seem the Negro does make some contributions to that civilization. It is quite necessary to call attention to many nationally known Negroes who almost daily are brought to the attention of the public. The Negroes of Paterson send their children to high school and college, but the attempts of these children to help their people to adjust themselves to the social order are unrecognized and lost in the fog of misunderstanding.

Many writers and sociological thinkers agree that crime is largely the outgrowth of economic conditions. There is a great element of truth in this assertion if we keep in mind the various classifications of crime and criminals. The crime rate among Negroes is high, very

United States.

high. On the other hand, from all social and economic reasons it should be. These reasons, mind you, grow out of the sin of misunderstanding. A nation wide survey conducted by the Negro Urban League, revealed that Negroes are hardest hit by our present economic depression. Negroes are unemployed far in excess to their proportion of the population. For example, in Atlanta, Ga., where Negroes make up 29 per cent of the population they have 65 per cent unemployment. We have a similar unemployment proportion in Paterson. Is there any reason therefore, why the crime rate among Negroes should not be high? The high rate of crime, however, is not the important thing. . H. Henderson in his book, "Crime and Its Repression," states, "if genius is recognized as a product of society, so must crime and immorality be likewise recognized." In other words, the rate of crime among the Negroes of Paterson disrupts not only the social order of the Negroes themselves, but the social order of Paterson!

A member of one of our major political parties has repeatedly made the boast that with a pocket full of half dollars and a bottle of gin, he could purchase any Negro vote in Paterson, particularly in the Second ward. The consciousness of respectable Negroes shreiks in rebellion and denies this to be true. It is true that to some Negroes the vote is a new weapon. It is also true that a small percentage of Negroes have sold out for a drink and a half dollar. This small group, however, is not the representative group neither are the masses guilty of this practice. This majority of Negroes are too well concerned about their own welfare as well as the welfare of their children to sell out for so small a price. This individual who boasts so loudly, what hospital has he erected for the curing of Negro diseases? What school has he built for the education of Negro youths? What hungry Negroes have been fed by his hand that he can direct the destiny of the Negro?

The preservation and creative growth of this race is possible only by the extinction of oppression, calumny and disinterestedness and the rebirth of sympathy and understanding.

His intellectual attainments and efforts can be guided only properly through the gate from which are removed the above mentioned evils.

If a contrary view is constant, two destinies await the negro: return the virtual slavery through intellectual discomposition and vacuity or the revival of a clannishness, beastial and marauding at best, which will be a revival of medieval brutality. The readers of this column have perhaps been wondering what the Negroes are seeking. The Negro is not seeking social equality. Social equality means the right to intermarriage and intermarriage means racial extinction. The Negro, like any other people wants to preserve his race. The Negro wants only what any other race wants, namely, a human interest and mutual understanding of his problems.

—Walter H. Jackson, 120 Sixteenth avenue, Paterson.

NEWS & HERALD
NEWBURYPORT, MASS.

JUL 11 1932

AMERICA'S CHANCE

The greatest opposition to the Negro in the South comes from the poor white there. The more cultivated Southerners have always had a protective attitude toward the former slave, which has not been too averse, as time has gone on, to giving the Negro both more education and more opportunity. The poor white comes in competition, however, with him in the labor market, and, with his voting control, is against any greater chance for the black population. And possibly we cannot too much blame him.

In an apparent effort to satisfy and placate the growing number of educated Negroes in this country, certain groups of white Americans are establishing what they call "good will societies between the white and black." Good will, of course, is always to be appreciated and the objective, if founded on sincerity and honesty of purpose, is to be commended, but the real question black people want answered is: "What is the basis of this good will? Are these meetings sincere and well intentioned, or are they merely smoke screens used to cover up such evils as segregation, disfranchisement and travesties on justice in our courts?"

You certainly cannot lynch a man's sons and ravish his daughters, and expect to satisfy him by inviting him to a good will meeting. If these meetings are intended to be the means of eradicating the evils complained of—more power to them, but the new Negro wants action in conformity to words. The thinking black man is breaking away from the traditions and docility of the praying black man.

The cry of hallelujah is no longer the inspiration of their future hopes; they want prayer with deeds. That the Colored brother has abandoned both the tricky preacher and the purchasable leader is strikingly noticeable in his growing interest in radical organizations throughout the country.

The American government is doing more to force the Negro into the Communist party, by destroying his respect and confidence in the laws of his own country, than all the agents that foreign countries have sent to America for this purpose. Communist leaders throughout the world need no agents in this country to build up their party.

The American white man, with his superiority complex, is unconsciously instilling radical ideas into the minds of Negroes, his chief agents being race prejudice, lynching, injustices in the courts both North and South, and the brazen illicit association of white men with Colored women in the South. These baneful influences are serving the purpose of the Communists and creating for them a much stronger organization than their leaders could ever hope to build.

The American Negro has had a unique experience in this country and his rapidly changing attitude on questions affecting his social and civic rights is indicative of his growing intelligence and of his insistence on being accorded the same privileges of citizenship as are granted to other races in this country.

The Negro is the only 100 per cent citizen in America, but is gradually being forced to join other races and other groups in order to obtain some semblance of justice in his own country. America should awaken while the task is yet easy, re-establish the supremacy of the law and seek to reclaim the Negro from the growing ranks of the radicals, whose forces he has joined as a measure of self-protection.

ANOTHER ANGLE OF THE BLACK MAN'S PROBLEM

Much has been said about taxation without representation, but we hear little about representation without taxation. The nation's welfare depends on the prosperity of its business institutions and likewise the purchasing power of the people regulates the law of supply and demand.

Taxation is necessary to meet the expenses of government and is essential to both the citizen and the nation; it is the first requirement of a citizen who desires a voice in the affairs of government.

Limitations and restrictions placed on the Colored man prevent him from paying his full quota of taxes. The government permits him to be deprived of his proper representation, which in turn prevents him from paying his just proportion of taxes, and which he would pay were he getting his just representation in the affairs of government.

The government is not an institution separate and apart from the people; rather do the people constitute the government and it stands or falls upon their opinions, convictions and sentiments. Laws are meaningless unless they express the will of the people, and unpopular constitutional provisions have been modified by public sentiment.

When the government falls into the hands of special interests the people invariably become the victims of excessive taxation. This is evidenced by the fight now being made to keep the government from confiscating the people's property through overtaxation. This subject, now being universally discussed, may lead to the adoption of some method to prevent the wealth of the nation from being continuously dissipated for political purposes.

Through the ascendancy of the privileged classes this country has not achieved the real purpose of organized government; the status of the state has been changed to conform to class rule. Special privilege has been exalted above liberty—property rights above humanity—and through the unequal distribution of opportunities the black man has been forced to remain the man farthest down.

The white man's wealth in this country is not entirely traceable to thrift, intelligence and foresight on his part any more than widespread poverty of the masses is traceable to the lack of these virtues. The laws of the land are as responsible for the fabulously rich as they are for the poor.

The poor man has not given away the public lands, nor has he shared in the disposal of our mineral resources. We have neither proper taxation nor proper representation, because the rich endowments of Mother Nature have been selfishly appropriated by the privileged few—and the hand of the Negro was kept away from the bag.

IF it is not one thing facing your president, Mr. Hoover, it's another.

You saw in this paper last week the picture of Miss Flor De Oro Trujilla, daughter of Brigadier General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo, president of Santo Domingo, who is visiting America. She will go from New York to Washington, and, of course, to the White House. According to the American Constitution, Miss Trujilla is of African descent.

In Washington, Miss Trujilla will get new lessons in social culture. She will find that unless she carries a **white baby** in her arms her brown-skin face will not admit her into even a second-class white theater.

In the White House, Miss Trujilla will be more of a **PROBLEM** to President and Mrs. Hoover than the entire bonus army. They won't know what to do with her. The president may appoint a **"commission"** to entertain her. That's his way of dodging all issues, you know.

This you know: He won't have his picture taken with her. She's too DARK.

Negro Capitalists and War Preparations

By H. M. WICKS

Every outrage against Negro workers and farmers is accompanied by the most debased grovelling before the lynch ruling class on the part of the majority of well-to-do Negroes—editors, preachers, business men, landlords, doctors, lawyers, etc.

The ruling class, in its increasing campaigns to incite lynching or to foment massacres finds willing supporters among the leading elements of the Negro bourgeoisie. The leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which consists of Negro bourgeoisie and white imperialists including such brazen advocates of lynching as Clarence Darrow, are the best agents of the ruling class in trying to defeat the mass struggle for the liberation of the framed-up Scottsboro boys. Recently in Chattanooga, Tenn., when two policemen were killed in the Negro underworld and the white ruling class tried to foment massacres against the Negro working class population, the well-to-do Negro doctors, lawyers and preachers issued statements urging support of the forces of "law and order." This, at a time when policemen in uniform, detectives, deputy sheriffs and scores of white thugs were riding through Negro neighborhoods terrorizing men, women and children. The Negro bourgeoisie joined the lynch mayor of the city, the county sheriff and the notorious Judge Fleming in trying to connect the Communists with the underworld. This was done to try to burn out in the holocaust of a massacre of Negro working class neighborhoods that growing unity of action between Negro and white workers against the capitalist offensive.

Servants of White Bosses.

Performances of a similar nature are frequent occurrences throughout the South. In all such outbursts the Negro bourgeoisie are found invariably fighting on the side of those who try to foment lynch mobs against Negro workers and farmers. The Negro editors and preachers try to keep the Negro and white workers divided and try to conceal the class character of lynching and so-called race riots (which are really organized massacres) by telling the Negro workers that it is the white workers who are their enemies and the white capitalists who are their friends.

Such poison propaganda is for the purpose of helping the white ruling class maintain its segregation policy; a system which ensures the economic base of the Negro bourgeoisie. It is this system of segregation, maintained by the ruling class as one of the chief means whereby the frightful suppression of the Negro masses is carried out, that offers the Negro bourgeoisie a chance to thrive by obtaining a minor share of plunder realized through the exploitation of the vast majority of the Negro population.

Aid In War Plots.

The aid of these capitalist lackeys, who try to use their black skins to betray the working class and poor farmers of their own race is needed more than ever today by the imperialist ruling class.

The capitalist class, that from the beginning of this economic crisis has tried to find a way out by placing the entire burden upon the toiling masses is now preparing to surpass all its other crimes by seeking a way out through imperialist war—a war in which the youth and young manhood of this country is to be conscripted into the imperialist armies and the rest of the working class and poor farming population is to be conscripted at hunger rations to produce means of carrying on predatory warfare. To carry out such a policy the ruling class must try to rally to its support all forces it can bribe and corrupt.

"Loyalty" to Lynch Gov't.

Hence the Negro capitalist and professional elements, most of whom are stool pigeons for the white bosses among the Negro masses, have the job of trying to persuade Negro workers and farmers to be loyal to the government of Wall Street. It is not proving an easy job. The real part played by the capitalist government, the unity of city, state and national government as an instrument of tyranny against our class, is becoming ever plainer to increasing numbers of Negro and white workers. A number of recent attacks against the workers and farmers and resistance to such attacks—Scottsboro, Camp Hill, Atlanta, Birmingham, Chicago, Cleveland—have helped to expose the class despotism behind the mask of capitalist democracy.

The growing unity of Negro and white workers in the campaigns against lynching and massacres, in the struggle against hunger, in the fight for unemployment and social insurance, in the fight against forced collection of debts and increased taxation, has called forth the most vicious attacks from the Negro capitalist elements.

But everything these servants of capitalism have hitherto attempted is being outstripped by the vile campaign they are now carrying on to help the Wall Street gang in its war conspiracies.

"Unity" With Lynch Gang

Many of the Negro capitalist papers, both in the North and the South, are carrying on campaigns in behalf of "unity" of all elements within the geographical boundaries of the United States—declaring the United States to be one indivisible whole.

To be sure, all capitalists and their agents try to deny the class struggle and demagogically speak of unity of workers and capitalists in a mythical common national aim. But the Negro editors and other publicists are called upon to emphasize the "territorial unity" of the United States. This is an attempt to answer the Communist slogan for self-determination of the Black Belt.

At the recent convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People the "national unity" slogan was especial-

Race Problem - 1932

United States.

AMAZED BY STATUS OF AMERICAN NEGRO

Times 11-25-32

Dr. Holloway, Official in South African Union, Sees Easing of Racial Barriers Here.

New York

VISITED SCHOOLS IN SOUTH

Census Director Says Big Output of Gold in His Country Has Lessened Depression.

The Negroes in the United States have made big strides forward, both educationally and economically, according to Dr. J. E. Holloway, director of Census and Statistics in the Union of South Africa, who has come to this city after a tour of several Negro institutions in the East and South. Dr. Holloway described yesterday the progress of the Negroes here as "surprising."

"I found that white persons in the South were taking a much more tolerant attitude toward the Negro, for whom there were increasing opportunities," he said. "I believe the Negro is much better off educationally and economically in America today than at any time before."

He pointed out that the race problem in the United States was entirely different from that in the South African Union. Here the Negro lives in an atmosphere of civilization and naturally has advantages for advancement, Dr. Holloway said, while in South Africa there is a large primitive population to deal with, making the education problem particularly difficult.

Dr. Holloway reported that South Africa had felt the economic depression strongly, but a thriving gold industrty had lessened it somewhat. The gold output in South Africa last year was £46,000,000, he said, and the total value this year would be even higher.

"The gold output in Witwaters Rand, the African gold reef, has increased during the depression," he declared, "and it looks as if an eastward extension of the reef might be found, increasing the total still more. The gold mines have given employment to more than 20,000 white persons and to 220,000 blacks, many of whom have come from regions bordering the union."

Dr. Holloway expressed surprise at the American conception of the importance of the diamond industry in Africa. At present, he said, almost all the diamond mines have been shut down and the gold industry always has been more important than the diamond industry.

He said that the United States probably would be interested in the future in the large deposits of manganese, which he held would become an increasingly important industry for South Africa.

NEGRO PROBLEM HAS NOW BECOME A WORLD ISSUE

Courier 12-3-32

Pittsburgh Pa

By LOREN MILLER

MOSCOW, U. S. S. R., Dec. 1—The increasing world importance of the so-called Negro problem was vividly emphasized here on the occasion of the annual celebration of the November revolution in Russia. The exploitation of the Negro in America, in Africa and throughout the world formed the theme for dozens of the thousands of placards, pictures and statues which, together with the red flags and banners, transformed Moscow into a festival center.

Especially striking in this respect was a heroic group standing at one end of Moscow's Red Square, through which more than a million and a half people passed November 7. The statue depicted citizens of the five continents with arms unflung, holding the red flag, conceived to be the symbol of liberation. Side by side with the others stood Africa, symbolically equal with the rest of the world. I saw dozens of other representations of phases of Negro life about the city, all of them sounding a protest against the present and a note of hope for the future.

Reinforcing these pictorial protests was the presence of many Negro visitors and delegates from all over the world. They included Mrs. Ada Wright, mother of two of the Scottsboro boys, who has just completed a speaking tour in 13 European countries, and others from Africa, America and the West Indies. And wherever they went they found eager and sympathetic listeners.

Nor did the Negro lack spokesmen in the other groups. The commander of the Red Army, Voroshilov, took occasion to mention and condemn the exploitation of the Negro in his important speech in Red Square. Among his listeners were diplomatic representatives of the great colonial powers as well as members of the Soviet Union government and leaders of the Communist Party, including Stalin. It is safe to say that his utterance must be regarded as official. And I dare say that there was hardly a speaker among the thousands who spoke during the celebration week who did not dwell on the problem.

This compounding of the Negro's problem with those of other oppressed classes and groups is fraught with interest. The international complexion of the Communist movement and its inner unity guarantees the Negro active allies everywhere. The importance of this fact is not lessened by the added fact that the Communist party is the ruling force in one-sixth of the globe, the Soviet Union.

The November celebration is the great holiday of the Soviet Union. It has taken on international significance and visitors and delegates come from all over the world to take part. Its theme has risen above narrow nationalism and it is now a rallying day for those who see in Socialist revolution the ultimate hope for solution of the world's ills.

The importance of the bold Communist challenge to the prevailing world system of color exploitation was borne in on me as I sat in the Red Square and saw first the great military review and then the hundreds of civilians stream through. With me were Germans, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Swedes and a dozen other nationalities.

A German was jubilant because the Communist party is now the third political party in his homeland; the Frenchman told me of gains there; the Swede pointed out that the party had recently won seats in his parliament, and the rest told of growth. To each of them the Negro "problem" bulked large as one of the prime problems of the moment. Each of them was a partisan of the Negro's cause as propounded in the Communist demand for self-determination for all people. All voiced the familiar demand for complete social, political and economic equality for Negroes.

Thus the American Negro, for example, has had his problem lifted out of narrow provincialism and raised to international prominence. The lynching of an unknown Negro in Mississippi or the brutalities of an Alabama peon farm reverberate throughout the world. Spokesmen arise to condemn in all of the great world capitals. Partisans and enemies, alike, of Communist, must agree that this portends a radical change for the future history of the Negro.

White Man And Black

The Call publishes the full text of the speech delivered by the Rev. James M. Gillis, C. S. P., on the Catholic Hour Sunday afternoon, Nov. 20. This hour is sponsored by the National Council of Catholic Men and broadcast over the National Broadcasting company's nation-wide hookup. The Rev. Mr. Gillis said:

Call 11-25-32

"We come today to a ticklish problem, the interrelationship of the white race and the black. I shall probably be condemned as rash, for even proposing a problem that is usually considered too hot to handle, and whatever opinions I presume to submit will probably be rejected out of hand by those who feel that the simple and sufficient solution of the problem of the Negro is to 'keep him in his place.'

"The familiar formula, however, begs the question. What is the black man's place? Was he designed by nature to be, and must he ever remain a subject race, less than wholly human, a footstool for the white man, a 'lesser breed without the law,' a pariah, and 'untouchable,' segregated, disfranchised (constitution or no constitution), an alien in the land of his birth, a victim of discrimination and of persecution? Was there placed upon him aboriginally by his Creator the mark of the beast, or the stigma of Ishmael? Was he in the beginning anathematized by God, and must he be in consequence, interdicted and excommunicated by God's favorite, the white man?

"By way of answer, let us first be rid of the impossible theory that the Negro is not wholly a man: Impossible theologically, for it is heresy to say that the Negro has no soul, or that he is not destined to the Kingdom of Heaven; impossible anthropologically, because there is no atom of scientific evidence that the Negro is sub-human.

"Of course there are evolutionists, of a most extreme type, who insist that all men, black or white, are essentially animals and nothing more, but even the most materialistic evolutionist admits that 'all human branches are derived from the same animal source.' If the Negro, therefore, is a mere animal, the white man is a mere animal. Color doesn't matter essentially. A white horse is a horse, a black horse is a horse; a Jersey cow is a cow, and a Holstein is a cow. Nor do certain other dissimilarities of shape or of size matter. A bull dog, a mastiff, a collie, and a Newfoundland are all equally dog. Even a Pomeranian and a Pekingese are dog. And so, a white man, a red man, a yellow man and a black man are all equally man.

"Discrimination because of color is therefore not scientific. It is merely snobbish. 'The Colonel's lady and Judy O'Grady are sisters under the skin,' no matter how high the Colonel's lady may tilt her nose at mention of that simple ethnological fact. But so, too, the black man and the white man are brothers under the skin, no matter how much the white man may rebel against that in controvertible scientific dogma. We may talk of the black race, the brown race, the yellow race, and the red race and the white race, but there is only one race, the human race. I am speaking now, not metaphorically, but scientifically, physiologically, anatomically, biologically: the white man and the black man are brothers, nay even cousins in a collateral line of descent but brothers, children of the one original couple.

"As a matter of fact, one of the results of the investigation of Darwin was to strengthen the argument of monogeny, the theory that all men are descended from one pair of ancestors, and to weaken the argument for polygamy, the theory that there were two or more source-origins of the human race. And in this at least, the Catholic teaching coincides with Darinism. With us it would be heretical to say that the white race is from Adam and Eve and black race from some other aboriginal pair. We are all of one same stock.

"Another physiological fact links the black man with the white and separates him from the brute. The cranial capacity of the highest apes is about 450 cubic centimeters. The cranial capacity of men is from 1250 to 1600 cubic centimeters. It is true that certain Negroes still in the jungles show a lower figure normally than that of most white men, but whereas the skull of the highest ape has never a capacity of more than 450, the skull of the lowest Negro seldom if ever goes below 1100; it is generally from 1250 to 1400: the skull of the white man is never larger than 1600 and there are vast numbers of white men whose cranial capacity is no more than that of the Negro. Not that the precise number of cubic centimeters matters, for at least one excellent scientist tells us (Guibert: Les Origines),

'above 1100 c. c. the size of the brain is no guide to the intellect.'

"And finally if any further proof be necessary that the Negro is fully and exclusively human, there is the fact that marriage of white and black is not unfruitful. In fact there are those who maintain that as much as 1-3 of the whole population of the United States has some strain of Negro blood. Be that statement accurate or exaggerated, the unquestionable fact remains that however much man, both white man and black man, may revolt from miscegenation, Nature does not abhor the union of the races. If Nature does not, God does not, for the laws of Nature are the laws of God. And the church takes her cue from the law of God, rather than from the feelings or prejudices of man. The church will baptize a mulatto, ordain him priest or consecrate him bishop. She has done so here in the United States. She does not consider the offspring of a Negro and a white as a monster.

"Enough! The ape is an ape, and man is man, be he black or white.

"Now therefore, if the Negro is man just as truly as the white man, it follows that whatever rights or prerogatives belong to man as man, must not be denied to the Negro.

"And yet in certain parts of our country disabilities are heaped upon him because he is a Negro. In many localities he is denied the vote, even though that denial involves fraud or force upon the part of the white man. In some sections he receives lower wages than the white man for the same work. In other sections, he is charged higher rent than the white man for the same housing. His natural ambition to rise to something better than menial occupation and to fit himself for it is frustrated by local law, by custom or even by physical violence; he is refused admittance to certain trade unions; in many states he is denied membership in white churches; he dare not attempt to take Communion with the whites; likewise except in the north, he cannot attend schools, public or private, with the whites, and the public schools into which he is segregated are inferior in architecture, in location and in scholastic standing to the others, although the black man pays his school tax like any other man. He is kept out of select hotels, restaurants and places of public entertainment, not only in the south but in the north. Where the Jim Crow law is in effect, he is taxed for parks, libraries and other places of instruction or entertainment which he is not permitted to use. In some localities there are different standards of justice in the law courts for blacks and for whites (a crime in the very place where crime is supposedly punished). In a thousand cities and towns and villages, he is segregated with his fellows away from white neighborhoods as strictly as if he were a leper. If he ventures to buy or to rent a house in a 'white' district, his home may be bombed (one wealthy Negro's home in Chicago was bombed seven times) and he will be granted no legal redress. He is subject to mob violence, denied trial by jury and if suspected of certain crimes, he is lynched. His women folk suffer molestation, but, if in a fit of mad resentment, he retaliates, he is shot down or perhaps burned alive. And, of course, he is prohibited in certain states under terrific penalties from intermarriage with whites.

"On the whole the Negro is considered an alien, an outcast, and as it were, a leper in our midst. He is ostracized if not exiled. He is the victim of such discrimination and injustice as would precipitate unending race riots if he were not more tolerant, more patient, and more law-abiding than his white neighbors. He must suffer incessantly and cruelly from them, and if he were to rise in rebellion for even so much justice as is guaranteed to him by the Federal Constitution, he would be shot down like a dog, and I fear that vast numbers of 'liberty-loving Americans' would say that it served him right; that he should take what he gets and be thankful for it; that he should know his place and be content with it.

"Now fellow citizens of the white race, let us confess that all this is manifestly and outrageously wrong. We are treating the Negro as unjustly, if not with quite so much bloody cruelty, as we treated the Indian. Whatever we are doing now to atone for our crimes against the red man from whom we stole the continent, we are doing little or nothing to atone for the crimes we commit against the black man. We have not even ceased to deal unmercifully with him.

"If we have, as the government now recognizes that we have, a duty to protect the Indian, why shall we not recognize our responsibility to the Negro? We have done him more bitter injustice than the red man. We robbed the red man and killed him. But we kidnaped the black man and enslaved him. The traders in human flesh and blood who sailed from New England and elsewhere to Africa, swooped down upon the blacks, butchered thousands of them, brought the rest back in chains and sold them into bondage, were guilty of as great a sin as that of Oliver Cromwell who slaughtered thousands of the Irish and sold the remainder into slavery in the Barbadoes. They were a 'Godly' generation of church goers, Bible readers and psalm singers, but they brought down a blight upon this country and a curse upon their own souls. And if the curse of God, as the Bible seems to say, can pass to the third and fourth generation, the stain if not the guilt of that sin against the black man is still upon the soul of the white man. It is for us to wash it away with the baptism of humiliation and with works of penance.

"If works of penance are too much in these soft degenerate days, if in contribution for the sins of our predecessors and our own sins, we cannot bring ourselves to works of mercy to the colored man, at least let us give him simple justice.

"If not—if we persist in the outrage our ancestors have done the black man, or the lesser crimes that we ourselves have committed against him, let us understand that we are storing up danger for our descendants. The black man, thank God, is no longer a slave, nor does he continue to be as obsequious and subservient as the old tradition would have him. He is emancipated in more senses than one. Lincoln struck off the shackles from the black man's limbs, but the black man is now progressively throwing off the shackles of his mind. As one of his own newspapers has said, the black man is done with the 'hat-in-hand, yes-sir-boss' attitude. He will not always be bootblack and lick-spittle for the white man.

"The black man has emigrated by hundreds of thousands from the south. Perhaps he was happier there. But his leaders kept taunting him to come away from what they called 'peonage,' and be free men in the north. 'All you have to do,' they said, 'is to step on a train and ride for a day and a night to freedom. You don't have to wait year after year for the white people to build you a school. The schools are here and you are welcomed to them. You don't have to tip your hat to a white man unless you know him and like him.'

"So they came north and they are feeling their freedom. Their new confidence, their strength, their talent (yes, they have abundant talent) can be used for this nation or against it. Some of them have turned Bolshevik, like one of their poets (Claude McKay), who sings this terrible song:

" 'O kinsmen, we must meet the common foe;
Though outnumbered, let us still be brave,
And for that thousand blows, deal one death blow.
What though before us lies the open grave,
Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack
Pressed to the wall, dying but fighting back.'

"If that hymn of hate had been composed in 1776 and sung against the power that was taxing Americans and refusing them adequate representation we should call it patriotic. But the black man suffers almost if not quite as much from us as we suffered from King George. The difference between patriotism and Bolshevism seems sometimes only in the point of view. Let us then be careful that we do not give the black man cause for rebellion.

"But above and beyond that selfish reason for according him justice, let us return to the first reason; the black man and the white man are by God's creation brethren, children of the same father on earth and the same Father in heaven, redeemed alike, the one and the other by Jesus Christ, and having equal rights to the kingdom of heaven."

NEAR RIOT WHEN WHITE MAN SLAPS GIRL IN STREET

Washington Tribune
Washington, D.C.
9-2-32

Infuriated Citizens Seek To Lynch Man Who Beat Young Girl

The timely arrival of police and radio cars from No. 9 Precinct Sunday night prevented serious injury to Raymond Bligh, white, 928 Ninth street, northeast, who is alleged to have slapped a colored girl.

A mob of infuriated citizens gathered around a store in which the man sought refuge and attempted to break in to administer summary justice to Bligh. Only the arrival of police saved him from possible injury.

The girl, Miss Ethel Bryant, 81 P street, northwest, was in a serious condition after she was brutally beaten by the white man. Neighbors said her face was badly bruised and swollen from the blow. Police failed to arrest the man and civic associations and the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are planning to prosecute Bligh.

Witnesses said the girl was employed at a store run by J. Maites, a jew, at 901 Ninth street and had the Maites' baby on the street when she was beaten by the man. An eye witness said the young girl slightly pushed a small child of Bligh away when the child attempted to awaken the sick baby of Maites. The Bligh child went home and told its father that the girl had pushed her down. In a fit of anger Bligh is alleged to have rushed into the street and without warning slapped Miss Bryant to the the street.

Neighbors hearing of the brutal attack came on the scene, but Bligh jumped over a fence and hid in the store where he was harbored by Maites. Citizens were planning an assault on the store when police arrived and saved the man from injury.

Neighbors said colored residents of the neighborhood have started a boycott against Maites and have refused to buy from his store. Maites is alleged to have kept the girl at the store wtihout paying her and refused recently to permit her to visit her home in the south. He is also alleged to have advised Miss Bryant not to prosecute Bligh. The girl has now left his employ and is living with her brother at the P street address.

J. W. Garner, Educator, Claims Report As False

He says Universal Story Told —

12-24-32

WASHINGTON — (CNS) — Dr. James W. Garner, of the University of Illinois, who was reported as making a "white supremacy" speech in Atlanta recently is out in a prompt denial.

Mr. Carner declares that he has been made a victim of journalistic mal-practice in that daily newspapers quoted an isolated excerpt from an address he made in Atlanta to convey an impression which he did not intend. Dr. Garner, reported also as a distant relatice of vice-president elect "Jack" Garner, answers an avalanche of protests to his recent "white supremacy" speech.

The quotation from his speech which brings the prompt denial read: "If the white people of the South exercise their power wisely and justly, it can be perpetuated until the end of time without protest or interference on the part of the country at large, or opposition from the black race itself."

Declaring that he had "gone further than any other Southern white man in demanding the rights of the Negro." Dr. Garner also quotes from previous addresses to support his statement. He also exhibits letters from prominent Negroes who have been convinced of his attitude after criticising him on the basis of the 'white supremacy' story, which was given wide publicity in the press of the country.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 42

United States.

N.A.A.C.P. Warns Strong Opposition Faces Proposal to "Deport" Negroes

Amsterdam News

Project Calls for Returning "Indigents" From Northern Cities to Dixie Farms—U.S. Would Provide Train Fares

New York Herald Tribune 2-12-32

A warning of opposition by the Negroes of the nation to a plan to return Negroes from Northern cities to Southern farms has been sent to President Hoover and to leaders in the Senate and House of Representatives by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The project, outlined in a special Washington dispatch Thursday to the New York Herald-Tribune by Mark Sullivan, is called a plan for the "deportation of Negroes into peonage," in the N. A. A. C. P. letter. The plan is called economically unsound because even the colored and white persons now on Southern farms cannot earn a decent living; discriminatory and heedless of the lynching, mob violence and Jim Crowism from which Southern Negroes have escaped north.

The plan suggested as an alternative to the La Follette relief bill, which the N. A. A. C. P. is supporting, would provide Federal funds for trains to take "indigent Negroes from New York, Detroit, and Chicago back to the South from which they were lured through the ill balanced prosperity of a few years ago." Commenting on this the N. A. A. C. P. letter to President Hoover and the Congressional leaders signed by Walter White, says:

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, speaking in behalf of twelve million American Negro citizens and in behalf of intelligent and fair-minded citizens of other races, takes this means of going on record most emphatically against any such proposal for the following reasons:

1. The economic unsoundness of the proposal consists in attempting to return Negroes to communities which they left because in those communities they could not earn a decent living. The Negroes and whites yet remaining on the farms of the South are now suffering from the collapse of the cotton industry due to the boll weevil, drought, and the low price of cotton. To add to their numbers will be merely to add to the numbers already facing starvation.

2. The argument that Negroes will be "better off in the farming communities from which they came" entirely ignores the fact that multitudes of Negroes still live in a condition of actual peonage—of debt slavery maintained through commissary stores and the system of share-cropping which prevails, by which Negroes are kept in perpetual debt to their landlords and thus are held bound to the land. This proposal amounts to a deportation by Federal subsidy of thousands of United States citizens into peonage.

3. The argument further ignores the fact that Negroes, like any other group of citizens, are entitled to seek advancement in whatever part of the country they may find it. Why should this proposal to return Negroes to the land be confined to one race. The vast preponderance of those who have left the farms is white.

4. Besides the economic unsoundness of the project, it ignores the social conditions confronting Negroes in Southern communities, which furnished a main motive for their departure. I refer to lynching, mob violence, injustice in the courts, insult, denial of equal educational opportunity, segregation in public places and in general inhuman and degrading and insulting proscription. To propose to return Negroes, against their will, to such conditions is to invite the united opposition of the colored citizens of the nation.

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, through its 327 branches, the Negro press numbering more than 200 newspapers, church and fraternal organizations both North and South, as well as fair-minded Americans of other races, will vigorously oppose any such discriminatory action as that which is being proposed. Every legitimate means will be resorted to in opposing this economically unsound and essentially vicious method of putting upon Negro Americans even greater handicaps than those from which they are already suffering."

PROTEST "BACK SOUTH PROGRAM" FOR NEGROES

Washington D.C.

Congress Proposes to Pay Railroad Fares of Negroes Into Peonage

NEW YORK, Feb. 5—A warning of opposition by the Negroes of the nation to a plan to return Negroes from northern cities to the southern farms, has been sent to President Hoover and to leaders in the Senate and House of Representatives, by the National Association for the Advancem .t of Colored People.

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N.A.A.C.P. SCORES PROPOSED "BACK TO SOUTH" PLAN

Amsterdam News 2-14-32

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The letter in conclusion says:

"The N.A.A.C.P., through its 327 branches, the press, numbering more than 200 newspapers, church and fraternal organizations, both north and south, as well as fair-minded Americans of other races, will vigorously oppose any such discriminatory action as that which is being proposed. Every legitimate means will be resorted to in opposing this economically unsound and essentially vicious method of putting upon colored Americans even greater handicaps than those from which they are already suffering."

Back To Africa

DELEGATE RAYMOND SISSON of Richmond County, recently submitted a resolution to the Virginia House of Delegates "asking that the general assembly memorialize Congress to make provision for colonization of persons of African descent in Liberia or at any other place on the African continent."

The good delegate, realizing that the only other solution to the race problem is amalgamation, feels that in the interest of racial integrity the Negro MUST go!

It is really hard for me to realize that Delegate Sisson isn't joking. He must be joking—or else his knowledge of sociology is very nebulous. The whole idea of transplanting twelve million souls of all walks of life to another country is too preposterous to take seriously. But, unfortunately, this idea is taken very seriously by some Virginia whites, and when I found that supposedly intelligent Negroes entertained the plan with serious interest I received the shock of my life.

Now, I wonder if these advocates of the "Back to Africa Movement" have considered what the results would be if all the Negroes were suddenly removed from America. I wonder if they have stopped to visualize our country without the present darker brethren? Most certainly they have not; because, otherwise, they would not and could not face the possibility of a "Negro-less" America. Such a dismal picture would dismay even the stoutest-hearted advocate of colonization.

In the first place the removal of the Negro would deprive many citizens of some of our southern states of practically the only genuine outdoor sport that they have—lynching. Whom could these citizens lynch during these periodical outbreaks if there were no Negroes? Why they would probably end up fighting among themselves, and where would "law and order" be then?

It would really not be just or fair to stop the innocent fun of so many law-abiding citizens merely for a sociological experiment. We, at least, owe it to these pleasure-starved citizens of the Far South to keep the Negro in America.

In the second place the going of the Negro would be the cause of the breakdown of America's "noble experiment"—Prohibition. The only group now holding out against the repeal of their godly piece of legislation is the southern group. But how long would the police and courts of our southland endure Prohibition if there were no Negroes to fine? Not long, I assure you.

Thus, my rash advocates of Back to Africa, you can see that the abolition of the Negroes would mean the return of good whiskey to our fair domain, thereby crippling the greatest and most lucrative home industry we have, i. e. bootlegging.

And then think of the unemployment that would be caused by the absence of the Negro. What would the "racial integrity" howlers like John Powell and Dr. W. A. Plecker do if there were no Negroes to be warned against? What would become of our Southern white writers? Their only subject-matter is Negro life. And what would happen to sociology in southern universities, since all of their studies are on the poor Negro?

Then with the Negro gone what a dull, drab place America would be! At what would Americans then laugh? The Negro seems now to be the only thing in America which, according to the whites, is *always* funny. Think what long faces Americans would have with no Negro to bear the brunt of our national mirth.

Besides what would become of Broadway shows if there were no Harlem to visit for ideas? And think of all the "Mammy" songwriters that would die of starvation!

And last of all, with the Negro out of the picture what would happen to nordic superiority? How can a group feel superior if it has no other group to look down upon? The presence of the Aframerican in our civilization contributes to that great and glorious feeling of superiority, and it would be a terrible waste to destroy all the thousand-and-one psychological tests which have been designed just to show this superiority!

So, in the face of these dire events and frightful situations which would come about if all of the Negroes suddenly set out for Africa, I feel that the cost of the experiment would not be commensurate with the value received from it.

I hope that those who so devoutly advocate this exodus will please bear in mind that, although we as a race are simply dying to get a chance to go back to Africa, our dearly, beloved Fatherland; yet we feel that the duties and loyalties which we owe to our adopted land will persuade us to unselfishly give up this long-desired opportunity and remain for a while longer in America—even at the price of ultimate amalgamation!

Savannah, Ga. Press
Tuesday, February 16, 1932

KEEP NEGROES NORTH

Colored Minister Against Plan Have Them Returned to South.

An earnest plea has come in from a colored citizen for support against any effort to deport Southern negroes from the North back to their original section. Rev. J. M. Milton, a colored minister of Savannah, has submitted to the Press a statement in which he seriously objects to the proposition which he thinks is an imminent issue, of sending back Georgia and other Southern negroes now in the North.

Milton bases his objections to this idea on the following facts: First, he says, the South has not appealed for such a thing to be done, and the South's manufacturing and industrial developments are not great enough to need additional negroes sent in.

Second, the industries and manufacturing business of the North stand in need of colored labor.

Third, the colored people, by families in some cases, were carried North without consultation of the South, and many carried from farms to the North. Now, Milton says, because some of them have not developed into the best of citizens in some communities, the cry has gone up to deport them back in the South.

The South, says Milton, has enough problems without taking on more. Why, he says, shall they not be trained and developed, taught trades and educated into a life of usefulness where they are?

"I am of the opinion," the writer says in his communication with the Press, "that when the South shall need the masses of colored people from the North back here, they will let the North know about it."

Milton has apparently been informed that there is some agitation in connection with returning colored citizens to the South.

MADISON, WIS
CAPITAL TIMES
JAN 13 1932

Negroes Told U. S. System Breeds Hatred

Solon Advises Them to Better Eoconomic Standing

To attain any degree of respect in the United States, the Negro must achieve economic security, Assemblyman Ben Rubin, Milwaukee, told members of the Madison branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at the First Methodist church Tuesday night.

"Back of all the prejudice suffered by the Negro in this country is our economic system," declared Mr. Rubin. "This system is a breeder of race feeling and national prejudice."

Rubin told his audience how a church group from Pittsburgh sent a committee to Gary, Ind., to study working conditions in the steel industry and found the foreman working one religious group in the plant against the other, in order to get more work out of each.

"But when directors of the United States Steel Corp. meet around the big table," Mr. Rubin said, "there is no fighting between denominations or religious groups, although many different religions are represented on that board. Such differences make no difference here, however—they talk about how to make more money."

The assemblyman pointed out that when 200,000 Negroes were sent to France to fight for the United States during the World war, there was no segregation of the blacks and whites.

"But," he continued, "when the Gold Star mothers were taken to the French battlefields a few years ago, the Negro mothers were completely segregated from the white mothers."

Mr. Rubin advised the Negroes to take a greater part in civic affairs, in order to obtain recognition in white communities.

"RACIAL CASTES."

Seventeen-year-old Helene Fortescue, daughter of Mrs. Grace Fortescue, who must face trial with her son-in-law for the murder of a Hawaiian, is quoted in the perss as saying:

"Tourists, seeking thrills, encourage the Hawaiian beach boys. The beach boys forget under tourist encouragement that they are, after all, natives, and racial castes are broken down. The natives get to expect from the white men and white women permanently living in Honolulu the same familiar treatment granted them by the tourists. That's what leads to all the trouble.

No, no, Miss Fortescue, you are wrong! What primarily leads to all the trouble is the presence of hundreds of marines and soldiers from the United States, who carry on illicit amours with native women. Witnessing this promiscuous mingling Hawaiian males seek the society and endearments of white women.

"Racial Castes" is not in the vocabulary of white soldiers and marines from the United States when they visit Haiti, the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippines, Santo Domingo and other countries peopled by the darker races. It is only when the shoe is on the other foot that a great hue and cry is raised over the perils and bogey of miscegenation. Then wild talk of lynching, race integrity and social equality fill the air. How inconsistent!

GERMAN PAPER ASKS PICKENS TO WRITE ON RACE PROBLEMS

NEW YORK, June 9—One of the leading newspapers of Germany, the "Frankfurter Zeitung," has asked William Pickens, field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to write on the problems of race affecting whites and Negroes in the United States.

The "Frankfurter Zeitung" in its letter states that it intends to publish a series of articles setting forth the present condition of colored races of the world in centers of race conflict, and that these articles are to be written in the main by colored people.

Back To Africa

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Thus, my rash advocates of Back to Africa, you can see that the abolition of the Negroes would mean the return of good whiskey to our fair domain, thereby crippling the greatest and most lucrative home industry we have, i. e. bootlegging.

And then think of the unemployment that would be caused by the absence of the Negro. What would the "racial integrity" howlers like John Powell and Dr. W. A. Plecker do if there were no Negroes to be warned against? What would become of our Southern white writers? Their only subject-matter is Negro life. And what would happen to sociology in southern universities, since all of their studies are on the poor Negro?

Then with the Negro gone what a dull, drab place America would be! At what would Americans then laugh? The Negro seems now to be the only thing in America which, according to the whites, is *always* funny. Think what long faces Americans would have with no Negro to bear the brunt of our national mirth.

Besides what would become of Broadway shows if there were no Harlem to visit for ideas? And think of all the "Mammy" songwriters that would die of starvation!

And last of all, with the Negro out of the picture what would happen to nordic superiority? How can a group feel superior if it has no other group to look down upon? The presence of the Aframerican in our civilization contributes to that great and glorious feeling of superiority, and it would be a terrible waste to destroy all the thousand-and-one psychological tests which have been designed just to show this superiority!

So, in the face of these dire events and frightful situations which would come about if all of the Negroes suddenly set out for Africa, I feel that the cost of the experiment would not be commensurate with the value received from it.

I hope that those who so devoutly advocate this exodus will please bear in mind that, although we as a race are simply dying to get a chance to go back to Africa, our dearly, beloved Fatherland; yet we feel that the duties and loyalties which we owe to our adopted land will persuade us to unselfishly give up this long-desired opportunity and remain for a while longer in America—even at the price of ultimate amalgamation!

Savannah, Ga., Press
Tuesday, February 16, 1932

KEEP NEGROES NORTH

Colored Minister Against Plan Have Them Returned to South.

An earnest plea has come in from a colored citizen for support against any effort to deport Southern negroes from the North back to their original section. Rev. J. M. Milton, a colored minister of Savannah, has submitted to the Press a statement in which he seriously objects to the proposition which he thinks is an imminent issue, of sending back Georgia and other Southern negroes now in the North.

Milton bases his objections to this idea on the following facts: First, he says, the South has not appealed for such a thing to be done, and the South's manufacturing and industrial developments are not great enough to need additional negroes sent in.

Second, the industries and manufacturing business of the North stand in need of colored labor.

Third, the colored people, by families in some cases, were carried North without consultation of the South, and many carried from farms to the North. Now, Milton says, because some of them have not developed into the best of citizens in some communities, the cry has gone up to deport them back in the South.

The South, says Milton, has enough problems without taking on more. Why, he says, shall they not be trained and developed, taught trades and educated into a life of usefulness where they are?

"I am of the opinion," the writer says in his communication with the Press, "that when the South shall need the masses of colored people from the North back here, they will let the North know about it."

Milton has apparently been informed that there is some agitation in connection with returning colored citizens to the South.

MADISON, WIS
CAPITAL TIMES
JAN 13 1932

Negroes Told U. S. System Breeds Hatred

Solon Advises Them to Better Eoconomic Standing

To attain any degree of respect in the United States, the Negro must achieve economic security, Assemblyman Ben Rubin, Milwaukee, told members of the Madison branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at the First Methodist church Tuesday night.

"Back of all the prejudice suffered by the Negro in this country is our economic system," declared Mr. Rubin. "This system is a breeder of race feeling and national prejudice."

Rubin told his audience how a church group from Pittsburgh sent a committee to Gary, Ind., to study working conditions in the steel industry and found the foreman working one religious group in the plant against the other, in order to get more work out of each.

"But when directors of the United States Steel Corp. meet around the big table," Mr. Rubin said, "there is no fighting between denominations or religious groups, although many different religions are represented on that board. Such differences make no difference here, however—they talk about how to make more money."

The assemblyman pointed out that when 200,000 Negroes were sent to France to fight for the United States during the World war, there was no segregation of the blacks and whites.

"But," he continued, "when the Gold Star mothers were taken to the French battlefields a few years ago, the Negro mothers were completely segregated from the white mothers."

Mr. Rubin advised the Negroes to take a greater part in civic affairs, in order to obtain recognition in white communities.

"RACIAL CASTES"

Seventeen-year-old Helene Fortescue, daughter of Mrs. Grace Fortescue, who must face trial with her son-in-law for the murder of a Hawaiian, is quoted in the perss as saying:

"Tourists, seeking thrills, encourage the Hawaiian beach boys. The beach boys forget under tourist encouragement that they are, after all, natives, and racial castes are broken down. The natives get to expect from the white men and white women permanently living in Honolulu the same familiar treatment granted them by the tourists. That's what leads to all the trouble.

No, no, Miss Fortescue, you are wrong! What primarily leads to all the trouble is the presence of hundreds of marines and soldiers from the United States, who carry on illicit amours with native women. Witnessing this promiscuous mingling Hawaiian males seek the society and endearments of white women.

"Racial Castes" is not in the vocabulary of white soldiers and marines from the United States when they visit Haiti, the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippines, Santo Domingo and other countries peopled by the darker races. It is only when the shoe is on the other foot that a great hue and cry is raised over the perils and bogey of miscegenation. Then wild talk of lynching, race integrity and social equality fill the air. How inconsistent!

GERMAN PAPER ASKS PICKENS TO WRITE ON RACE PROBLEMS

NEW YORK, June 9—One of the leading newspapers of Germany, the "Frankfurter Zeitung," has asked William Pickens, field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to write on the problems of race, affecting whites and Negroes in the United States.

The "Frankfurter Zeitung," in its letter states that it intends to publish a series of articles setting forth the present condition of colored races of the world in centers of race conflict, and that these articles are to be written in the main by colored people.

Race Problem-1932

Book Reviews.

DES MOINES, IA.
TRIBUNE-CAPITAL

DEC 10 1932

THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTH.

To the Des Moines Tribune:

I am thanking you for printing that story of the "Georgia Nigger." I could appreciate it as I lived in the south for three years, and from what I could see for myself, believe it is no exaggeration! The condition of the Negroes, in the cotton states at least, would be unbelievable to most who are unacquainted with the facts.

The Negroes not only are generally oppressed (that is a mild expression for it) but are not allowed to go to the polls to vote. The most terrible thing, however, is the great number of Negro women who are assaulted by white men and are unable to help themselves, being employed as servants in the white homes. The Negro women have confessed such to me and many times I have seen them accosted on the streets by the white men.

There are places where the Negroes are charged three times the usual price for all they get and consequently never get out of debt; and the debt usually fits over the cotton crop they raise.

Many times I had been told the Negro convicts had no shoes for their feet and how badly they were cut by sharp stones and glass. At last, one cold day in January, I saw that it was so.

How can the south advance until it gets beyond this heathen stage?

One thing more. I am white but the worst crime seems to me is laying every wrong or crime on the Negroes, though they have greater cause and need. We tried it out to see if it would "hold water" and saw that some white men were doing the stealing that time.—**Jean Louise Stanley, Ogden.**

"Georgia Nigger" Rejected by Negro Paper As "Unprofitable"

Daily Worker 10-28-32

'NOT PROFITABLE' SAYS 'DEFENDER'

Only the Daily Worker Exposes Tortures

New York, N.Y.

The Daily Worker today brings documentary proof of the charge made in Tuesday's issue that the bourgeois Negro press is actively participating in the campaign to suppress the facts contained in "Georgia Nigger", the book by John L. Spivak, which exposes the torture of Negro workers and farmers on the chain gangs and slave farms of the South. The letter from the "Chicago Defender", the largest Negro paper in the country, a photostatic copy of which is printed here, speaks for itself. It states with cynical frankness that the publication of "Georgia Nigger", with its mass of evidence in the form of photos, official documents and prisoners' letters, **"WOULD NOT BE PROFITABLE".**

What does this mean? To whom would the publication of "Georgia Nigger" not be profitable? To the Negro workers who are being jim-crowed, tortured and oppressed and for whom the "Chicago Defender" pretends to speak? The only conclusion to be drawn is that **the publication of "Georgia Nigger" would not be profitable to the Negro and white exploiters for whom the "Chicago Defender" actually speaks.**

Aids White Bosses.

The "Chicago Defender" thus places itself in the position of aiding the white capitalists and planters in covering up the system under which Negroes are kidnapped and sent to be tortured or murdered on the chain gangs, or are bought for from $5 to $25 to be robbed, terrorized and starved on the slave plantations of the Black Belt. And in this it is joined by the majority of the other bourgeois Negro papers who have refused to publish Spivak's exposures.

The "Chicago Defender" has played a similar role in the Scottsboro case. After at first supporting the mass campaign of the International Labor Defense and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights to free the nine Negro boys, it soon switched to backing the disruptive efforts of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to stab the defense in the back. The "Chciago Defender" views the Scottsboro case as an isolated incident, a "miscarriage of justice"; it has opposed the world-wide mass campaign organized by the International Red Aid which alone can force the release of the boys. But "Georgia Nigger" proves unanswerably that the Scottsboro frame-up is not an isolated incident, but is part and parcel of the entire system of lynch-law, peonage, Negro disfranchisement and chain-gang torture. And just as it opposes the mass struggle to free the Scottsboro boys, the "Chicago Defender" opposes mass publicity for the conditions exposed in "Georgia Nigger."

Answer Misleaders!

Only the Daily Worker, which fights for the interests of all toilers black and white, has dared to publish the facts in "Georgia Nigger" and to expose this infamous suppression campaign. The Daily Worker draws the logical conclusions from the revelations in "Georgia Nigger" and tells the American workers that such barbarous conditions can be wiped out only by a determined struggle for equal rights for Negroes and for self-determination in the Black Belt, where they are a majority of the population. The "Chicago Defender" is opposed to this, one of the chief immediate demands in the Communist election platform. It tells the Negro workers to vote for capitalist candidates, in other words, to vote for the torture, the slavery and oppression exposed in "Georgia Nigger." Negro and white workers, answer the misleaders of the "Chicago Defender" and the other Negro papers who follow in its tracks —Vote Communist Nov. 8!

THE ROBERT S. ABBOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY
(Incorporated)
PUBLISHERS
The Chicago Defender — World's Greatest Weekly
Abbott's Monthly — A Magazine That's Different
3435 INDIANA AVENUE
CHICAGO

Mr. John L. Spivak
7 Prospect Avenue
Seacliff, L. I., N. Y.

October 4, 1932

Dear Sir:

We acknowledge receipt of your telegram of October 3 regarding the serializing of "Georgia Nigger" in our publication.

We regret very much, but we do not believe that the serializing of this story would be profitable to our organization.

Very truly yours,
THE ROBERT S. ABBOTT PUB. CO.
Enoil F. Simpson

Photostatic copy of a letter sent to John L. Spivak, author of the book, "Georgia Nigger," by the Chicago Defender, a Negro paper with a circulation of 100,000.

'GEORGIA NIGGER' SHOWS C.P. PROGRAM ON NEGROES CORRECT--*Michael Gold*

Four leading American writers yesterday joined in issuing statements protesting against the inhuman conditions revealed in John L. Spivak's book, "Georgia Nigger", proving that thousands of Negroes in the Black Belt are living under a system of chain gang terror and legalized slavery. The writers are Michael Gold, author of "Jews Without Money," and one of the editors of the New Masses; Countee Cullen, noted Negro poet; Robert Morss Lovett, an editor of the New Republic and head of the Department of English at the University of Chicago; and John Cowper Powys, novelist, lecturer and critic, author of "Wolf Solent".

Gold and Cullen also condemned the campaign of suppression being carried on by the capitalist press of the country against the revelations made by Spivak, which are backed by official documents, photographs of tortures and prisoners' letters. The "Daily Worker" during the past few days has broken through this conspiracy of silence, in which the "socialist", the American Federation of Labor and most of the Negro papers joined, and has broadcast among the workers of this country the startling facts that Spivak has uncovered. The "Daily" is also the only paper in the country which is publishing the statements of these four leading writers.

Michael Gold's statement follows:

"John L. Spivak has revealed the misery of millions of slaves of the road gangs, turpentine camps and plantations in his book, 'Georgia

MICHAEL GOLD

Nigger'. He has included photographs of tortures that would shame the Spanish Inquisition, and photostat copies of faked death records, where venal doctors cover up the brutal murders committed on the peon farms and chain gangs of the South.

"In other words, he has presented real evidence of the most horrible forced labor in America. But why is there no outcry from the capitalist press? Why, in fact, do they carefully suppress all mention of the facts in the regular routine book reviews? Why won't they publish the sensational first-hand pictures of these brutalities? Where is the Socialist Party press which is always full of such high-sounding phrases as "humanity", "decency", etc? Why is it that only the Communist press—the "Daily Worker"—is giving these revelations full publicity?

Hit Lies About U.S.S.R.

"The capitalist liars and warmakers have on more than one occasion raised the cry of 'forced labor in the Soviet Union. The Russian workers are more free than any in the world, but the capitalist masters have tried to fool the western workers with tales of Soviet slavery. Nobody can manufacture forced labor in a land ruled by the workers; right here in the United States, however, there is forced labor of a kind unparalleled in Rome or Egypt. The Negro peasants and workers of the South are living in a slavery worse in many respects than that prevailing before the Civil War.

"It is because the American capitalist class has done these things that the press, controlled by the millionaire class, is trying to keep the conditions which Spivak has exposed from becoming known. A document such as Spivak's must be taken up by the workers and broadcast until this shame stinks to the heavens. These Negro slaves will find no other fighters for their freedom than the revolutionary working class. Every other group is too busy saving its respectability and its dividends. 'Georgia Nigger' is a symbol of the whole capitalist crime against the Negro people. It proves the correctness of the demand voiced in the Communist election program for equal rights for Negroes and self-determination in the Black Belt. Every honest writer and artist, every honest intellectual must raise his voice in protest at these horrible conditions and at the suppression of Spivak's exposure by the capitalist and "socialist" press."

Scores Press Ban

"I find it difficult, even as a Negro and thus habituated to revelations of horror," the statement by Countee Cullen declares, "to realize that such conditions as pictured in 'Georgia Nigger' do actually exist with no apparent concern to the law of our land." (*Actually capitalist law is very much concerned, as these conditions exist with its official sanction and support.—Editor.*)

Commenting on the efforts of the capitalist press to suppress the exposures in "Georgia Nigger," Cullen says: "The raw, incontrovertible evidences of penal cruelty, of peonage and oppression, of slavery as definite as that of the pre-Civil War period, do not apparently fit in with the romantic episodes of southern Negro

COUNTEE CULLEN

life as depicted in the lives of the "Scarlet Sister Marys" and the "Porgys" of modern fiction. The press and literary editors will not admit that Simon Legree still plies his nefarious tortures, but 'Georgia Nigger' is as much a revelation of our day as 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' was of its era." **("Scarlet Sister Mary," by Julia Peterkin, and "Porgy," by DuBose Heyward ,are recent novels which present a false, ruling class picture of Negro life. Simon Legree is the slave-driver in Harriet Beecher Stowe's famous novel, "Uncle Tom's Cabin.—Editor.)**

Says U. S. Responsible

In his statement, Robert Morss Lovett shows that not only the state of Georgia, but the federal government must be held responsible for the conditions exposed by Spivak. He fails to point out, however, that behind the state and federal governments stands the capitalist class, and only the revolutionary struggle for equal rights for Negroes and self-determination in the Black Belt, which is one of the chief demands of the Communist election platform can put an end to such conditions. Lovett's statement declares, in part:

"In 'Georgia Nigger,' Mr. Spivak has written an appalling indictment of the system of peonage by which the Negroes of the South are exploited. Conditions are worse than under chattel slavery, for whereas a slave was worth $1,000 and had to be kept in good condition, a peon can be bought for a few dollars advance against wages and worked and tortured to death. The account of the sufferings of his imaginary hero, Mr. Spivak, supports by photographs of instruments of torture and reproductions of signed documents.

Huge Profits from Chain Gang

"The state of Georgia is directly responsible for this condition. Its officers of justice recruit labor for the planters by arresting Negroes on false charges. The operation of the chain gang netted the state a profit of $3,269,098.70 in four years.

"The United States is also responsible. The federal government freed the slaves and passed constitutional amendments for their protection, but the Supreme Court has shown great reluctance to apply these amendments for the purpose for which they were passed."

"I have now got in my possession this story called 'Georgia Nigger,' by John L. Spivak, with its irrefutable documentation," declares John Cowper Powys. "I feel . . . that this whole barbarity is so frightful and so abominably sickening that it holds up the people who allow it to go on to the execration of all intelligent and normal feeling human beings. . . . Grateful must all decent-feeling people be to Mr. Spivak for the thoroughness with which he has laid bare these atrocities and for his courage and daring in doing so. . . .

Those Who Keep Quiet Also Responsible

"Have we all become afraid of the officials and the custom behind the officials, that inflict such tortures in this country, that we can only stop up our eyes and our ears, and go about our business as the people formerly did—frightened like sheep—under the ancient tyrants?

"Does anyone who is brave enough in America to call torture by its true name run a serious risk? Have we reached such a point that upon certain subjects it is safe to keep our mouths shut?

"Well, at any rate, the author of 'Georgia Nigger' has refused to keep his mouth shut—and I for one most heartily commend his courage. He has at any rate recognized that we also are responsible who look on and say nothing while these systematic abominations are allowed to proceed."

NOTE.—"Georgia Nigger" is the name of a book. The white ruling class term, "nigger," is not used by the Daily Worker. We are unfortunately compelled to use this term because of copyright requirements. The author himself is not sympathetic to the term, but used it in order to bring forth the degrading system which operates against the Negroes.—Editor.

U.S. – Book Reviews.

BOOK REVIEW

By JAMES O. HOPSON

Courier

"Not Only War," by Victor Daly. Christopher Publishing House. $1.50.

An interesting fictional work, "Not Only War," by Victor Daly, has just been issued by the Christopher Publishing House of Boston. This is Mr. Daly's first published work and it does credit to the already meritorious list of works coming from the Negro.

The story, as the name suggests, deals with the experiences of a Negro in the recent World War. Briefly, the narrative tells us how Bob Casper, the young son of an old aristocratic South Carolina family, accidently meets Miriam Pickney, a beautiful, intelligent colored girl, as he is on his way to Spartansburg to obtain a commission in the army. Bob is attracted to Miriam, but his Southern prejudices warn him that he should not even think of a Negro woman unless in a spirit of lustful desire. After arriving in Spartansburg, Bob cannot get his mind off the beautiful smiling brown girl and he finally telephones her to meet him that night to take an automobile ride. Miriam realizes she is playing with fire, but she does not wish to offend the handsome Bob because he has promised to use his influence with his father to get her a position in the new school for Negroes that is soon to be opened. The girl decides to met him; not to take the ride, however, but to inform him of the folly of his course. Just as she approaches his car two of her friends, Roscoe Simmons and Montie Jason, who loves Miriam, are seen in the distance. Rather than let her friends see her talking to a white man, Miriam jumps into the car and tells Bob to hurry out of sight of the two Negro youths. This first ride leads to others and the two are finally discovered in a compromising situation as Roscoe stumbles upon their parked car one night, when he is looking for someone to help him with his car trouble. Miriam feels the disgrace and the next morning leaves town, but Roscoe proves his friendship to Montie by not revealing how he had discovered the girl he loved the night before.

Montie decides to enlist in the army rather than be drafted at a later date. With a college education, he feels that he can advance further than the ranks of an ordinary private. After long waiting and eager expectations, he is sent abroad, where he sees actual service. For valor under fire he is finally promoted to a sergeant's rank.

During the lull in fighting Monties' company is stationed in the French town of Laval. It is here that wemoving theme. The whole work has reach the climax of the story. Mon-a stark poignancy as it drives home tie, through orders from a superior, the wrecking of lives by war, and the is billeted along with two of his Ne-bitterness created by race prejudice gro brother officers in the home of hat even war cannot obliterate. It an old respectable French woman s not until death mockingly comes and her granddaughter, Blanche. At on the scene and causes a white man first Montie is shy of the beautiful to die in the arms of a Negro, who naive French girl, but she finally dis- was not worthy of consideration arms him with utter childlike sim- when both lives are normal. The plicity. Bob, who is stationed in a book in a subtle way is a silent prolittle town a few miles from Laval, test against the futility of war and is persuaded by a drunken officer to our democratic American race ideals. come to Laval for a lark. Reaching The author never preaches, as many the town, the drunken friend is in Negro writers do, but even under his such condition that he cannot con- restraint we feel unconsciously the tinue. Bob decides to have his fun idea he tries to bring us.

alor[illegible] proceeds to the house of Since Mr. Daly has shown his abilBlanche, whom, he has been told, isity in this work, we shall look forthe prettiest girl in the town. Howard to seeing soon a full length arrives at the house only to find novel from his pen; and we advise all Montie, whom he denounces in vile who are interested in Negro literaterms as a nigger trying to get fresh ture to read "Not Only War," as it with a French white woman. Bob's is something entirely different from southern prejudice causes him to lie the usual Negro story.

to Montie's superior officers, with the result that Montie is held for a courtmartial trial, after which he is reduced to a private. The irony of the situation is that Montie does not know that Bob, who calls himself protecting white womanhood, has already seduced Miriam, whom Montie still loves.

Broken in spirit because of the unfair treatment he has received, Montie develops a "devil may care attitude" and plunges into the attack with reckless abandon. While hiding in a trench for safety he hears a groan. Cautiously approaching the sound, he sees three men, two of whom are already dead, and the third, whom he recognizes as Bob, is moaning with pain. All Montie's hatred for the man rises within him, but he finally decides to aid his dying Southern enemy. Bob, on opening his eyes, dimly recalls the man whom he had betrayed, and asks his pardon. In order to try to save Bob's life, Montie risks his own safety by dragging the wounded man out of the refuge of the trench so that he might get medical attention. They crawl along and almost reach their destination, when suddenly bullets from the German artillery strike and kill them both. Thus both die with the proud Southerner in the arms of a Negro.

We cannot call this book a novel—but rather a novelette, since it contains but 106 pages. Because of the brevity we do not find much characterization, and much is left to the imagination. Nevertheless, the author has told the story very compactly, since such a complete narrative has been condensed into so few pages. The work gains effect because of this same brevity. We feel

SLAVE SYSTEM DEFENDERS ARE ASSAILED BY HIM

Journal and Guide

Frazier Says Urban Environment Is Favorable

3-19-32

Special to Journal and Guide

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—The Negro was not economically better off in slavery than he is now in the city, E. Franklin Frazier, Fisk University professor and noted author, declared this week in a letter to a newspaper literary editor.

The literary editor, Miss Fanny Butcher, white, of the Chicago Tribune had stated in a review that "Mr. Frazier is inclined to believe that slavery generally was a better economic state for the Negro." The author denies that he believes this or that he intended to convey such an impression in his recently published book, "The Negro Family in Chicago."

The article which aroused Mr. Frazier appeared in the February 27th issue of the Chicago Tribune under the heading, "Slavery Better Than Urban Life For Negro, He Says."

Miss Butcher's Review

Under that heading Miss Butcher printed the following statements:

"'The Negro Family in Chicago,' by E. Franklin Frazier (University of Chicago Press) gives a careful and statistical treatment of the Negro in Chicago, pointing out the social and economic distinctions in the zones. The author cites figures concerning occupations, marriages, divorce, race mixture, etc.

"Mr. Frazier is inclined to believe that slavery generally was a better economic state for the Negro. It held them together in an economic unit, according to the author, while emancipation on the other hand disorganized family life and made of the Negro a homeless wanderer, drifting to the cities. The analysis of the effects of urbanization on the Negro race has human as well as sociological interests."

Professor Frazier's Reply

Professor Frazier thereupon wrote Miss Butcher. "It is against both the title and the above excerpt that I wish to register my protest," he declared. His letter in full follows:

"First of all, there is nothing in the book that gives even the remotest suggestion that the Negro was better off economically under slavery than he is in the city. Even in those instances under the institution of slavery where some slight regard was shown for the personality of the slave, he was still primarily a chattel and his "economic state" was simply whatever shelter, clothes and food he required in order to serve efficiently the economic purposes of his master.

"That in rare instances the Negro slave was as well fed and clothed as the unemployed and hungry Negroes in the slums of Chicago and other cities during the depression does not indicate the superiority of his economic state during slavery. If one would withdraw any conclusions from this comparison, it would probably be that slavery generally is a better form of economic organization than capitalism which gives to all workers, black and white, the freedom of starving during periods of 'over-production.'

"This was, indeed, the argument advanced by some ardent defenders of slavery who attempted to show that the economic security and the material condition of the Negro slave was superior to that of the free white laborers of the North.

Offers Refutation

"Contrary to your statement of my viewpoint, I have shown that the crises, through which the Negro has passed during Emancipation and the northward migrations, have become opportunities for the more energetic and intelligent Negroes to escape from the condition of the masses and to improve their economic as well as their cultural status. Moreover, I have shown with an abundance of evidence that the urban movement furnishes a favorable situation for the Negro to improve his economic and general social status.

"In the second place, your remarks concerning the economic state of the Negro in slavery as compared with his condition in the city is irrelevant to the subject of my book. My book was concerned chiefly with the question of family disorganization among Negroes. This was by no means a new subject, but one which has attracted the attention not only of social workers and sociologists but of nearly everyone who has undertaken to write on the so-called Negro problem.

Generalizations Meaningless

"In my study I undertook through the utilization of the latest methods of social science to study the problem in Chicago where over 200,000 Negroes, furnishing a cross-section of the entire race, formed a compact community in which competition brings about the selection and segregation of the more successful elements in the population.

"This study showed up, as no other study, the wide range of economic, social, and cultural differences among Negroes which make any generalizations concerning the race meaningless.

"It seems from your comment that all of this has escaped you. Your irrelevant but startling comment, appearing at the very time that there is talk about returning Negroes to the South as a means of relieving unemployment, naturally leads one to wonder whether it were influenced by this consideration.

"In as much as your comment, which is obviously a misrepresentation of the contents of my book, has been the cause of considerable condemnation of the book anw personal criticism, will you kindly favor me by giving this reply, in substance at least, the same publicity which you gave your comment."

IS A'LELIA WALKER THE "AMY DOUGLAS" OF THURMAN NOVEL?

"Infants of the Spring," the Macaulay Publishing Company, New York. Price $2.00.

Does the late A'lelia Walker, heiress of the Walker Manufacturing company fortune, who died last August, come to life again in the role of "Amy Douglas," one of the minor characters in Wallace Thurman's newest novel, "Infants of the Spring"?

The late Madame Walker died at the home of a friend, Long Branch New Jersey, following an all-night dinner party. She was the daughter of the late Madame C. J. Walker, founder of the Walker Manufacturin company, of Indianapolis, and a pioneer in the field of hair preparations used in taking the kink out of colored people's hair.

The daughter spent most of her time in New York, where she maintained a famous salon, for the art colony, from Harlem and downtown New York, first at the capacious town house left her by her mother at 113 W. 135th street—now the Harlem Municipal Health Centre—and then at her ornate apartment at 3 Edgecombe Avenue.

Patron of Artists

Madame Walker was known as a patron of young artists, writers and poets. At her funeral, Langston Hughes, the well-known poet, read his poem "To A'Lelia." At one time she opened her town house under th name of "The Dark Tower." She hoped to make this place a rendezvous for struggling artists, writers, and musicians, as well as a distinctive and cultured salon, where people could come to eat and talk. he venture failed.

Mr. Thurman, whose novel is searching in its realities, depicts the idle and pointless lives of a group of writers, musicians, and artists, their search for something tangible in life to go on. He sets them down in "Niggeratti Manor," a house rented out by a woman whose aim was to create a proper atmosphere for struggling artists and writers who had something great to give to the world.

Mr. Thurman makes Madame Walker stand out as the towering figure at a gin party at "Niggeratti Manor."

He says:

"Soon there was a commotion at the door. It was cleared of all standees, and in it was framed the weird Amazonian figure of Amy Douglas, whose mother had made a fortune devising and marketing hair preparations for kinky-haired blackamoors. Amy, despite her bulk and size—she was almost six feet tall and weighed over two hundred pounds—affected flimsy frocks and burdened her person with weighty brilliants. A six months' stay in Europe had provided her with a series of foreign phrases with which to interlard her Southern dialect.... Amy was also generous in the use of her mother's hair preparations, and because someone had told her she resembled a Nubian queen, she wore a diamond tiara, precariously perched on top of her slickened naps"

See Tragic Wreck

In this house, Mr. Thurman makes us see the tragic wreck these people make of their lives, in their effort to make their dreams come true. Throughout the whole maelstrom of twisted lives, in which crossing the color line, white and colored prostitutes, white thrill-seekers, frustated radicals, and wild gin parties whirl about in chaotic disarray, he points out Raymond Taylor, the writer, who makes an attempt to pull the tangled threads of these lives together, and fails.

Wallace Thurman makes us see that these sometimes- possessed people are trying to solve the problem of admixture of race in this country. They are trying to take the problem of color out of American life by letting art break down the barriers.

Stephen Jorgenson, a white youth, educated in Canada, comes to Harlem, strikes up a fine friendship with Raymond; becomes immersed in the lives of Raymond's friends, and goes away color mad, mingled with his faith in Raymond as a "different" being. Steve's friend Sam is a white college lad suffering from mental, and racial aberrations. These lives, interlarded with joy, grim reality, love, and hate, almost peter out, but a strong sense of faith in the final reality of life keeps Steve and Raymond afloat, though in widely divergent spheres, long after others in the story have been towed under by the tide.

Social Circles Buzzing

Harlem social circles are buzzing with the discussion as to whether the Damon and Pythias relationship of Countee Cullen, the poet, and the handsome Harold Jackman, Harlem socialite, is referred to in the characters "Dewitt Clinton" and his "fideles achates," David Holloway.

One sees a possible role played by Dr. Rudolph Fisher, former Baltimorean, now famous physician, and short-story writer of New York as the Dr. Manfred Trait in the story. Another well-known name in Harlem, which some believe might be garbed in the fictional character of "Glenn Madison," the communist mentioned in the story, is that of "Red" Moore the well-known Communist leader of Harlem.

Amy Douglas?

A'LELIA WALKER

Is the daughter of the founder of the Mme. C. J. Walker Manufacturing company, the Amy Douglas in Wallace Thurman's latest book, "Infants of the Spring?" A'Lelia Walker died last year in New Jersey.

BOOK REVIEWS

"BRIGHT SKIN"

By Julia Peterkin

(The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, Ind.)

Cricket, the "Bright Skin" girl is the illegimate child of a colored mistress and her white lover and is reared in the back-woods of the deep south, where such inter-racial liaisons are numerous.

Blue, who is the son of the sister of Cricket's mother, is very much colored. His mother, in keeping with the supposed wild blood that ran in the family, proves unfaithful to Blue's father, and while Blue was but a young child the parents separated and they left Blue to be reared with other relatives on the same plantation on which Cricket lives.

A peculiar romance between Blue and Cricket runs throughout the story. While the children are growing up the readers are treated to the intimate everyday life of Negroes on the rural plantations of the deep south.

Many characters are introduced by which we learn of the superstitions, folk-lore, promiscuons love-affairs, conjuring methods, hypocritical beliefs, dramas, tragedies and whatnot of these ignorant country folks.

There are many scenes in connection with the romance of Blue and Cricket that are extremely touching but whatever love and sympathy we had for Crickets, as a child, are entirely dissipated by her later actions as she grew into young womanhood and became more sophisticated. Perhaps, though, Blue was entirely too altruistic and too unsophisticated to hold the love of a girl like Cricket turned out to be?

—Clifford C. Mitchell.

BOOK REVIEWS

"RED DUSK"

By Celeste Dunbar Lindsay

(Dial Press, Inc.—New York)

This is a story of "small town" and rural community life in a northern county of Georgia. The characters are practically all white and the only racial slant is introducted by an inferred love tryst between Dozier, a young mulatto and Molly, a buxom young white half-wit.

The reader is not wholly informed as to this affair, excepting one day Molly is found dead, in the shallow waters of a creek, where, apparently she had taken her own life, as no external marks of violence could be found on her body. The Doctor's examination, however indicated an assault, that spelled Dozier's doom, for their tryst was known.

A northerner, Mathias Hale, is the chief male character, and his conscience rebels at some of the southern customs, but he is virtuall, forced to witness and participate in the man-hunt, and the subsequent lynching of Dozier. From their conversations we learn a great deal of the southern white man's thought on lynchings and other southern customs which is seldom portrayed so clearly by white writers.

Apart from this one lynching episode, the story revolves, mostly, around the romances, gossip, drama, comedy and tragedy of the various characters in the town of Minmosa, where lived some of the oldest families in the State of Georgia.—Clifford C. Mitchell.

U. S. - Book Reviews.

The First Reader

By HARRY HANSEN

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The time is twenty years after Appomattox, with Grover Cleveland running for President and the South trying to beat its way back to sound living in the face of Yankee cunning and a bankrupt society. Colonel Miltiades Vaiden was like many others of his kind; he had a hand in everything—politics, cotton jobbing, lawsuits, relations with the Negroes who were once his slaves—and he took everything that came his way and a little more.

His family detested him; his business associates suspected him of sharp practices; he kept his wife in poor quarters while he accepted an almost feudal loyalty from the blacks who had once worked on the Vaiden estate and one of whom had borne him a son; he saw an opportunity to steal a whole barge-load of cotton and sell it down the river and did so with sharpness and dispatch, but to his own detriment; he buried his wife and stole his nephew's sweetheart and lived to see his own son by his quadroon mistress lynched because he got in the way of an infuriated mob . . . such a man is Colonel Miltiades Vaiden.

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Color, Movement and Action.

THE story is full of color, movement and action. It encompasses a whole society. You can almost see Stribling take a generation by the scruff of the neck and shake out its characters—the fair, the unfortunate, the evil and the damned.

It is full of the talk of the country, Southern white and Negro, and the story moves forward to a swift tempo as rapid as the talk. Here is a sample of the colonel talking with his nephew:—

"What have you been doing with yourself while you've been out of school?" inquired Miltiades.

"Oh, knocking around town, talking to people."

"Meet any interesting folks?"

"I guess Cap'n D-Dargan was as interestin' as I met."

"What did he do that was interesting?"

"Well, for one thing, he run the Zebulon D. up Buffalo River after a l-load of goober peas."

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Plight of the South Bared.

THE plight of the South in the worst years of the later nineteenth century is laid bare through the characters of its men and women. Those that are not shiftless are stupid or gullible; ideal leadership has been crushed with the war. Business is in the hands of Yankees or is slowly fighting for survival. The Negroes are free and without direction.

A curious breakdown has taken place not only in economic life but in moral standards. Beliefs are beginning to be questioned among people who were once devout. Prejudice is rampant. A Governor who tries to protect the officers of the law is hooted down. In its attack on the jail the mob heeds little whether it is getting the man it wants, so long as it has a victim.

Although Mr. Stribling's book is sombre tragedy the reader is not aware of this dark intention. The story entertains rather than moves you; it offers such an array of incident and event that one might almost speak of it as a motion picture in a novel. The author has sacrificed intensity to fluency and entertainment, but in spite of this drawback the story will linger in the memory.

N. Y. EVENING POST

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The whole commotion is not about the book. It is about Mr. Embree. He is two things in one, and in each of his capacities he is a power among the professional interracial good-willers. As president of the Rosenwald Fund he expresses the attitude of the foundations, that is of white Northern philanthropy, toward the Negro. As a Southerner he expresses the "best thought" of the "New" South toward the race question. He is intelligent, decent and as well informed as a well-meaning person can be. He is a liberal in the race question, much as Franklin Roosevelt and Norman Thomas are in politics, John Dewey in social philosophy, Dr. Meiklejohn in education. He is a crusader in compromise. His views are gilded by the Golden Rule, spiritually by his own outlook and financially by the Rosenwald Fund.

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But when Mr. Embree becomes a counsellor of interracial relations he misses, it seems to me, the whole trick of the race problem. The American Negro, even in slavery but especially since, has fought for one thing and one thing only. He fought against segregation, geographical, social, economic and spiritual. At times he fought craftily, like Booker T. Washington, and then again splendidly, like Dr. Du Bois. His permanent slogan may be couched in the phrase: my face is not my ghetto. But Mr. Embree's main contribution to racial comity amounts to segregat[ion] still further the Negro's professio[nal] and intellectual life.

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The only other leading journal in the Negro world, and a great deal more influential, is the Crisis. It is the spokesman for black civil liberty. It is edited by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, who is undoubtedly the outstanding Negro in American history next to Frederick Douglas. Du Bois's great fight for al-

most four decades has been against the Uncle Tom tradition. Economic adjustment, he argues, is impossible without political and social rights. This race militancy has given the Crisis a strategic leadership and even a small mass circulation until some four or five years ago. There are innumerable publications by lodges, fraternal societies, social groups of all sorts, which follow its lead. And the great Negro weekly newspapers have become so habituated to the Du Bois outlook that they reflect it editorially as a matter of course. The Crisis is colorful, strenuous, readable. It pays special attention to individual initiative and success. And Du Bois himself is incapable of writing a dull line if his life depended on it.

But neither of these two monthlies touches the basic economic problems of the colored masses, especially since the depression. Both express the conservative-liberal and the more radical-liberal middle class point of view, respectively. By and large, the battle for civil liberties, *in the colored world itself*, has won out. Fundamentally, Du Bois has nothing to fight about in the black world itself. And having failed to advance toward a modern economic position, he quenches his turbulent nature by gradually giving vent to a sort of intellectual racial chauvinism. The Crisis spends much valuable space on the international "color line," it extols the beauty of Negro womanhood, it records the most meretricious individual "success" in the colored world. Every month it prints illustrated articles, with much favorable ado, about King Selassie of Abyssinia, or "his Highness, Dandi Chwa, Kataka of Buganda," and other such African potentates, all of which has nothing to do with the life of the American Negro. The result of such ivory tower race radicalism is that the American Negro today lacks the kind of economic leadership he needs, which explains the comparative momentary influence of the Communists among the black workers.

It is the weekly colored press—the Chicago Defender, the Pittsburgh Courier, the Baltimore Afro-American, the New York Amsterdam News and hundreds of smaller local papers—which has a real mass circulation. These papers are steeped in local politics and hell-bent on circulation, for they practically get no national advertising. They are constantly improving their technique of newsgathering and they cover every conceivable phase of colored social life. But they use, almost without exception, their growing technique to increase the yellow journal appeal, twisting into even stranger shapes the agonies and absurdities of our race problem.

John Brown And Other Lynchers

In a review of a new book about John Brown, by Leonard Ehrlich, Oswald Garrison Villard writes in The Nation: "Instead, his hanging made John Brown a martyr and a hero, an inspiration during every hour of the Civil War to every man who wore the blue. It blotted out all Brown's inconsistencies, the bloodiness of his methods, the half-made character of his undertakings, so purposeless and yet so astonishingly purposeful."

We doubt greatly that "every man who wore the blue" had "inspiration" from the fate of Brown, we suspect that most of those wearers of the blue were little concerned about Brown or the slaves, but, letting that pass, it is easy for a Southern man to understand how a lyncher becomes, in the thoughts and affections of a class, a martyr and a hero.

A negro is accused of the "nameless crime" and arrested, his victim having been a member of an humble class. The evidence against the man being weighty, it is practically assured from the first that he will be convicted and executed if tried. The press, the pulpit, the people of education, the so-called "upper classes", are unanimously opposed to lynching, and, when a mob storms the jail, over-awes the jailer, takes the prisoner and hangs him, they are shocked. Perhaps the friend of the prisoner's victim shoots and kills an officer having custody of him and refusing to surrender him.

The editors, the professors, the judges, the lawyers (those not seeking office), the clergymen, deplore and condemn, the lynchers, but the lynchers are "heroes and martyrs" within the numerous class that they represent. The prosecutor of the lynchers, if one there be, is looked upon with suspicion, possibly, with a degree of compassion. There is a disposition in the populace to apologize for him, but if his prosecution be especially vigorous he is likely to be opposed in the next primary and his conduct cited against him in a whispering campaign.

Whether or not excellent gentlemen of Mr. Villard's bent can understand that the fanaticism and criminality of these lynchers is as honest and sincere as were those of John Brown, they are. Not in all, not in the majority, of Southern lynchings, is this honest madness predominant, but it is present in many of them—and its motives are quite as pious as Brown's were, which is saying that they are merely felonious.

Now and then apologies for lynchers, for Brown among them, are heard from high-minded and enlightened men. So the "higher law" is perpetuated.

It is once in a century that a John Brown gets into the spotlight of the national stage, but this type is common. Usually his stage is in a county or a township.—Charleston News and Courier.

CHARLESTON, S. C.
NEWS

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We doubt greatly that "every man who wore the blue" had "inspiration" from the fate of Brown, we suspect that most of those wearers of the blue were little concerned about Brown or the slaves, but, letting that pass, it is easy for a Southern man to understand how a lyncher becomes, in the thoughts and affections of a class, a martyr and a hero.

A negro is accused of the "nameless crime" and arrested, his victim having been a member of an humble class. The evidence against the man being weighty, it is practically assured from the first that he will be convicted and executed if tried. The press, the pulpit, the people of education, the so-called "upper classes," are unanimously opposed to lynching, and, when a mob storms the jail, over-awes the jailer, takes the prisoner and hangs him, they are shocked. Perhaps the friend of the prisoner's victim shoots and kills an officer having custody of him and refusing to surrender him.

The editors, the professors, the judges, the lawyers (those not seeking office), the clergymen, deplore and condemn, the lynchers, but the lynchers are "heroes and martyrs" within the numerous class that they represent. The prosecutor of the lynchers, if one there be, is looked upon with suspicion, possibly with a degree of compassion. There is a disposition in the populace to apologize for him, but if his prosecution be especially vigorous he is likely to be opposed in the next primary and his conduct cited against him in a whispering campaign.

Whether or not excellent gentlemen of Mr. Villard's bent can understand that the fanaticism and criminality of these lynchers is as honest and sincere as were those of John Brown, they are. Not in all, not in the majority, of Southern lynchings, is this honest madness predominant, but it is present in many of them—and its motives are quite as pious as Brown's were, which is saying that they are merely felonious.

Now and then apologies for lynchers, for Brown among them, are heard from high-minded and enlightened men. So the "higher law" is perpetuated.

It is once in a century that a John Brown gets into the spotlight of the national stage, but his type is common. Usually his stage is a county or a township.

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Literary Exploitation of the Negro.

DECISION IS RESERVED IN "UNCLE REMUS" SUIT

Judge E. Marvin Underwood Saturday took under advisement a motion for dismissal of the copyright suit for $10,000,000 filed against the Coca-Cola Company by Mrs. Esther LaRose Harris who alleges that the company made unauthorized use of Uncle Remus characters in advertising their product.

She is the widow of Joel Chandler Harris, who she maintains created the characters in his writings, which were used by the Coca-Cola Company in its advertising. A motion to dismiss the suit was filed before Judge Underwood in federal district court. Arguments on the motion started several weeks ago and were to have been completed Saturday. The arguments, however, were presented in briefs to the judge who took them under advisement and will give his decision at a later date.

U.S. Literary Exploitation of the Negro.

LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
GAZETTE

FEB 14 1932

NEGRO CHARACTERS FRIENDS OF AUTHOR

Julia Peterkin Writes of People on Her South Carolina Plantation.

By JULIAN R. MEADE.

It would be difficult for any one who knows the author of "Black April," "Scarlet Sister Mary" and "Bright Skin," a new novel of Negro life soon to be published, to write of her without remembering the words of two Southern ladies. Julia Peterkin's grandmother told her many years ago that "no lady's name ever appears in a newspaper," and an old South Carolinian reminds her even today that if she does not keep out of print she "will lose her social standing." The only pretense of an answer one can offer these charming, if unliterary, ladies is that Mrs. Peterkin happens to be one of the relatively few writers whose personalities are as colorful as their work and it is only natural that readers should be interested in her life.

Sometime ago a man came in the editorial office of a certain magazine of wide circulation that had recently published a story by Julia Peterkin.

"This Julia Peterkin is an imposter," the man informed the editor. "She is not a Southern woman. She went down to South Carolina, got a smattering of Negro life, and now she's getting rich by deceiving the public."

The truth, as the editor knew, is that almost all of Julia Peterkin's 51 years have been spent in South Carolina, and for over half of her life she has been mistress of Lang Syne plantation, where she has been one white woman among numerous Negroes. To the few white neighbors in her isolated district of South Carolina she may be Mrs. William George Peterkin, the wife of a successful planter, but to Big Sue, Zeda, Maum Hanna, Joy, Breeze, Scarlet Sister Mary and other black Southerners at Lang Syne she is always "Miss."

Only rarely have the Negroes of this remote country place been disturbed by the fact that "Miss" is writing books about them. After the Pulitzer prize winner ("Scarlet Sister Mary") appeared, the educated daughter of the flesh-and-blood Scarlet Sister Mary told her mother she had been put in a story and sent about the world for people to read. The next time "Miss" came to the Negro quarters Scarlet Sister Mary greeted her with a humorous reproach: "Lawd Gawd, Miss, what's all this you done to me?"

But the Negroes, most of whom are illiterate, have not been particularly troubles about this story-writing talk. "Miss" herself has not changed, and that is all they care. She comes to their cabins and admires their gay curtains and the walls they decorate with bright-colored pictures from newspapers and magazines; she attends their weddings and funerals. In time of sickness or accident she will dress a wound or do whatever she can until the doctor comes from the distant town; she was with Black April when his toes came off and floated around in a tub, and it was her father, Dr. Mood, who cut off April's legs.

The black folks tell her their troubles; she sympathizes and understands. So they can easily forgive her if she must write stories about them and their lives in the Lang Syne Negro quarters. Some of them are even glad to help her with the mysterious business. When her first book, "Green Thursday," was completed, she took it to an old Negress who is renowned for casting spells. The old woman worked her charms on the manuscript and said: "Whoever read these here stories, they will be seal on his heart." When one recalls that "Green Thursday" was sealed on the sometimes formidable heart of H. L. Mencken, who suggested to Alfred Knopf that he publish it, it is not surprising that Julia Peterkin believes in the efficacy of the Negress's spell casting.

One of the most important Negroes at Lang Syne is Wallace, who is a man servant at the spacious stucco house among the cedars, the house which, as the oldtime darkeys say, "ain't big as one room in the old house what burned down in the good days when we had gold on the carriage and harness what blinded yo' eyes like lightnin'." Wallace is one of Mrs. Peterkin's favorites. He is original and shrewd; his speech is vivid, and his song joyous. When Mrs. Peterkin has a new dress she will stop by the kitchen for Wallace's approval.

"Well, how do I look, Wallace?" she asks.

"Lawd, Miss, you looks like a star lily," is the graceful answer. "Sweet little Jesus hisself couldn't look no better."

Wallace is not always light-hearted. Sometimes sorrow is hidden in his song.

"Wallace," Mrs. Peterkin remarked to him one day, "I believe you're always happy."

"No, Miss. I ain't happy today. I feels like old people. I'm singin' to keep from bustin' out cryin'."

Later on in the day Mrs. Peterkin learned that his girl had deceived him. Perhaps this experience explains his attitude recently when he heard that William Peterkin Jr. was going to abandon the single state.

"The young captain's foot done slip," he declared. "Me and him been callin' on the ladies a long time, but we ain't never went back when they talked about wantin' to marry."

Wallace and the other black folks at Lang Syne may have little interest in what "Miss" does when she shuts herself in her little log-cabin studio on the slope of a hill every morning, but they are ardent admirers of their mistress's resourcefulness and skill in other fields. Once she drove her car in a red gulley while showing some visitors around the plantation. The visitors were somewhat perturbed about the situation and seemed relieved when they saw the Negro foreman ride up the road beside the car. The Negro stood by calmly and watched Mrs. Peterkin cope with the difficulty.

"You need not to fret,' he said. 'Miss' could get out o' hell."

He had no reason to think of his mistress as a helpless lady. She can do many things a man can. She is a fine shot, although she is a little modest about it, because, she says, "the surest way to lesesn a man's affection is to outshoot him and kill more quail than he does."

On the coldest day of winter she will sit in the bow of a narrow boat while an old Negro man paddles it around bends in creeks hunting ducks. In South Carolina there is a fine of $500 for killing a wood duck, but she cannot tell one from another. She shoots the first one that comes.

Shooting is just one of her many practical accomplishments. She rides superbly, whether to follow the hounds or to get the mail from the village postoffice. She is a fine cook. She raises game chickens. She works her garden of vegetables and flowers. She plays cards and likes to dance; she is a football fan and likes to watch a good boxing match

Writing, she admits, was the greatest surprise of her life. She says that her courage was never put to the test, since she began writing for her own satisfaction and had nothing to lose; there was no daily bread to be earned by her pen. She was born in Laurens county, S. C., on Halloween Day, 1880. Her father, Julius Andrew Mood, was a country physician. Her mother died soon after her birth, and she and her older brother and two elder sisters were raised by their grandmother, their father and an old Negress whom Julia Peterkin remembers with reverence and gatitude.

SOUTH BEND, IND.
NEWS TIMES

JAN 23 1932

"MIGHTY LAK A ROSE"

When Frank L. Stanton, jr., was killed in an automobile accident in Georgia there ended a train of circumstances so fraught with beauty and pathos that the mind can hardly bear to engage them.

This Frank L. Stanton was many years ago the baby in a crib who inspired his father to write the deathless lyric that has become known wherever English is spoken and sung as "Mighty Lak a Rose."

"Such a little feller, everybody knows
Don't know what they call him, but he's mighty
lak a rose."

In the language of the Negro mammies of the Southland Mr. Stanton, the poet laureate of his native region, immortalized the intangible and ineffable beauty of the new life as it comes into the world. Now the author is dead—and by the way he never realized anything in income from this great poem of the heart—and the son who brought the lines to birth is dead also. But both father and son live on in the music that a fine composer found to fit the lines.

Now we do not propose to enter into a debate with the admirers of modern poetry who may desire to spring to arms, declaring that "Mighty Lak a Rose" isn't great poetry, nor with the modern musicians who will say that the melody and harmony are sentimental and trite.

We make the test which is applicable to the great poetry of all time, its ability to arouse and disturb the emotions and to raise its readers and hearers to a higher plane of thinking and feeling.

For our part we find in these lines of Stanton the same things we find in much of the poetry of Burns, and we are willing to risk our literary reputation by going so far as to say that in certain passages James Whitcomb Riley and Eugene Field took rank with the great poetic minds of all time.

The man who wrote "Mighty Lak a Rose" is dead, and now the boy about whom the poem was written—grown to manhood, and married—is dead, too; but the emotion that was born when the poet looked down at his sleeping son still lives, and thousands of people find it as fresh and as strong as it ever was. And if, as we sometimes suspect, we are, after all, only "such stuff as dreams are made on"—well, we can take comfort; for dreams, expressed in song, can live for a long one time.

With Julia Peterkin

Advertiser

"Julia Peterkin," answered a voice over the telephone, and that was the first give-away to a character singularly free from city evasions and dishonesties.

The distinguished mistress of Lang Syne Plantation, author of the Pulitzer Prize novel, "Scarlet Sister Mary," and of the new "Bright Skin," answers her own telephone and gives her own name. She is here now on her annual pleasure visit to the city.

She is tall, red haired, shakes hands with the strong grip of a working woman and talks with the dreamy cadence and smouldering intensity of a poet. She loves music more than almost anything else, has given up the violin, but clings to her piano playing. She consciously avoids mixing with a city literary crowd. Montgomery

"Writing is not my career," she said today. "I am not a literary person. My career is the plantation.

"When I was married, having lived up to that time in a town, I was thrilled at the life ahead of me I saw servants and parties. But I had not been there long when I realized the responsibility upon me to do my part.

"Here was a community with its eyes upon me, expecting me to be considerate and truthful and fair. It was a high standard to live up to. There was no doctor within ten miles, and if anyone was hurt, I must give help. If the price of cotton went down I must plant more acres in asparagus. The people must be fed and clothed and provided with work."

Mrs. Peterkin lives intimately with sun and rain and green leaves, and with people in their disordered process of working, breeding and dying. 4-18-32

She recalled today an afternoon long ago when she walked beside the swamp down on the plantation in Calhoun County, South Carolina, with the sunset shining through the trees, experiencing a dread and fear that she was so far away from the world her life wouldn't count.

"Then something clicked in my brain," she said. "It was one of the big moments of my life when I escaped that fear. And I knew wherever you are life is going on, and you can't be out of it."

Feminism, as such, interests Mrs. Peterkin very little. She places a low rating upon women's creative powers, and holds to an old-fashioned conception of a woman's place.

"I've never forgotten what I was told by an old woman on the plantation who was my husband's nurse, and my son's, and my own helpful adviser," she said.

"My husband and I walked together over to her cabin. When we were alone, she said to me: 'Honey, when you walks with yo' husband, even if the path is broad, always walk behind him.' And I believe in what she meant to tell me—that the wife should push the husband forward and make him feel responsible and cocky."

Bank accounts and market quotations distinctly do not interest her. All her life she has been "land poor." If people in breadlines here can tear themselves away from movies and other city advantages, she will give them the use of land merely for the taxes. Money isn't important. She and her people can live on the land.—New York World-Telegram.

NOVELIST VISITS HARLEM.

Julia Peterkin, whose novel, "Scarlet Sister Mary" won the Pulitzer Prize in 1928, is in New York on her annual visit. After a trip to Harlem she was interviewed by representatives of the daily press, who reported her much distressed over the large number of Negroes out of work and "because no organized relief plan seems to be looking after them."

In view of the aid needy members of the race are receiving from the State and city governments, the Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee, welfare organizations and various private sources, it would seem that the person or persons who furnished Mrs. Peterkin with the information were more concerned in playing upon her sentimentality than furnishing her with facts. Had ot hundreds of families been given help during the last two years the situation would have been catastrophic.

We do not believe that the novelist was correctly reported in the New York Times which told in headlines: "Says Harlem Tries To Sing Slump Away. Julia Peterkin, on annual visit, finds city Negroes are just discovering depression."

No group in Greater New York has been as hard hit by the depression as the Harlem Negro, whose financial troubles began directly after the 1929 panic and have steadily increased up to now. As for singing to drive away hard times, these vocal efforts are confined very largely to those working in night clubs and theatres who are so fortunate as to be on the payroll.

It seems to be a most difficult matter for white writers to refrain from romancing whenever the Negro is the subject, even under such unfortunate and deplorable circumstances as the present depression. Such bunk as jobless, penniless Negroes "are trying to sing themselves out of trouble" is in consonance with the line of reasoning advanced in the song—"That's Why Darkies Were Born." It should not be confused with Coue philosophy or the tenets of Christian Science.

In contrast to widespread unemployment in Harlem, Mrs. Peterkin gives an optimistic picture of several hundred happy and contented blacks on her South Carolina plantation. This is good news from the South, for a survey of that section would show that few plantation owners or workers are similarly situated. They are in dire straits.

When the novelist goes to Harlem to get accurate knowledge of conditions there, perhaps it would be a good idea if she were to talk with other residents beside friends who grew up in her backyard." That is, if she is desirous of learning the truth.

West Indies

WEST INDIES TRANSFER PROPOSAL DISAPPROVED

The proposed plan suggested to Great Britain that she turn over the West Indies to the United States in partial payment of the war debt to this country met with the disapproval of members of the Dumas Literary Club, who debated the issue at their regular meeting at the West 155th Street Y. M. C. A. Saturday night. 3-15-32

The opinion expressed by the winning side was that, as American citizens, West Indians would not be given the privileges which they now are accorded as British subjects.

Race Problem - 1932

Haiti

West Indies.

THE HAITIAN POST.

Our political leaders at Washington, from the President down, are wont to make complimentary talks about the Negro in which the race is highly praised for its "wonderful progress since emancipation," but the records fail to show that appointments to diplomatic and consular posts are being made commensurate with this historic advancement. As a matter of fact, for the last twelve or fifteen years the Negro steadily has been losing ground in these two branches of the service.

The naming of Norman Armour to succeed another white man as United States Minister to Haiti has again caused the question to be asked by members of the race: "Why does not Washington send a Negro to the black republic to represent Uncle Sam as was the policy for many years?" President Hoover and Secretary of State Stimson are best in a position to give the real answer, if they could be persuaded to do so.

Not since the retirement of Henry W. Furniss, formerly of Indianapolis, has a Negro been United States Minister to Haiti. It cannot be said that this lack of recognition can be predicated upon any charge that Minister Furniss or his predecessors did not make good, for they did, filling the post with honor and distinction. Bassett, Langston, Thompson, Powell, Douglass, Durham and Furniss were all men of culture and refinement and most creditably acquitted themselves in the drawing-room and on state occasions.

It has been hinted that the Haitians have expressed preference for a white man as minister from the United States, but any opposition to the appointment of a colored man is denied by the people of Haiti, whose pride of race is pronounced and of common knowledge. They are Negroes and proud of it.

Colored Americans do not ask that they be sent only to Haiti and Liberia on diplomatic missions. There are other countries where Negroes of ability, character and culture would be well received as ministers as well as consuls. Our representation in the consular service is getting smaller and smaller. No new appointees are being chosen, and the government is closing the door of opportunity to bright young men for training and a career. It will be remembered that Grover Cleveland appointed a Negro as Minister to Bolivia, but a Republican Senate refused to confirm him.

Whether under Republican or Democratic rule, the Negro is entitled to a square deal from the State Department, which acts on the suggestion of the President. Surely in view of the "wonderful progress since emancipation," the race is qualified and entitled to fill more instead of less diplomatic and consular positions in this day and time than twenty-five years ago?

PERSONA NON GRATA?

Indianapolis Recorder

Squeezed out of the Republic of Haiti and the Dominican Republic, rumors now have it that Charles Mitchell, minister to Liberia is to be replaced by a white man. This coming on the heels of the appointment of another white diplomat to Haiti gives force to the contention that the State Department, instead of suspenidng its policy of keeping Negroes out of consular posts, is more determined than ever to keep them out. Even in the countries which are predominantly Negro, it is becoming fast the policy to appoint white men, despite the fact that no objection has been raised against American men of color.

President Hoover was reminded before his recent naming of Norman Armour, English-born, to Haiti that for forty-four years Negroes had filled that position and that the appointment of white men to those positions tended to keep Negroes out of the diplomatic service since they were carefully prevented from serving in any but insignificant positions in "white" countries; but this reminder was to no avail, and Mr. Hoover continued a practice which has existed since 1913 and under both parties.

It is not because Negroes have not filled their positions capably that they are being shunted off. We dare say that the Negroes who have served in diplomatic roles have been shoulder to shoulder with the white diplomats of the same grade, but the salaries of certain diplomatic representatives have been increased in recent years and these posts are becoming "plums" too juicy for Negroes when so many whites are standing by waiting to gather the spoils.

In the second place, with the idea of advancing career men to higher positions, the fewer Negroes in any positions the less will there be the need to face any problem of advancement later on; and then, and perhaps most important, these are days when business is ravenous for markets and more markets and it may be that the department thinks that white diplomats will close their eyes, or at least wink, more easily and willingly to exploitation of "backward" and "darker" races than men of color would be inclined to do.

Whatever is in the minds of the moguls of the State Department they can not point to malfeasance in office, or incapability in regards to the men like Frederick Douglass, John M. Langston, or Napoleon Marshall; neither can they openly prove that the Negro republics have declared Afro-Americans persona non grata.

—Journal and Guide.

HAITI TREATY ENDS INTERVENTION IN 1934

New Pact With US Advances by 2 Years' Recovery of Fiscal and Military Control.

NATIVES TO OFFICER GUARD

American Army Mission Will Be Sent to Pave Way by Giving Intensive Training Course.

BONDHOLDERS PROTECTED

Fiscal Representative Provided For —Haiti Promises to Keep Its Budgets Balanced.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 8.—Haiti will receive in large measure by the end of 1934 benefits that would have accrued in 1936 at the expiration of the present treaty with the United States, under the terms of the treaty of friendship signed last Saturday by Dana G. Munro, the United States Minister at Port au Prince, and Albert Blanchet, the Foreign Minister of Haiti.

The text of the treaty, with two protocols and an exchange of notes between the envoy and the Foreign Minister, were made public by the State Department today. These disclosed that, except for certain arrangements to protect American bondholders until the expiration of the issue of 1919 and to safeguard the integrity and independence of Haiti, American intervention will be at an end by Dec. 31, 1934.

Marines Are to Leave.

The United States marines will be withdrawn, with a small United States military mission substituted to continue training the Garde. At the same time, the American Receiver General of Customs and the Financial Adviser will be withdrawn. In their places will be put a Fiscal Representative and a Deputy Fiscal Representative, appointed by Haiti upon the nomination of the President of the United States, to see that no measures are taken to undermine the security of outstanding American bonds, and to assist Haiti in keeping her financial house in order.

At present, there is outstanding $14,150,000, and it is estimated that all of this will be retired by 1942 at the latest. The new arrangement, therefore, contemplates that all American participation in the direction of Haitian affairs will be eliminated by that date.

State Department's Comment.

In commentin gthe treaty, the State Department said:

This treaty with its related protocols dealing with financial matters and the Haitianization of the Garde is in line with the recommendations of the President's commission for the study and review of conditions in the Republic of Haiti [the Forbes Commission].

It will be recalled that in August of last year, as a first step in carrying out these recommendations, the activities of the Public Works Service, the Technical Service of Agriculture and Industrial Education, and the Public Health Service, except the sanitation of Port au Prince and Cape Haitien, were turned over to Haitian officials, under the so-called Haitianization agreement.

The treaty of 1916, under its terms, would expire in 1936 and it was incumbent upon the two governments to reach an agreement, in accordance with the provisions of Article VIII of the protocol of Oct. 3, 1919, for the financial arrangements which would govern during the life of the bonds issued in accordance with the protocol after the expiration of the aforesaid treaty. This is done in one of the protocols attached to the new Treaty of Friendship.

HAITIAN PARLIAMENT TAKES UP PACT WITH US

Document Hailed as Representing All Concessions Recommended by Hoover Commission.

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti, Sept. 7 (AP).—A new treaty between the United States and Haiti providing for "Haitianization" of the Garde d'Haiti, among other things, was submitted today by the Haitian Government to its Parliament for ratification.

The document was worked out between the American Minister, Dr. Dana G. Munro, and the Haitian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Albert Blanchet, and was hailed as representing all the concessions to Haiti recommended by the Hoover commission headed by W. Cameron Forbes two years ago.

The fiscal provisions included appointment of a financial representative to be nominated by the President of the United States. His duties would be to supervise and administer customs, make provisions for the bonded debt service, and assist the government to maintain a balanced budget. This representative also would supervise the internal revenue. These things are hypothecated to the debt service under the existing bond contract.

The "Hatianization" of the Garde d'Haiti would be completed under the agreement by December, 1934, and upon "Haitianization" the United States would maintain a military commission of five officers for the guard.

Withdrawal of the marine brigade and the scientific mission now in the republic would commence as soon as practicable, but not later than January, 1935.

Not divulging the terms of the treaty, the State Department release simply declared: "On September 3, 1932, the American Minister to Haiti, Dana G. Munro, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Haiti, signed a new treaty of friendship between the United States and Haiti."

Text Unpublished

Reasons for not publishing the text of the treaty at this time were stated to be because of courtesy due to the Haitian government, whose legislature has yet to act upon it. The treaty has also to be ratified by the Senate of the United States before it will become effective.

It was authoritatively stated, however, that the treaty embodies the last three of the nine major recommendations of the Forbes Commission, looking toward the permanent ending of all forms of American intervention in Haiti. The first six of these recommendations have been already accomplished.

These three steps propose the gradual withdrawal from Haiti of the 700 marines now quartered there—a step estimated by the Navy Department to require about one year the withdrawal of American supervisors from major departments of Haitian domestic government; and finally a permanent agreement as to the settlement of the Haitian debt to the United States under terms which would not contemplate American control of Haitian customs and revenue.

Bellegarde Active

The work of accomplishing cessation of American intervention has been steadily carried on by American Minister Munro, whose resignation as Minister is soon to take effect. The completion of the treaty is considered to conclude the work for which Minister Munro was chosen as America's representative to the Negro Republic.

Minister Dantes Bellegarde, Haitian Minister to the United States, is also credited with a large share of the work leading toward the new treaty. His firm but courteous insistence on behalf of his government, that American intervention be abolished, is said to be largely responsible for the final friendly settlement of the difficult international problems of the two nations.

REMAINING 700 MARINES TO QUIT WITHIN ONE YEAR

Agreement Hailed As Forward Step By N. A. A. C. P.

WASHINGTON—(CNS)—A new treaty between Haiti and the United States, the force of which it is believed will be to guarantee the withdrawal of the remaining 700 American maries from the island Republic by 1934 and also to insure the minimum intervention in Haitian domestic affairs, was signed by representatives of the two governments on September 3, according to a State Department announcement.

The N. A. A. C. P. points out however that the supervision of Haitian revenue until 1942, in the basis of a $14,000,000 loan, the American government protecting private bondholders by supervising conduct of Haitian revenues and expenditures, constitutes a continued invasion of Haitian sovereignty.

In only two other nations, the N.A. A. C. P. points out, Santo Domingo and Nicaragua, does the United States by treaty protect private bondholders and banking institutions, and in neither of these countries does the U. S. control internal revenues as is the case in Haiti.

NEW TREATY HAILED AS FORWARD STEP

NEW YORK—The new treaty negotiated between the United States and Haiti, by the terms of which Marines are to be withdrawn not later than 1935, restoring the Haitian guard to national control and turning over fiscal posts to Haitians, was hailed as a forward step by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which has been agitating for Haitian independence since 1919.

Bonds That Bind Haiti

NEWSPAPER headlines generally announce, as did the New York *Times*, Haitian Treaty to End Intervention in 1934: the Republican press editorializes fulsomely on Mr. Hoover's achievement. But the facts about the supposedly imminent "ending of the Occupation" are at variance with the impression derived from the daily press.

It is true that following the recommendations of the Forbes Commission, the marines are being withdrawn, and various of the so-called "treaty services"—education, hygiene, public works—have been turned over to Haitians. But the really important part of the American control—the financial—endures. It is, under the terms of the proposed treaty, to continue, not merely, as provided in the 1915 treaty imposed "by military pressure," until 1936, but until interest and principal of Haitian bonds are paid in full. The new treaty provides for complete control of Haitian finances, customs, and internal revenue, by Americans—control which is now indefinitely prolonged and for the first time apparently accepted by the Haitians themselves. Americans will hold the purse-strings. They will remain the real rulers of Haiti. The major part of the text of the new treaty, which occupies three and a half columns of newspaper type, is devoted to specifying the many things which the Haitians must not do. They are free to swim but they may not go near the water!

The objectionable character of this new treaty stands out only when viewed in the light of history. It should not be unfamiliar to *Nation* readers that the essential motive behind the assault on Haiti was economic. Intrigues had been in progress with the State Department for years preceding the naval intervention—ever since the entry of the National City Bank into Haitian affairs and the securing of the notorious McDonald railroad concession. To recover the full face value of their worthless securities was the concessionaires' objective. To the imposition of the loan on Haiti, the other illegal and violent acts—seizure of the Haitian custom houses and funds, the imposition of a treaty and a constitution concocted in our Navy or State Departments, the imposition of a protocol compelling Haiti to settle all "claims" against her—were but preliminary. The $16,000,000 National City Bank loan of 1922, imposed over the protest of every articulate Haitian, carried the extraordinary and unprecedented provision that the United States should retain control in Haiti during the life of the loan. It was treaty-making without "the advice and consent of the Senate." The loan secured, the railroad bondholders' claims were adjusted favorably to them in wholly ex parte proceedings: they received the new government bonds, guaranteed by Uncle Sam, for their defaulted railroad securities! The new treaty further protects the National City Bank loan, although Secretary Stimson denied, in a letter to Senator Smoot on February 15 of this year, that the American Government has guaranteed this loan in any way whatsoever.

In view of the dominating element of force and chicanery which has characterized United States dealings with Haiti, equity and common decency required, and still require, abrogation of all previous pacts, and, if the Haitians desire, the free negotiation of an entirely new arrangement. It is highly ironical that when so large a proportion of financial commitments throughout the world are undergoing revision, when fixed charges are being scaled down, when moratoria are the order of the day, when debts are being "funded"—to use the financial euphemism—when virtually every independent Latin American country has defaulted on its obligations, the poverty-stricken Haitians are forced to continue to pay one hundred cents on the dollar on a debt which conferred virtually no material benefit on them. The whole transaction was fraud in legalized form. Under the appearance of virtue, kindliness, and amity, this fraud is to be perpetuated. If the Haitians accept the treaty it is only because their bitter experience leads them to the hope and belief that they may be able to buy their freedom within the next ten years, and that it is worth the price. Without minimizing the credit devolving on Mr. Hoover for doing what neither of his Republican predecessors did—namely, withdrawing from Haiti—it is important to note that the imperialist cycle is to be completed as originally scheduled by the interested financiers and their responsive servants in the Capitol.

West Indies.

16 Million Loan Forced on Haiti

Courier News 2-17-32

Georges Leger Tells Senate Committee of Insidious Transaction

WASHINGTON, Feb. 15 (ANP.)—One of the ablest of Haitians, from a family famous in Haitian history, appeared before the Senate Finance Committee last week and boldly charged that there was very great reason to believe that private financial interests in the United States had the backing of the American State Department in imposing a political dictatorship upon the small Caribbean republic.

The man who made the accusation is Georges Leger, Haitian lawyer and historian, and brother to the present Foreign Minister of Haiti, Abel Leger.

His shafts were directed sharply at the National City Bank of New York and a string of so-called financial advisors who, he claimed, have been dragging Haiti around by the nose ever since the American government found a pretext for setting a pattern for Japanese action in Shanghai by "intervening" in Haiti in 1915.

The specific complaint made by Mr. Leger was to the effect that the American financial advisor, backed by the American government as represented in the State Department, had forced the Haitian government to make a loan of $16,000,000 in 1923, through the National City Bank, and from which that bank made a profit of more than a million dollars. This loan, he stated, was so stipulated that Haiti was to be bound financially for thirty years, or to 1953, and during that time the maker of the loan was to be the sovereign force in Haiti

COMPLAINT DIRECTED AT BANK IN N. Y.

Famous Haitian Makes Sensational Charges

Journal & Sentinel

LOANS NOT WANTED

Norfolk, Va.

U. S. State Department Denies Charges Of Coercion

2-20-32

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Leger's charges, made in the presence of the senators who are members of the committee of which Senator Hiram Johnson is chairman, were so sharp that they struck fire in several places.

Several of the members of the committee affected to be much surprised at the so-called revelations which have been hashed and rehashed during most of the period of the American occupation of Haiti. Senator Reed Smoot displayed an attitude of cynical disbelief during most of the time that Leger was testifying and grilled the astute Haitian with questions calculated to prove that he was either exaggerating or telling plain untruths.

Damaging Testimony

But Leger parried each question cleverly and retorted with more damaging testimony, boldly incriminating the Utah Senator himself at every opportunity offered.

The State Department later in the day hastened to defend itself. Its defense consisted, not in denying the facts as presented by the Haitian, but his asseverations as to their bad effects. The State Department note insisted that Haitian finances had been handled skillfully and that, for that reason, the Haitian government's finances were among the most stable in the world today.

It is not to be presumed that the senators will seek to go behind the State Department's note to discover the truth at issue between it and Leger. But it has been known to the public for a long time that there appeared to be a secret understanding between the National City Bank and American officialdom of either the State or Navy Departments.

Paul Douglas of the University of Chicago in "Occupied Haiti," traced the history of American financial transactions in Haiti to prove almost conclusively that the American occupation itself was brought about by investments of the National City Bank in the Haitian republic. Roger Farnham, a vice president of the bank, was made president of the only railroad in Haiti, a railroad built under contract with the Haitian government.

Island Occupied in 1915

But when the builder failed to live up to certain necessary terms of the contract and the road lost money, the Haitian government declined to pay certain monies due in the contract. It was as an outgrowth of the wrangling over this default that notes began to pass between the American minister in Haiti and the State Department in 1914 which led to the eventual occupation of the island in 1915.

HAITIAN STRIKES AT U. S. AND ITS ADVISOR TO HAITI

Journal and Sentinel

Claims Nothing Is Done To Remedy Growing Ills

3-26-32

NEW YORK—That despite optimistic reports broadcast in this country, misery is growing in Haiti, and that the State Department erred in its reply to the testimony given before the Senate Finance Committee by Georges N. Leger, are charges made by the Patriotic Union of Haiti, in a leter addressed to the Senate Finance Committee and to President Hoover.

Norfolk

Copy of the letter sent February 23, and signed by Victor Cauvin, of Port-au-Prince, Secretary-General of the Patriotic Union, has been received by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, which made public the charges it contains.

"Not Exact," He Says

Concerning the arrearage alleged by the U. S. State Department in the external debt of Haiti, at the time the United States intervened in July, 1915, Mr. Cauvin states that "the declarations of the Department of State are not exact."

He charges that interest payments on the external debt of Haiti had been made up to the time of the U. S. Occupation and that it was the Occupation which suspended the interest payments.

"As for the optimistic affirmation by the Department of State," says Mr. Cauvin's letter, "to the effect that Haiti has never been on so solid a basis, you will be enlightened on that when you know that the financial advisor, who is still absolute master of our finances, has required that all expenditures, including appointments and salaries of government employees, included in the current budget, be reduced.

"Our public income diminishes daily, witness the monthly bulletin of the financial adviser. Meanwhile, it is absolutely impossible for the financial adviser to indicate any step taken or indicated by him in the past two years to mitigate the ills and lessen the increasingly intense misery which spreads in the country.

HAITI IS DENIED INDEPENDENCE REQUEST BY '36

Informer

Washington, D. C.—(CNS)—A recent note to the Hattian Government from the United States Department of State has been taken in many quarters to have closed the door to peaceful conclusion of the disargeement between the two governments over the continued presence of an American financial advisor and some 700 American marines on Haitian soil. The note is a blunt veto of Haiti's request for the end of American financial suppervision upon which the marine corps occupation rests.

4-30-32

A copy of the note made public April 18, makes it definite that the United States is not disposed to discontinue the present plan of customs receivership of the Negro republic in 1936, but instead is firmly purposed to continue such control until 1952. The note is in answer to a communication from the Haitian government under date of December 22, 1931.

As the matter now stands the American government is bound by the Munro-Leger agreement to end the marine occupation in 1936, although the bankers agreement for financial supervision of the customs of the Republic remains in force until 1952, at which time a loan made the republic by the National City Bank of New York will have been paid. The Haitian note had requested an adjustment of these treaty obligations by which Haitian control of their own customs receipts would be reestablished and the occupation of the marines ended. The loan in question is regarded by financial authorities as one of the best secured foreign debts in the world, and, has behind it, in the National City Bank, a reserve of over $3,000,000. Already the Haitian people have reduced the loan from $23,000,000 to $14, 000,000 and have 20 years in which to pay the remainder.

THE CHARGE of Georges Léger, son of J. N. Léger, former Haitian Minister to the United States, before the Senate Finance Committee that our State Department had forced the Republic of Haiti to float an unnecessary foreign loan of $16,000,000 in order to perpetuate United States control of Haiti is, unfortunately for the good name of our country, wholly true. Following the treaty of 1915 imposed on the helpless Haitians "by military pressure," to cite the exact words of Admiral Caperton, the United States officer in charge, a protocol was similarly imposed in 1919 to permit American concessionnaires—who had been largely instrumental in securing intervention—to "clean up" on their speculations. Against the unanimous protest of the Haitian people the loan was imposed, National City Bank officials in the United States "negotiating" with National City Bank officials in Haiti. When the signature necessary for the validation of the loan was refused by Sudre Dartiguenave, then President of Haiti, the United States financial adviser, Mr. John A. McIlhenny, withheld—quite illegally of course—the salaries of Haitian officials, to bring them to terms. This course, he testified before a Select Senate Committee, had the approval of his immediate superior in the State Department, Dr. Leo S. Rowe, then Chief of the Latin American Division and for many years the presiding genius of the Pan-American Union. Although the "pressure treaty," even with a dubious legal extension of ten years, was to expire in 1936, the loan extended United States financial control until 1952—the life of the loan.

Nation
3-2-32 Vol. 134 no. 3478

SECRETARY OF STATE STIMSON has denied the charges made by Mr. Léger. This was, of course, to be expected. Nevertheless, Mr. Stimson's sweeping denial was just that and nothing more. His letter to Reed Smoot, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, contained no convincing or documentary proof of his contention that the charges were false. The letter challenged Léger's competence as a witness; asserted that the American High Commissioner, Brigadier General John H. Russell, could not have prevented the reelection of President Dartiguenave because Russell had nothing to do with the 1922 election; and declared that Russell did not use improper influence over President Borno. It may be true that Léger had no direct connection or direct knowledge of the loan negotiations in question, but this has no bearing whatever on the truth or falsity of the facts he presented. Again, in face of the overwhelming evidence to the contrary it is absurd to suppose that the officials of the American Occupation, of whom General Russell was one, did not use all the power at their command to keep friendly governments in office and unfriendly governments out of office. This has been the whole history of the American Occupation. Lastly, it is of no importance whether Russell did or did not hold a club over Borno's head. With no support from his own people, Borno, who wanted before all else to remain in office, was exceedingly anxious to keep in the good graces of the American officials. He was ever ready to do their bidding. Mr. Stimson has evaded the real issue.

Uncle Shylock

The recent interchange of notes between Haiti and the United States indicate three things plainly:

First, Haiti wants Uncle Sam to take his marines and his financial agents home.

Second, Uncle Sam's marines will stay until 1936 and his tax collectors until Haiti has completely repaid the balance of a loan now amounting to $14,000,000.

Third, American bayonets did a thorough job in compelling the Borno government to sanction our illegal acts in forcing loans upon Haiti, and administering them.

So, when Haiti complains that the original treaty was for ten years, but that two years later it was improperly extended to twenty years, Uncle Sam says Borno approved that.

But wily Uncle Sam was not satisfied with having the puppet President, Borno (now in exile), approve the treaty extension. Sam used his marines to force through the adoption of a constitution which approved everything done by Borno up to the time the constitution was adopted.

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DANTES BELLEGARDE, Haitian minister to the United States, described the contributions made by his people to literature when he addressed the Harlem Adult Education Committee Forum at the West 135th Street Public Library last Wednesday evening.

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Leger was the only member of the old cabinet to be reappointed by President Vincent. 5-24-32

The New Cabinet—Abel N. Leger, foreign affairs; Ellie Lescot, justice and interior; Clovis Kebreau, finance; J. A. Raphael Noel, public works and commerce, and Paul Salomon, education, labor and agriculture.

Haiti Turns Down U.S. Joker Treaty

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While the treaty provided for complete command and control of the Haitian military guard by natives after December 31, 1934, a supplementary clause which provided that if there were "serious disturbances or other difficulties" in Haiti at the end of 1934, the marines would not be withdrawn, was regarded as a "joker," since it is equally as valid as the treaty proper.

HAITI LEARNS TO READ

IT seems as if somebody in the Haitian General Assembly has at last learned to read the microscopic implications that the United States State Department can and does so deftly write between the lines of its treaties when dealing with weaker nations.

This became obvious when that body refused to ratify a treaty which had been negotiated by the retiring American Minister, Dana G. Munro, and Albert Blanchet, Haitian Foreign Minister, last week.

What might easily have seemed, at first reading, a real chance for Haiti to practically free herself eventually of direct American control was, and is really an attempt on the part of the State Department to assure United States domination of the Island indefinitely.

The treaty offered, in some form, the eventual Haitianization of the Guard, or police force, and ceding to Haitians of certain offices, but the United States would still control all of the finances of the country, and, if any "unusual governmental unrest" occurred, the United States would have the signed right to again step in and "restore order."

The Haitians were wise in rejecting this empty, scheming overture of the State Department, which has been able to get through many of its schemes through the aid of President Stenio Vincent, who practically holds his position only during the American government's pleasure.

They know what to expect of empty promises. They feel that they could scarcely be much worse off than now, and hence there is no need to accept compromises which would only prolong their unfortunate condition. They know what this treaty means when it stipulates that the United States might "step in" to restore order.

The nightmare of the Marine regime under Smedley D. Butler is still fresh enough in their minds.

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West Indies.
NEW YORK
HERALD-TRIBUNE

APR 2 4 1938

Scene in Hayti During Constabulary Shift

Colonel Richard P. Williams, as major general in command of gendarmerie, delivering an address at the transfer of one of the military departments of the Garde d'Hayti to Haytian command.

HaytiansAhead Of Schedule in Police Control

Islanders in Full Charge of Gendarmerie in 3 of 5 Districts of Republic

Hundreds Ask Training

Old Aristocratic Prejudices Against Service Pass

By Arthur Ruhl

The Republic of Hayti is somewhat larger than the state of Vermont, somewhat smaller than Maryland. Its population is roughly estimated at about 2,250,000, consisting, but for a comparative handful of white foreigners and educated people of color, in the seaboard towns, of very simple Negro peasants, living on little plots of land, which they either own or have squatted on for generations, up in the "hills." It is almost wholly an agricultural country, and while naturally fertile and blessed with a pleasant tropical climate, is, contrasted with any of the industrialized areas of similar size, exceedingly "poor."

The burden which anything in the nature of a professional army of any size would inflict on such a corner of the tropics, the danger that any such army might be used by rival politicians for their personal ends, scarcely need be emphasized.

Constabulary Versus Army

American policy, therefore, since the intervention and especially as the time draws nearer for complete American withdrawal in 1936, has been to create an efficient constabulary—the gendarmerie—which would meet both the needs of economy and a force sufficent to police the country in quiet times and, if trouble threatens, to nip the latter in the bud before it has a chance to become serious. The theory is that such a little pastoral corner of the tropics, safe from foreign interference under the Monroe Dictrine, has no need of "major" armed forces, either on land or sea, but should be able to keep order and to scotch potential revolt with a well trained and suitably distributed mobile police.

The organization of such a constabulary, with American marines still in the island, was a comparatively simple matter. It worked so successfully that the 800 marines still left in Hayti are scarcely more apparent than are the members of any municipal fire department in the United States in the intervals between fires. The gendarmerie posts are scattered all through the tangle of mountains of which Hayti is made up. With the help of the *chefs de section*—a sort of sheriff and his local police—they serve as little islands of authority, preventing or settling local disputes and disorders, and if offenses beyond their more or less fatherly jurisdiction are committed, passing the guilty along to the appropriate courts. There are no "bandits" in Hayti, nowadays.

The peasants are free, as they never used to be, both from the danger of being forced into the "armies" of revolutionary politicians and from interference or petty grafting when they make their trips with their little bundles of produce to and from the "hills" and the markets down in the towns.

"Haytianization" of Gendarmerie

The real problem, of course, was not the organization of such a force, with the passive but watchdog marines standing by, but its preparation to carry on by itself after 1936, when the marines are gone. This meant the building up of an active sense of esprit de corps in the gendarmerie as a whole and the training of Haytian officers to take the places of the Americans.

There was a good deal of criticism before the Forbes commission visited Hayti and made its recommendations for turning the government back to the Haytians, that this "Haytianization" of the gendarmerie was not proceeding fast enough. And while some of this criticism may have been justified there were reasons for the delay not always apparent to outsiders.

At first it was very hard to get young Haytians of good family to enter the gendarmerie. This was partly due to dislike of the occupation as such, to the feeling that it would be unpatriotic to accept it to the extent of co-operating with the "common enemy." It was further due to the aristocratic traditions of the Haytian elite, including the taboo against any sort of manual labor. When the training of the gendarmerie began it was regarded as beneath the dignity of any young Haytian of good family, for instance, to do anything so menial as to groom his own horse. To start in from the ground up, with any such training as our own West Pointers or Annapolis midshipmen are subjected to, was, therefore, difficult.

Upper-Class Prejudices Change

A variety of influences, including even such things as the coming of automobiles and the experience of tinkering with one's own car, have a good deal modified such prejudices; and to make a long story short, there is now no trouble in finding young Haytians of good family glad to enter the gendarmerie officers' training school, while the "Haytianization" of the service is already two years ahead of the program outlined by the Forbes commission.

There were, for example, some 600 applications last year for admission to the new gendarmerie officers' training school in Port-au-Prince, of which forty were accepted. These young men are put through a two-year course, after which they enter the service as aspirant officers, with a second-lieutenancy as their next step. The school building itself is one of those new structures built by the "Service Technique" for industrial schools, but not used as such. Mrs. Elsie Cobb Little, wife of Colonel Louis Little, commander of the marine brigade now stationed in Hayti, is an interior decorator of wide experience and her taste was turned to the task of tinting the walls and corridors of the building and making it at once attractive and suitable for its tropical surroundings. A visitor to the school, as the writer was a few weeks ago on a morning when the American Minister, accompanied by Colonel Little and the commander of the gendarmerie, Colonel Williams, was inspecting the place, has almost a feeling of walking through a sort of miniature tropical West Point.

The dormitories were spotless—every student's bed, his little wardrobe of issue shirts, breeches, socks, shoes and the like, even his tubes of toothpaste and shaving cream, were wide open for inspection and as neat and shipshape as something in a picture. And the bearing of the cadets, the soldierlike snap and precision with which they went through their part of the formalities, was all that could be asked.

Spirit Displayed in Drills

That same morning we visited the traning grounds on the edge of the town and saw bayonet drills, Swedish exercises and various sports designed to make the men of the ranks fit and soldierlike. They seemed to take to everything like ducks to water, and the hard-boiled "non-com" in charge said that nothing could stop them. One of the men had sprained his ankle during a sort of bayonet-drill obstacle race into and out of some hundred yards of trenches, and although unable to stand on his feet had insisted on finishing his course, which is run under a stop watch, on his hands and knees!

Still later that day in the barrack yard, in the center of the city, just back of the President's palace, I watched the caserne guard going through riot drills under the command of a young Haytian who had served in the French Foreign Legion. They scattered in skirmish formation and gathered again, slowly pushed an imaginary mob across the barrack yard, while a second detachment, following a few rods behind, covered the windows and roofs of an imaginary street for possible snipers.

Everything we saw that day would have done credit to any similar body of men anywhere. In the glare and the necessarily more or less listless and indolent air of a tropical island all this snap, precision and sense of taut and sharpened force was peculiarly impressive.

After the Americans Are Gone

There are 183 officers and 2,537 men in the Haytian gendarmerie. The republic is divided into five departments—North, Center, West, South and that of Port-au-Prince. Three of the districts are already completely "Haytianized." In the district of the North, which includes the formerly troublesome city of Cap Haytian (it was here in the old days that "revolutions" traditionally started), and that of Port-au-Prince itself, American officers are still in charge of the higher gendarmerie posts.

The real problem, as already remarked, is not so much the training of such a force nor its "Haytianization," while the marines are still on the island, but how well it will work after the marines are withdrawn and ancient Haytian customs have the chance to reassert themselves. Can the psychology ofa people be fundamentally changed in the short space of fifteen or twenty years? I found Haytian friends,

young men educated abroad, sometimes in the United States, and able to look at their own people more or less objectively, who thought there had been such a fundamental change; that disgruntled political "outs" would not risk an appeal to arms in quite the old way, and that the peasants, accustomed to a decade or two of peace, would not sumit to being forced into revolutionary "armies."

Dominican Example Disturbing

Recent experiences in the neighboring Dominican Republic are not altogether reassuring. A few years ago, at the invitation of the Dominican President, Charles G. Dawes went down to Santo Domingo, with a commission of experts, all personal friends of his and volunteering their services, and drew up a budget for the republic. Whether or not the budget was suited to Dominican tastes and traditions, it was, at any rate, just about theoretically perfect. Mr. Dawes said, on departing, that the Dominican Republic had the best budget on earth, and all of us who were there at the time felt that the whole enterprise was a particularly gratifying and hopeful example of international co-operation. The Dawes commission had not been home very long before the hard-boiled head of the Dominican army took matters into his own hands, ousted the President, scrapped the superlative budget and made himself dictator.

Suppose, after the Americans have left Hayti, the then commander of the well-trained gendarmerie should take it into his head to do something of the same sort? Suppose the immigration and other wrangles between the Haytian and Dominican neighbors, which, so long as the Americans are in Hayti, remain subsurface wrangles and nothing more, should lead the Haytians to think that a gendarmerie was not enough and that what they needed was an out-and-out "army"? These are among the imaginable contingencies. Real friends of Hayti can only wait and hope for the best.

HAITI CABINET MEMBERS QUIT

East Tennessee News

WASHINGTON, D. C.—President Stenio Vincent of the Republic of Haiti, has accepted the resignation of six members of his cabinet as of May 17, the U. S. Department announced this week. 6/16/32

It was stated here that the reasons for the resignation were entirely of a domestic nature and had nothing to do with treaty rights between the United States and Haiti, which have recently been the subject of a sharp exchange of notes between the two governments.

Haitian Minister To Speak in Harlem

5-28-32

Hon. Dantes Bellegarde, minister from Haiti to the United States, will lecture at the 135th street Branch Library, 103 West 135th street, on Wednesday evening of this week, May 25. His subject will be "The Literature of Haiti."

New York

This is the second of a series of lectures on the Negro in the New World, which are being given under auspices of the Harlem Adult Education Committee, Mrs. Clarissa Wynn-Davis, secretary.

The third lecture will be by the Rev. George Frazier Miller, rector of St. Augustine P. E. Church, Brooklyn, whose subject will be, "Free Colored People of the South Before Emancipation." This lecture will be on June 8.

The final lecture of the series will be by Arthur A. Schomburg, curator of the Division of Negro History of a young man and woman who will speak on "The Negro in Spanish America." It will be given on June 28.

See Acts from Smalls' Paradise Revue at Victory Ball, Rockland Palace, Saturday Evening, May 28, with Luis Russell and his Roseland Ballroom Orchestra. Subscription 50 CENTS only.

HAITIAN DIPLOMAT IN TRIBUTE TO DOUGLASS

Journal and Guide

Bellegarde Also Tells Of Own Country

4-11-32

WASHINGTON — Speaking recently at the home of Frederick Douglass, Anacostia, Md., Dantes Bellegarde, Haitian minister to the United States, paid tribute to the Negro leader who rose from slavery to be a champion of his race's freedom and eventually represented the United States as minister to Haiti.

M. Bellegarde drew a parallel between the life of Douglass and the history of the black republic of Haiti which also rose from slavery to become a full-fledged nation. He called attention to the aid which Haiti had given the American colonies during the war for Independence, sending 800 black soldiers to fight on the American side, and also to the help extended to the nations of Spanish America in conquering their freedom.

Negro Digest

"Like Frederick Douglass, Haiti found no schools for the education of her people," said M. Bellegarde. "Like Douglass, becoming her own educator, she herself created her schools and from these schools issued men who organized Haitian society and made of it the equal of any civilized community. At the outset of her history in 1804, all was ruin and confusion. In less than 100 years despite the obstacles she found on her way, Haiti has been able to create all the means of her social life, all the elements which in the political order as well as in the economic domain enabled her to take station as a full-fledged nation."

M. Bellegarde added that a policy respectful of the rights of small nations such as had been exemplified in the activities of Douglass while U. S. Minister in Haiti, was "the only policy capable of assuring to a powerful nation like the United States the real and profound sympathy of the states of Latin America."

Armour Is Named Minister To Haiti

Christian Science Monitor

6/14/32

WASHINGTON, Aug. 13.—(AP)—Norman Armour, of Princeton, N. J., counselor at the American Embassy in Paris since 1926, was selected by President Hoover today as minister to Haiti where he will carry forward the work begun by Dana G. Munro in furthering the recommendations of the Forbes Commission for the betterment of island conditions.

Munro, a seasoned diplomat, went from the State Department where he was chief of the Latin American division to put into effect the changes in policy recommended for the strife-torn little republic after the commission's study of conditions there two and a half years ago.

A good part of the program proposed by the commission already has been accomplished and the State Department considers that the ground work has been firmly laid for the remainder. Muhro, a native of Providence, R. I., now wishes to retire from his diplomatic work to private life.

Armour will draw upon 20 years of diplomatic duties in widely separated sections of the globe for the experience needed in pressing ahead with the program. He was born in Brighton, England of American parents and spent his boyhood in Princeton, N. J. He began his diplomatic service in 1912 in Vienna and since that time has filled numerous important posts. He was charged to negotiate "further modifications of the existing treaty and agreements providing for less intervention in Haitian domestic affairs and defining the conditions under which the United States would lend its assistance in the restoration of order or maintaining of credit."

HAITI SUPPRESSES OPPOSITION PAPERS

Courier Journal

5-28-32

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, Aug. 20.—(By Air Mail)—(AP)—President Stenio Vincent has proclaimed martial law for Port-Au-Prince, the capital, and certain other sections of Haiti as part of a government campaign against the opposition press.

Since his proclamation five newspapers have been suppressed and two editors arrested. Under martial law the president can suspend the freedom of the press and dissolve the Haitian chambers, now in session.

President Vincent said he took this action because certain newspapers were agitating the republic and such agitation might lead to bloodshed and imperil the stability of the government.

THE HAITIAN SENATE has refused to confirm the proposed new treaty with Haiti. That is good news, for, as we pointed out in our issue of September 21, that treaty contains ties which would, if accepted, keep the Haitians in servitude to us indefinitely. That the treaty's main motive is to preserve and enforce the payment of the debt to the National City Bank of New York, which debt was forced upon the Haitians and conferred no real material benefit upon them, is perfectly plain. Now the Haitian Senate, eagerly as all the Haitians desire a definite settlement with the United States, has refused to accept the treaty despite the bait offered, and the State Department must begin over again. We sincerely hope that this time it will live up to Secretary Stimson's assertion of February 15 that the government of the United States has not guaranteed the National City's loan in any way and that it does not intend to do so now.

Sugar-Coated Diplomacy

Uncle Sam's new treaty dated September 3, which was offered to Haiti, was heralded even by the N.A.A.C.P. as an advanced step.

Ten days later it was rejected by the Haitian National Assembly which voted unanimously against it.

Afro-American

The AFRO two weeks ago, noted that that treaty contained too many "ifs" and "buts" to be acceptable, and the one "except" carefully placed by our own government, did not help the situation at all. 10-1-32

What Haiti sees clearly is that under the present treaty, the United States must get out bag and baggage—marines, educational and financial advisers—by 1936. The new treaty would withdraw marines by 1934 but would leave a "military mission" and a financial dictator until Haiti pays off its $14,000,000 debt, even if that took until 1952.

Uncle Sam's sugar-coated diplomacy took in the N.A.A.C.P., our own press and the white press. Haiti alone saw the bitter dose underneath.

West Indies.
N. Y. EVE. WORLD-
Telegram

JAN 12 1932

Haiti Resents U. S. Dictation in Crisis

By HERBERT J. SELIGMANN

A CRISIS in the affairs of the black republic of Haiti is revealed by the action of the American Minister in blocking salary payments to all Haitian officials from the President down.

There is under discussion in Washington a treaty draft, submitted by Haiti to the State Department, which would end the financial dictatorship now exercised over Haiti through the American financial adviser and the American Minister. It would provide a fiscal agent to be nominated by the President of the United States and appointed by the President of Haiti.

A well informed Haitian source states that "the position of the Haitian government is becoming increasingly difficult because of the pressure on it of the American Minister on the one hand and on the other hand Haitian impatience with the conciliatory efforts being made by the Administration of President Stenio Vincent." The crisis is intensified by the approaching elections to the Chamber of Deputies scheduled for January 10.

* * *

THE situation came to a focus on October 26, when the American Minister, Dana Munro, was reported in United Press dispatches from Port au Prince as having delivered an ultimatum to the Haitian government permitting the payment of salaries out of treasury funds only to the Haitian constabulary and American members of the treaty departments.

It is the Haitian contention that this form of financial dictation is unauthorized by any treaty.

The Haitian Legislature, elected October 14, 1930, as recommended by the Hoover-Forbes Commission, voted two resolutions which declared null and void the prolongation of the 1915 treaty with the United States for an additional ten years beyond their expiration in 1926.

The American financial adviser and the American Minister are accused by Haitians of having forced this treaty extension upon Haiti in 1917, on the plea that it would be necessary in order to raise a $30,000,000 loan. But the loan was never made to Haiti, therefore the Haitians assert the treaty extension is void.

* * *

HAITI charges that illegal election of President Louis Borno was at once recognized by the United States Department of State upon his agreeing to recognize as valid the treaty extension of 1917, the protocol of 1919 and to consent to a loan of $16,000,000.

The 1922 Russell Borno loan of $22,000,000, underwritten by the National City Bank of New York, for a nominal sum of $16,000,000, was later augmented by two issues of $7,660,000.

Haitians point to the 1930 report of the American financial adviser where he states:—"A comparatively small portion of the funds obtained from the three bond issues has been used for public works or productive enterprises."

Haitians hold the financial adviser responsible for not taking necessary steps during his fifteen-year dictatorship, which would have staved off economic crisis for the country. In support of their contentions, they point to the Hoover-Forbes Commission report.

Haiti's Demands.

Demanding an end to U. S. financial dictatorship and a complete restoration of self-government in Haiti, nine organizations have made public a memorial to President Hoover, asking that the three following steps promptly be taken:—

1. Complete restoration of financial and political autonomy to the Negro republic.
2. Withdrawal of U. S. marines.
3. Negotiation of a new treaty created under constitutional laws with the consent of the Legislatures of both nations.

Signing the memorial are:—American Civil Liberties Union, Central Conference of American Rabbis, Fellowship of Reconciliation, League for Industrial Democracy, Methodist Federation for Social Service, National Association for Advancement of Colored People, National Association of Colored Women, National Urban League, People's Lobby.

They say that national sovereignty is impossible in face of a dictatorship enforced through the American Minister and financial adviser by which peremptory orders are given by American diplomats to the Haitian government. It is pointed out that the entire foreign debt of Haiti is but $15,038,786.01, on which no moratorium is demanded and that it is in any case a sum which does not justify American dictatorship.

ASKS SENATE AID FOR HAITI

Call and Dent

Claiming Government Was Victim of Forced Loans

1-2-32

NEW YORK, Dec. 31.—The U. S. Senate Committee on Finance, has been asked in a memorandum submitted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to investigate the flotation and holding of Haitian government loans in the United States. The memorandum, submitted in response to a letter from the committee chairman, Senator Reed Smoot of Utah, saying he would receive it, makes the following charges:

Cleveland

1. That the treaties governing the loans were imposed upon Haiti by force.

Ohio

2. That a treaty governing loans was extended over the protest of the Haitian government and without sanction of the United States Congress the extension being subsequently repudiated in formal resolutions by the present reconstituted Haitian Legislature.

3. That the proceeds of the loans were used in "financial manipulation" for the benefit of U. S. bankers headed by the National City Bank and not for produtive purposes or for the benefit of the Haitian people.

4. That a vice-president of the National City Bank, Roger L. Farnham, was president of the National Railways of Haiti, was made receiver for that line in bankruptcy proceedings in 1920, was awarded $100,000 for his services, and that the Haitian government was obliged to assume $2,660,000 in obligations of this virtually defunct line on which the people of Haiti are now paying interest.

5. The financial negotiations between the two countries have been conducted by bankers "dealing with themselves" and operating without congressional sanction through the U. S. Department of State.

The memorandum further recites that: "The Haitian government vigorously opposed a foreign loan as large as that contemplated by the United States. It opposed the conversion of the internal debt into foreign obligations. It asked, in a memorandum of November 22, 1920 that the protocol be amended. It later opposed the negotiation of the loan by an American Financial Adviser, Mr. McIlhenny, who had previously in 1919, suspended payment of Haitian salaries. In November, 1921, the Haitian government informed the United States that the two-year period appointed by the 1919 protocol for loan negotiations had come to an end, and that the protocol had lapsed. But the United States insisted that this point be 'waived.'

"It is charged that the election of President Borno, in 1922, was procured by the American authorities and it is a fact that with his election the opposition of the Haitian government to demands of American authorities came to an end. The Borno government transferred the National Bank of Haiti to American interests, that is, the National City Bank and affiliates, and contracted a foreign loan."

HAITI SEEKS TO END U.S. FINANCIAL CONTROL

Call and Dent

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22.—(AP)—Minister Bellegarde of Haiti, said today his government had proposed refunding its American loan to end control by the United States government over Haitian finances.

1-23-32

The minister said a note on the subject had been sent to the state department but that he could not make public its terms.

Delaware

Reports here said the chief contention of the note was that a "financial dictatorship" was being maintained in the interest of New York bankers and American holders of Haitian bonds and that Haiti proposed to set up a fiscal agency without American supervision or else to refund its loan where it was due.

D. BELLEGARDE POO POOS WHITE 'KING' WIRKUS

Former Marine Claimed He was Crowned at La Gonave.

Afro-American.

SAYS FILMS ARE FAKED

Afro-American

Must be Americans Dressed as Savages.

1-30-32

By E. W. BAKER

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Dantes Bellegard, Haitian minister, assailed Faustin Wirkus, white, former marine sergeant and reputed "king" of the tropical island of La Gonave, as spreading fantastic and ridiculous tales about the inhabitants, in an interview, Monday.

La Gonave, which has a population of 12,000 blacks, the majority of whom are fishermen, is a possession of the Republic of Haiti. It is about one hour's ride by boat from the capital, Port au Prince.

Made "King"

Wirkus claims that he was made "king" by the natives when he was detailed to represent the government there while serving as a sergeant in the U.S. Marines, attached to the Haitian constabulary. Talking to the accompaniment of moving pictures on Saturday night, before the National Geographic Society, Wirkus described weird ceremonies of a secret religious cult which worshipped a snake god, strenuous dances in which the participants are "seized with spirits," and voodoo rites.

Natives Fear Wirkus

Minister Bellegarde pooh-poohed the idea of Wirkus's being "king"

of the island, as it belongs to Haiti. "It is possible, however," he stated "that Mr. Wirkus was crowned king at an island carnival. It is also possible that some of the people were afraid of Mr. Wirkus and proclaimed him king to flatter him."

The minister related that such a custom is prevalent in the United States in the bestowing of the titles of "general," "colonel," and other high-sounding names upon persons.

No Foreigners Allowed

The inhabitants of La Gonave may be superstitious, admitted Mr. Bellegarde, but they are not unlike the Bretons of France and other people believing in certain things. "People who are superstitious, believe in traditional creeds and they do not permit the initiation of foreigners into the secrets of their cults," he continued. "It is prohibited. I cannot believe Mr. Wirkus was initiated into any of the secret rites and that he was permitted to take moving pictures of what he saw."

Films Called Fakes

Minister Bellegarde believes the films shown by Wirkus in his illustrated lecture are fakes. He surmised that it would not be difficult to find a group of American colored men to dress as savages, perform fantastic contortions, and thus aid to cast a reflection on the Haitian people. The Haitian Government does not know of any weird ceremonies as described by Mr. Wirkus, the minister stated, although it is understood that some of the inhabitants of La Gonave have superstitious practices.

Christianity First

"Voodoo practices are not a religious rite," stated he minster, "but they are an amusement, and occasions for the people to meet, eat, dance, and drink." It was explained that voodooism gained root during the French colonial period when the slaves met under the pretext of entertaining themselves to plan revolts for their freedom.

"The natives of La Gonave are Christians and put no African gods before Christianity," declared Mr. Bellegarde. "Most of them are Catholic, and the adherence of the natives to the teachings of Christ can be attested by the priests and missionaries who labor fearlessly even in the most remote villages of the island."

Mr. Wirkus had previously claimed that he was the only white man on the island when he was proclaimed king and for a long period before and after. "That fact certainly proves that the inhabitants are civilized and not barbarians as they are being portrayed," exclaimed M. Bellegarde.

The reluctance with which the United States recognized the independence of Haiti because of the color of the people and the subsequent hostile attitude toward the country was also commented upon by the minister. Lamenting upon the unfair propaganda which sets up the Haitian people as uncivilized, he declared, "Haiti is very much misrepresented. It is almost impossible to have the truth told about her people. White Americans of good faith, however, recognize that the Haitians have accomplished much in spite of numerous obstacles."

Questioned whether he had protested the illustrated lecture of Mr. Wirkus, Minister Bellegarde, who is a member of the National Geographical Society, declared that he did not protest because he did not want to make publicity for the "king."

Second Attack

The minister is constantly seeking to correct erroneous impressions about his country and his people. Less than a year ago, he assailed Gen. Smedley Butler, stormy petrel of the U.S. Marines, charging that he manufactured a story of an assault on an unknown Haitian fort, for which he received the Congressional medal.

Haitian Loan Charge Denied by Stimson

Consolidated

WASHINGTON, Feb. 16.—(AP)—Secretary Stimson said today testimony by Georges N. Leger that the American government forced Haiti to accept a loan from an American banking concern was untrue.

Leger, representing the Haitian minister, made his charges before the senate finance committee and the secretary of state denied them in a letter to Chairman Smoot, of the committee.

In reply to Leger's charge that the American high commissioner, General Russell, prevented President Dartiguenave's election in 1922, because of differences over an American loan, the secretary said he had been informed that General Russell had nothing to do with the election.

Stimson added Russell did not later control President Borno, as Leger claimed, by "holding over his head" the fact Borno did not legally hold office because he was not born of a Haitian father as the Haitian law requires.

CHARGES HAITI FORCED BY U. S. TO OBTAIN LOAN

Chicago Tribune

2-11-32

Senate Committee Hears Brother of Minister.

[Chicago Tribune Press Service.]

Washington, D. C., Feb. 10.—[Special.]—Charges that the state department forced the republic of Haiti to float an unnecessary foreign loan of $16,000,000 in 1923 in order to perpetuate American control over the republic were laid before the senate finance committee this morning during a special session which concluded the hearings on foreign loans.

George Leger, brother of the foreign minister of Haiti, testified that Haiti, under the treaty of 1915, "never had the coöperation of, but was absolutely dominated by, the United States government."

Loan Runs for 30 Years

The loan, floated in the United States by the National City bank runs for a period of 30 years. And Mr. Leger declared that the state department has interpreted its provisions to permit the continuance of an American financial adviser in Haiti until its maturity.

"The Haitian people feel that the loan was put upon them by the United States for the purpose of maintaining political control over Haiti," Mr. Leger said. "The Haitians pay their debts, but they will not stand having that domination until 1953 just to satisfy New York banks. There is bound to be trouble if the situation continues."

Charges Denied by U. S.

In a statement issued later in refutation of the charges, the state department described the course of Haiti's fiscal affairs and closed as follows:

"At the present time, under the American financial administration, there is no internal debt; there is no floating debt; and the foreign bonded indebtedness had been reduced by Dec. 31, 1931, to $14,329,161.76. Furthermore, under the careful administration of the American financial adviser a surplus has been accumulated in the Haitian treasury which amounted on Sept. 30, 1931, to $3,292,568.30.

"Haiti was never before on such a solid financial basis, and when its financial position is compared with that of other governments in the post-war era the results of its finances under the administration of the American financial adviser are shown to be unique in the strength and soundness of its position."

CHARGES WE FORCED LOAN TO HOLD HAITI

Georges Leger Tells Senate Committee State Department Caused Needless Borrowing.

N.Y. Times

2-11-32

'DOMINATION' IS DENOUNCED

Department, in Reply to the Haitian Lawyer, Points to Soundness of the Island's Finances.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 10.—A charge that the State Department forced the Republic of Haiti to float an unnecessary foreign loan of $16,000,000 in 1923 in order to perpetuate American control over that island republic was made before the Senate Finance Committee today by George Leger, a lawyer of Port Au Prince and brother of the Foreign Minister of Haiti.

The loan was floated in the United States by the National City Bank and runs for thirty years, he testified, adding that the State Department had interpreted its provisions to permit the continuance of the American financial administration in Haiti until the loan matured.

Mr. Leger declared that the American financial advisers had been "absolute dictators in Haiti" and that since 1915 Haiti "never had the coöperation of, but absolute domination by the United States."

Taking cognizance of Mr. Leger's testimony, the State Department later today issued a statement in defense of the American financial administration in Haiti, in which it said:

"Haiti was never before on such a solid financial basis and when its financial position is compared with that of other governments in the post-war era, the result of its finances under the administration of the American financial adviser is shown to be unique in the strength and soundness of its position.

Situation in 1915 Is Reviewed.

"Haiti's external debt at the time of the American occupation in 1915 was about $31,700,000. This was mostly for foreign loans issued in France, some as low as 72.3, less gratuities. There had been several years' default in some of the amortization payments and interest was met by internal borrowing at rates of 59.56 and 47; salaries, &c., were in arrears.

"Under the American financial administration, all claims were adjudicated and all foreign and internal indebtedness liquidated for a total of $23,660,000.

"There is now no internal debt, no floating debt, and the foreign indebtedness was reduced by Dec. 31, 1931, to $14,329,161.76. A surplus has been accumulated in the Haitian Treasury in addition, which amounted, on Sept. 30, 1931, to $3,292,568.30."

Mr. Leger testified that the Haitian people "feel that the loan was put upon them by the United States for the purpose of maintaining political control over Haiti."

Domination Is Denounced.

"The Haitians pay their debts," he continued, "but they will not stand having that domination until 1953 just to satisfy New York banks. There is bound to be trouble if the situation continues."

Haiti, he said, has floated loans totaling $23,660,000 since the World War, including the $16,000,000 loan, an internal loan for $5,000,000 and a railroad loan of $2,660,000. There is outstanding only $14,000,000, of which $2,000,000 worth of bonds are owned by the Haitian Government itself, he said.

Mr. Leger quoted many official records and reviewed events of the last fifteen years in Haiti in support of his claim that there was an intimate connection between American political control of Haiti through the American financial adviser and the Haitian foreign debt.

Haiti was without an elected government between 1917, when, he said, the Chamber of Deputies was "padlocked" by marines under the command of General Smedley D. Butler, and in 1930, when the Forbes Commission made an extensive investigation of Haiti.

Proposals as to Foreign Loans.

During that time, Mr. Leger testified, repeated proposals were made by the State Department regarding foreign loans by Haiti, coincident with attempts to obtain extension of the treaty of 1915 which originally gave the United States authority to name the financial adviser of Haiti for ten years.

The Haitian loan first was suggested in 1917 by Addison T. Ruan, the first financial adviser appointed by the State Department, Mr. Leger testified.

"Nine months after the treaty was signed, the financial adviser told the Haitian Government that it must tell the United States it desired a loan and therefore the treaty must be extended for ten additional years," Mr. Leger said.

The Haitian Government refused to do this, he declared, but, finally, in 1917, consented to extension of the treaty after the United States proposed that it borrow $30,000,000 abroad.

The financial adviser was unable to find a bank to float this loan and other unsuccessful attempts were made until 1922, with various sums being proposed, Mr. Leger testified. Then, however, the Council of State of Haiti, the ruling body of the country, whose membership, according to Mr. Leger, was "dictated by the military commander," authorized a $40,000,000 loan and $16,000,000 was borrowed from the National City Bank. The Haitian government, he said, received $14,000,000 net for its obligations, promising repayment of $16,000,000.

Authority Is Questioned.

Mr. Leger contended that the financial adviser is in Haiti without legal authority, testifying that the act of of 1917 extending the treaty of 1915 until 1935, insted of 1925, was never ratified either by the United States Senate or the Haitian Senate, and that no cause existed for the maintenance of the adviser, as "Haiti is one of the few countries in the world which not only has paid its obligations when due, but ahead of date."

Mr. Leger criticized the financial adviser for purchase of $2,000,000 worth of Haitian bonds held by the Haitian Government, because, he said, these had depreciated 32 per cent below the purchase price of 99.

"The American Government has taken the position that financial control of Haiti must continue until that loan has been paid," he testified. "President Hoover, I understand, made that statement in a message to Congress."

Mr. Leger asserted that the National City Bank had profited to the extent of "two or three million dollars" through purchases of depreciated Haitian railroad bonds, at the time when it was acting as financial agent for his government.

Haiti has outstanding, in addition to the American bonds, a portion of French bonds originally totalling 125,000,000 francs, Mr. Leger added.

Attempts to buy these in after the franc depreciated, he said, brought on a dispute, still unsettled, with the French Government, which asked that the bonds be redeemed in gold

Race Problem-1932

Haiti.

West Indies.

NEWBURGH, N. Y.
NEWS

SEP 17 1932

Getting Out of Haiti

By treaty just signed between the United States and Haiti, the United States plans to withdraw from the territory of the Negro republic earlier than had been originally planned. Our present treaty with Haiti expires in 1936. The new one calls for the withdrawal of the marines and the Haitianization of almost all branches of the government, by the end of 1934.

MR. ARMOUR TO HAITI

The White House announces that the president has appointed Norman Armour (white) of New Jersey to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Haiti. Mr. Armour is to succeed Dana G. Munro, a southerner, who has occupied the Haitian post since 1930. The president in this appointment is running true to form in not recognizing character and fitness in black men even to the point of refusing them appointments in places of responsibility among their own racial identity.

The last Race man to hold this foreign post was Henry W. Furniss, who was appointed by the late President Roosevelt. Mr. Furniss held the post from 1905 to 1913. He handled the position with exceptional ability and made for both himself and his country a record unparalleled for efficiency and respectability.

Mr. Roosevelt was the last of the Republican presidents who believed in all men up and not some men down. To him color was not a bar to the recognition of character and fitness. He stood for the principle that no man could help his country by denying others the right to rise.

He was too big to do small things. With him fairness was a tradition. He surrounded himself with men who thought as he thought. His cabinet typified men of high ideals and vision. Their purpose was progress, not pelf; they labored for national advancement instead of personal gain.

They could discern that the future of America depended on the harmonious activities of the people and not upon confusion and disruption. Mr. Hoover does not appear to be surrounded by such men. The men who advise the president have not indicated any interest in our group, and are not expected to.

They can only visualize Uncle Tom, and he is long since dead. The appointment of a white man to this important Haitian post is further indication that our Race is "out in the cold" at the White House.

Defender
Chicago Ill.
9-24-32

DAWN OVER HAITI

TROUBLED Haiti can now discern the first faint light of Freedom's dawn after the long, weary night of American imperialist aggression. In accordance with the recent treaty signed by Dana G. Munro, the retiring American Minister, and the Haitian Minister of State, Abel Leger, the United States is to withdraw completely from the island republic on December 31, 1934, only the customs control remaining. This is a full two years sooner than the date of evacuation stipulated in the treaty of May 3, 1916.

Courier 9-22-32

Thus ends one of the ugliest chapters in American imperialism. While the internal affairs of Haiti were admittedly chaotic on July 26, 1915, when Admiral Caperton landed his marines in Port au Prince after the assassination of President Sam, and restored order, the continuance of the occupation was unjustified and indefensible.

Pittsburgh Pa.

A proud nation was humiliated and compelled to hang its soiled linen on the international clothesline amid the laughter and ridicule of a cynical and contemptuous white world. Added calumny was heaped upon the head of the entire Negro race and the Haitian difficulties, magnified to the nth degree, were cited as conclusive evidence of the tragic inability of black men to rule themselves. No reference was made to the fact that Portugal, a white country, had had more revolutions since 1910 than had Haiti, and yet no one thought of intervening in Portugal, taking her mismanaged colonies away from her or holding that unfortunate country up to ridicule as an illustration of the white man's incapacity for self-government.

Although the American rule has not been without certain beneficial effects on Haiti, such as bringing her snobbish and color-conscious ruling class down out of the clouds of culture and fine manners to a keener realization of the realities of their international position, the responsibilities of government, the necessity for more thorough and scientific development of agriculture and natural resources and a systematic reorganization of national finances, there is little about the entire sordid episode to reflect aught but discredit upon the foreign policy of the United States.

Under Democratic and Republican administrations alike, the Haitian aristocracy and literati were humiliated both subtly and openly, and black sons of Haiti were slaughtered in cold blood by the hardboiled, prejudiced mercenaries of Brigadier General John H. Russell. Swarms of Leathernecks, mainly from our South, sat down on the country, forcing the peasants to slave at road building and debauching the black women whom publicly they despised.

The shortening of the period of American occupation was due in no small part to the ceaseless agitation of liberals of both races in this country, the Caribbean, Central and South America. But to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is due the chief credit. For seventeen years, backed by enlightened American opinion and the support of freedom-loving American Negroes, it pricked and prodded successive administrations on the subject of Haiti and kept each one on the defense. The association has fought a magnificent campaign and the final freeing of Haiti must be chalked up as one of its major victories.

Perhaps another and not unimportant reason for the announcement at this time of American retirement from Haiti two years hence, is the quite understandable desire of President Hoover to placate the very considerable Negro vote, without which the wholehearted support of which he cannot hope to be re-elected. Negroes may expect several more announcements of this sort between now and the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November.

PERSONA NON GRATA?

SQUEEZED out of the Republic of Haiti and the Dominican Republic, rumors now have it that Charles Mitchell, minister to Liberia is to be replaced by a white man. This coming on the heels of the appointment of another white diplomat to Haiti gives force to the contention that the State Department, instead of suspending its policy of keeping Negroes out of consular posts, is more determined than ever to keep them out. Even in the countries which are predominantly Negro, it is becoming fast the policy to appoint white men, despite the fact that no objection has been raised against American men of color.

6-27-32

President Hoover was reminded before his recent naming of Norman Armour, English-born, to Haiti that for forty-four years Negroes had filled that position and that the appointment of white men to those positions tended to keep Negroes out of the diplomatic service since they were carefully prevented from serving in any but insignificant positions in "white" countries; but this reminder was to no avail, and Mr. Hoover continued a practice which has existed since 1913 and under both parties.

It is not because Negroes have not filled their positions capably that they are being shunted off. We dare say that the Negroes who have served in diplomatic roles have been shoulder to shoulder with the white diplomats of the same grade, but the salaries of certain diplomatic representatives have been increased in recent years and these posts are becoming "plums" too juicy for Negroes when so many whites are standing by waiting to gather the spoils.

In the second place, with the idea of advancing career men to higher positions, the fewer Negroes in any positions the less will there be the need to face any problem of advancement later on; and then, and perhaps most important, these are days when business is ravenous for markets and more markets and it may be that the state department thinks that white diplomats will close their eyes, or at least wink, more easily and willingly to exploitation of "backward" and "darker" races than men of color would be inclined to do.

Whatever is in the minds of the moguls of the State Department they cannot point to mal-

Marshall; neither can Langston, or Napoleon Marshall; neither can they openly prove that the Negro republics have declared Afro-Americans **persona non grata.**

Race Problems 1932

Haiti.

West Indies.

NEWBURGH, N. Y.
NEWS

SEP 17 1932

Getting Out of Haiti

By treaty just signed between the United States and Haiti, the United States plans to withdraw from the territory of the Negro republic earlier than had been originally planned. Our present treaty with Haiti expires in 1936. The new one calls for the withdrawal of the marines and the Haitianization of almost all branches of the government, by the end of 1934.

MR. ARMOUR TO HAITI

The White House announces that the president has appointed Norman Armour (white) of New Jersey to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Haiti. Mr. Armour is to succeed Dana G. Munro, a southerner, who has occupied the Haitian post since 1930. The president in this appointment is running true to form in not recognizing character and fitness in black men even to the point of refusing them appointments in places of responsibility among their own racial identity.

The last Race man to hold this foreign post was Henry W. Furniss, who was appointed by the late President Roosevelt. Mr. Furniss held the post from 1905 to 1913. He handled the position with exceptional ability and made for both himself and his country a record unparalleled for efficiency and respectability.

Mr. Roosevelt was the last of the Republican presidents who believed in all men up and not some men down. To him color was not a bar to the recognition of character and fitness. He stood for the principle that no man could help his country by denying others the right to rise.

He was too big to do small things. With him fairness was a tradition. He surrounded himself with men who thought as he thought. His cabinet typified men of high ideals and vision. Their purpose was progress, not pelf; they labored for national advancement instead of personal gain.

They could discern that the future of America depended on the harmonious activities of the people and not upon confusion and disruption. Mr. Hoover does not appear to be surrounded by such men. The men who advise the president have not indicated any interest in our group, and are not expected to.

They can only visualize Uncle Tom, and he is long since dead. The appointment of a white man to this important Haitian post is further indication that our Race is "out in the cold" at the White House.

DAWN OVER HAITI

TROUBLED Haiti can now discern the first faint light of Freedom's dawn after the long, weary night of American imperialist aggression. In accordance with the recent treaty signed by Dana G. Munro, the retiring American Minister, and the Haitian Minister of State, Abel Leger, the United States is to withdraw completely from the island republic on December 31, 1934, only the customs control remaining. This is a full two years sooner than the date of evacuation stipulated in the treaty of May 3, 1916.

Chicago 9-22-32

Thus ends one of the ugliest chapters in American imperialism. While the internal affairs of Haiti were admittedly chaotic on July 26, 1915, when Admiral Caperton landed his marines in Port au Prince after the assassination of President Sam, and restored order, the continuance of the occupation was unjustified and indefensible.

Pittsburgh Pa.

A proud nation was humiliated and compelled to hang its soiled linen on the international clothesline amid the laughter and ridicule of a cynical and contemptuous white world. Added calumny was heaped upon the head of the entire Negro race and the Haitian difficulties, magnified to the nth degree, were cited as conclusive evidence of the tragic inability of black men to rule themselves. No reference was made to the fact that Portugal, a white country, had had more revolutions since 1910 than had Haiti, and yet no one thought of intervening in Portugal, taking her mismanaged colonies away from her or holding that unfortunate country up to ridicule as an illustration of the white man's incapacity for self-government.

Although the American rule has not been without certain beneficial effects on Haiti, such as bringing her snobbish and color-conscious ruling class down out of the clouds of culture and fine manners to a keener realization of the realities of their international position, the responsibilities of government, the necessity for more thorough and scientific development of agriculture and natural resources and a systematic reorganization of national finances, there is little about the entire sordid episode to reflect aught but discredit upon the foreign policy of the United States.

Under Democratic and Republican administrations alike, the Haitian aristocracy and literati were humiliated both subtly and openly, and black sons of Haiti were slaughtered in cold blood by the hardboiled, prejudiced mercenaries of Brigadier General John H. Russell. Swarms of Leathernecks, mainly from our South, sat down on the country, forcing the peasants to slave at road building and debauching the black women whom publicly they despised.

The shortening of the period of American occupation was due in no small part to the ceaseless agitation of liberals of both races in this country, the Caribbean, Central and South America. But to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is due the chief credit. For seventeen years, backed by enlightened American opinion and the support of freedom-loving American Negroes, it pricked and prodded successive administrations on the subject of Haiti and kept each one on the defense. The association has fought a magnificent campaign and the final freeing of Haiti must be chalked up as one of its major victories.

Perhaps another and not unimportant reason for the announcement at this time of American retirement from Haiti two years hence, is the quite understandable desire of President Hoover to placate the very considerable Negro vote, without which the wholehearted support of which he cannot hope to be re-elected. Negroes may expect several more announcements of this sort between now and the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November.

PERSONA NON GRATA?

SQUEEZED out of the Republic of Haiti and the Dominican Republic, rumors now have it that Charles Mitchell, minister to Liberia is to be replaced by a white man. This coming on the heels of the appointment of another white diplomat to Haiti gives force to the contention that the State Department, instead of suspending its policy of keeping Negroes out of consular posts, is more determined than ever to keep them out. Even in the countries which are predominantly Negro, it is becoming fast the policy to appoint white men, despite the fact that no objection has been raised against American men of color.

8-27-32

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HAITIANS REFUSE TO ACCEPT PACT

Amsterdam News

Unanimously Holds That It Is Reinforcement of Document Negiotiated in 1915

9-21-32.

A United Press dispatch from Port-au-Prince, Haiti, stated that the new treaty between Haiti and the United States, signed here on Septe[illegible] and providing for withdrawal of the American marines by 1935, was rejected unanimously Monday by the Haitian National Assembly, which refused to ratify the document despite President Stenio Vincent's urging.

The committee report recommending rejection of the projected pact declared that, although the new treaty "pretended to liquidate the treaty of 1915, it is, in fact, only the same treaty reinforced." The committee declared also that the treaty does not conform with the recommendations of the Forbes commission, nor with those of President Hoover in his December, 1929, message to Congress.

The legislative committee added that the most apparent change made by the proposed new treaty was to change the name of the American official known as "financial adviser" to "fiscal representative."

LANGUAGE DIPLOMACY.

Age 11-19-32 New York Post

A Washington correspondent of the New York World Telegram told an amusing story of how the Haitian minister, Monsieur Dantes Bellegarde, put one over on the American representatives of the State Department at a recent meeting of the Pan-American Union. His speech before this gathering, which included some thirty diplomats, heads of Latin-American missions and Pan-American officials, was made in French and contained a subtle attack on the militaristic policy of the United States in Haiti. It caused a sensation among most of the foreign diplomats who understood the language, but to most of the Americans it might as well have been Greek. The scene was described as follows:

> Bellegarde, tall forceful-looking, wearing the rosette of the French Legion of Honor, had just voted for Secretary of State Stimson, who was re-elected president of the governing board of the Union.
>
> He began his speech in polished fashion, eulogizing Secretary Stimson in glowing terms. Diplomats settled themselves easily in their chairs.
>
> Suddenly they heard Bellegarde exclaim:—
>
> "Nothing valuable can result from a convention when one of the contracting parties has been submitted to a constraint which she could not resist."
>
> Dr. William Manger, one of the Par American Union officials, whispered delightedly:—
>
> "See! He's praising Mr. Stimson."
>
> Assistant Secretary White, whose Spanish is better than his French, wore a pleased look.
>
> As Bellegarde concluded his address a storm of applause broke, White and Manger clapping with the rest. Some of the diplomats grinned while they shook the Haitian Minister's hand.
>
> A wise old diplomat chuckled as he left the meeting:—
>
> "That was the most ingenious piece of diplomacy I have seen in years."

Ingenious, it might have been, but not diplomatic, to take such an unfair advantage of the guileless representatives of the State Department. W are persuaded that Minister Bellegarde is too good a diplomat to have felt that he was profiting by any misunderstanding of his utterances on the part of his hearers. He probably overestimated the proficiency of American diplomats in the French language.

In order to save State Department officials from such awkward exhibitions, a better knowledge of French should be obligatory, or eles they should be warned to abstain from applause on such occasions.

Race Problem-1932

West Indies.

Haiti.

Text of Treaty Between the United States and Haiti

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 8.—The full text of the new treaty of friendship between the United States and the Republic of Haiti made public today by the State Department together with the exchange of notes between the two governments follows:

The United States of America and the Republic of Haiti, desirous of strengthening the bonds of amity which happily prevail between them and of giving a satisfactory solution to certain questions which have arisen in connection with the treaty of Sept. 16, 1915, have resolved to conclude a treaty for that purpose and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries, &c.

Article I.

In view of the substantial accomplishment of the purposes of the treaty of Sept. 16, 1915, the two governments have agreed to terminate, as soon as practicable and in an orderly manner, the special situation created thereunder, and for this purpose have agreed upon the following program:

1. Articles IV, XII and XIII of the treaty are declared to have been fully executed and are hereby abrogated.

2. Article X will be abrogated upon the complete Hatianization of the Garde, as provided for in Protocol A, attached to this treaty.

3. Articles II, III and V-IX will be abrogated on Dec. 31, 1934, upon which date the two governments will put into effect the provisions of Protocol B attached to this treaty.

Article II.

The present treaty shall be ratified by each party in conformity with the respective Constitutions of the two countries and ratifications shall be exchanged in the City of Port Au Prince as soon as possible.

Protocol A.

ARTICLE I.

The American officers now serving with the Garde d'Haiti will be replaced as rapidly as possible by Haitian officers, in such a manner that, by Dec. 31, 1934, the Garde shall be completely commanded by Haitian officers.

ARTICLE II.

By Dec. 31, 1934, the Garde, under complete command of Haitian officers, will be turned over to a Colonel of the Garde in active service whom the President of the republic shall designate as commandant.

ARTICLE III.

In order to carry out the above program, intensive training of Haitian officers will be carried on from the date of the present agreement.

ARTICLE IV.

The Department of the South will be completely Haitianized at the latest on Dec. 31, 1932; the Department of the North at the latest Dec. 31, 1933, and the Department of Port au Prince at the latest on Dec. 31, 1934.

ARTICLE V.

The promotions to be effected during the course of the Haitianization of the Garde will be made after examinations held in the presence of the representative of the government of Haiti in conformity with Article X of the treaty of Sept. 16, 1915.

ARTICLE VI.

Since it is considered desirable to employ the services of a Military Mission to complete the instruction, training and discipline of the Garde, the President of the United States agrees to designate such a mission. The details of the organization of this mission and the powers to be conferred upon it will be the subject of a separate agreement.

ARTICLE VII.

The Marine brigade of the United States and the American Scientific Mission established by the accord of Aug. 5, 1931, will be withdrawn from Haitian territory as soon as may prove practicable, and, in any event withdrawal will begin not later than the time when complete Haitianization of the Garde is effected.

ARTICLE VIII.

The government of Haiti, in order to maintain the public order and peace necessary for the regular collection of the revenues pledged for the service of the bonds issued in accord with the Protocol of Oct. 3, 1919, assumes the obligation of maintaining strict discipline in the Garde and of applying, until all of the bonds are amortized or redeemed, the present regulations of the Garde d'Haiti. It will enact a statute which will fix the conditions of appointments, promotions and retirement in the Gardc.

Protocol B.

AATICLE I.

Until the total retirement or refunding of all bonds issued in accord with the protocol of Oct. 3, 1919, a Fiscal Representaive and a Deputy Fiscal Representative, appointed by the President of Haiti upon the nomination of the President of the United States, shall exercise the powers hereinafter conferred in order adequately to insure the interest and amortization of the said loan.

ARTICLE II.

The Fiscal Representative shall administer the tariff and shall collect all duties and other charges on imports and exports accruing at the several custom houses and ports of entry of the Republic of Haiti under the customs tariff and laws now or hereafter in force. He shall have for this purpose and for the necessary audit and accounting services such assistants and employes as may appear necessary.

The expenses of the customs service, however, including the amounts upon which the two governments may agree as the salary of the Fiscal Representative and the Deputy Fiscal Representative, may not exceed 5 per centum of the receipts from the customs duties. unless by agreement of the two governments, and these expenses will constitute a second charge upon the customs receipts next in order after the payment of the service of the bonds issued in accord with the protocol of Oct. 3, 1919.

The President of Haiti will issue commissions to employes occupying positions of authority and trust in the Customs Service upon the recommendation of the Fiscal Representative. The form of these commissions will be agreed upon by the Minister of Finance and the Fiscal Representative. If the services of a commissioned employe should not be satisfactory or if his removal should be deemed necessary for other reasons, the Fiscal Representative may terminate his services and may at the same time recommend such action as he deems advisable regarding his replacement, making a temporary appointment if necessary until a new commission is issued.

The Fiscal Representative will make every effort to train Haitian personnel for all positions in the Customs Service. At least two years before the complete amortization of the outstanding bonds, he shall select Haitian employes for special training as Receiver General and Deputy Receiver General of Customs in order that the service, efficiently organized and fully Haitianized, may be turned over to their direction when complete amortization takes place.

ARTICLE III.

The Internal Revenue Service, with its present organization, shall be placed under a Haitian Director and with an exclusively Haitian personnel, unless the Haitian Government should express its desire to retain the services of one or more foreign technical employes. The Director of Internal Revenue shall have full administrative authority over the service, under the high direction of the Minister of Finance, but the Fiscal Representative shall have the power and the duty to inspect all activities of the Internal Revenue Service and to make an appropriate recommendations regarding the conduct of the service or the efficiency of individual employes.

The Fiscal Representative, for this inspection service, shall employ such American and Haitian inspectors and assitsants as may appear necessary, providing, however, that the total amount allocated annually for this service shall not exceed 5 per cent of the total amount of the internal revenue collections. Except by previous agreement between the two governments, this allocation shall be made by means of funds established, as set forth in Article V hereof.

If the Fiscal Representative should notify the Minister of Finance that there is reason to suppose that the conduct of any officer or employe of the Internal Revenue Service is incorrect or inefficient, such employe will be suspended and will not be reinstated until the charges against him have been disproved to the satisfaction of the Minister of Finance and of the Fiscal Representative.

The Fiscal Representative shall present to the Minister of Finance such suggestions as may appear helpful regarding the improvement of existing internal revenue legislation.

The revenues collected by the Internal Revenue Service shall be deposited in the National Bank as provided in Article VIII hereof.

A law regarding the organization of the Internal Revenue Service will govern the appointment, promotion and retirement of the personnel of this service.

ARTICLE IV.

If for any reason the internal revenues should decline so that the amount collected falls below 3,000,000 gourdes during the six months from October to March, inclusive, or below 2,000,000 gourdes during the six months from April to September, inclusive, the Fiscal Representative shall call the situation to the attention of the Minister of Finance and shall make such recommendations as he may deem appropriate for restoring collections to their proper level; and the Haitian Government will put these recommendations into effect.

ARTICLE V.

The expenses of the Internal Revenue Service shall be paid out of the amounts collected, in accord with a schedule of payments agreed upon between the Fiscal Representative and the Minister of Finance. These expenses shall not exceed 12 per cent of the total amount of internal revenue collections, except by agreement between the Minister of Finance and the Fiscal Representative. An additional amount, not exceeding 5 per cent of the total amount of internal revenue collections, shall be included in the same schedule to cover the salaries and expenses of the inspectors who shall be attached to the office of the Fiscal Representative for the inspection of the Internal Revenue Service.

ARTICLE VI.

The expenses of the Internal Revenue Service, including the expenses of the inspectors attached to the office of the Fiscal Representative, shall constitute a second charge upon the internal revenues, next in order after the payment of the service of the bonds issued in accord with the protocol of Oct. 3, 1919.

ARTICLE VII.

All authorities of the Haitian Government will extend full protection and all proper assistance to the Customs Service and to the Internal Revenue Service in order to assure their proper operation and the enforcement of the tax laws.

ARTICLE VIII.

All moneys received by the Haitian Government shall be deposited in the National Bank to the credit of the Haitian Government, with the exception of the amounts needed for payment of the debt service, as required by the loan contracts, and 5 per cent of the customs collections, which amounts shall be retained by the Fiscal Representative from the customs duties and charges collected and received by him. The bank shall set aside preferentially each month to the credit of the Fiscal Representative before permitting the withdrawal of any funds belonging to the government the amount required for the expenses of the internal revenue collection and of the Internal Revenue inspection service, in addition to any amount which might be required in any month to cover a deficit in the sum needed for the service of the loans resulting from failure of the customs collections to aggregate that sum.

All payments of government funds shall continue to be made by checks prepared by the Service of Payments. The existing arrangement, as agreed upon between the two governments on Aug. 5, 1931, shall continue to govern this service, except that checks for the payment of the debt service and the expenses of revenue collection shall be signed by the Fiscal Representative and checks for other governmental expenses shall bear the signature of the Minister of Finance.

ARTICLE IX.

Until the complete amortization of the bonds issued in accord with the protocol of Oct. 3, 1919, or the retirement of these bonds before their due date, the government of Haiti undertakes:

1. To balance its budget each year and not to authorize any extraordinary or supplemental appropriations in excess of budgetry items unless unobligated funds are available to cover such extraordinary or supplemental appropriations after setting up such reserves as may be necessary to assure the payment of the debt service and other budgetary expenses during those months of the fiscal year when receipts are normally reduced.

2. Not to permit aany department of the government to exceed its monthly allocation (douzieme) except in case of demonstrated necessity.

3. Not to reduce the customs tariff nor to modify the internal taxes in such way as to reduce the total yield of the internal revenues.

4. Not to contract any debt nor assume any financial obligation unless the ordinary revenues of the republic available for that purpose, after defraying the expenses of the government, shall be adequate to pay the interest and provide a sinking fund for the final discharge of such debt, and not to grant any subsidy for a period of more than one year, except with the accord of the Fiscal Representative.

5. To include annually in the budget of the republic the amounts necessary for the regular service of the public debt and other contractual obligations, as well as lump sums representing the customs 5 per cent and the internal revenue 12 per cent and inspection service funds. If the funds received in any month should be insufficient to meet the full debt service and expenses of collection the Minister of Finance will pay to the Fiscal Representative from his

West Indies.

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2. Not to permit aany department of the government to exceed its monthly allocation (douzieme) except in case of demonstrated necessity.

3. Not to reduce the customs tariff nor to modify the internal taxes in such way as to reduce the total yield of the internal revenues.

4. Not to contract any debt nor assume any financial obligation unless the ordinary revenues of the republic available for that purpose, after defraying the expenses of the government, shall be adequate to pay the interest and provide a sinking fund for the final discharge of such debt, and not to grant any subsidy for a period of more than one year, except with the accord of the Fiscal Representative.

5. To include annually in the budget of the republic the amounts necessary for the regular service of the public debt and other contractual obligations, as well as lump sums representing the customs 5 per cent and the internal revenue 12 per cent and inspection service funds. If the funds received in any month should be insufficient to meet the full debt service and expenses of collection the Minister of Finance will pay to the Fiscal Representative from his

reserves the amount required to make up the deficit.

In everything relating to the matters dealt with in this article, the Haitian Government will proceed in accord with the fiscal representative.

The Government of Haiti will reach an accord with the Government of the United States regarding the issue of any new series of the loan authorized by the law of June 26, 1922.

ARTICLE X.

If it should appear, during the course of a fiscal year, that the revenues will be substantially less than the estimates used in preparing the budget, the Haitian Government, acting in accord with the fiscal representative, will adopt adequate means to meet the deficit, either by reducing expenditures or by providing new sources of revenues.

The government will not sell the securities held in the investment account, or other public property, except with the prior accord of the fiscal representative.

ARTICLE XI.

The system of financial administration of the Republic of Haiti shall be governed by a special law of finance, the project of which has been submitted to the legislative body.

ARTICLE XII.

In order to assure the maintenance of public order, the monthly allocation for the Garde d'Haiti will be set aside preferentially by the National Bank from the funds remaining after deduction of any amounts which may be necessary to cover the service of the foreign debt and the expenses of the internal revenue collection, including the internal revenue inspection service and the sums thus set aside shall not be subject to withdrawal for any other purpose than the necessary expenses of the Garde. Any unexpended balance at the end of the fiscal year shall revert to the general fund of the treasury.

ARTICLE XIII.

The fiscal representative shall maintain adequate records of all receipts and disbursements, which records shall be open to inspection and verification by the appropriate authorities. Monthly reports of his operations shall be submitted to the Secretary of State for Finance of Haiti and the Secretary of State of the United States.

ARTICLE XIV.

The Haitian Government reserves the right to retire the bonds issued in accord with the protocol of Oct. 3, 1919, in advance of their due date; and the government of the United States will not invoke the provisions of Article VI of the protocol as an obstacle to such retirement before the expiration of the period of fifteen years fixed therein, provided that the Haitian Government is able to make an arrangement for this purpose satisfactory to the holders of the outstanding bonds.

In this case, the provisions of this protocol shall automatically become null and void and of no effect upon the completion of the refunding operation.

The exchange of notes between the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Haiti and the American Minister to Haiti read:

I have the honor to confirm the understanding between us with regard to certain questions connected with the treaty which we have signed today.

1. While it is the definite intention of the two governments to carry out the program set forth in the agreement for the Haitianization of the Garde, it is realized that it might prove impossible to carry out this program at the times fixed if serious disturbances or other difficulties in Haiti now unforeseen should arise to prevent its execution. It is of course confidently hoped and expected that no such difficulties will occur and it is the earnest desire of both governments to carry out the entire program at the earliest practicable date.

2. Since it will be necessary to begin at once the intensice training of the Garde in order to make possible the complete Haitianization of that organization by the end of 1934, such intensive training, including especially preparations to advance the graduation of the present class at the Military School will begin immediately after the ratification of the treaty by the Haitian National Assembly, without awaiting the action of the United States Senate.

3. The compensation received from the Haitian Government by the members of the Military Mission established under Article VI of Protocol I shall be $250 per month in the case of the chief of the Mission, $200 per month in the case of other officers, and not over $100 per month in the case of enlisted men. The amount necessary for the payment of this compensation shall be included each year in the budget of the Garde.

4. The Haitian Government will grant the mission adequate powers to fulfill the objectives for which it is designated, and to this end the mission shall have authority:

(a) To inspect all activities of the Garde and to make reports and recommendations to the Commandant or directly to the President of the Republic regarding measures for the improvement of the training, organization, administration and discipline, regarding the capacity of officers for promotion and the conditions under which promotions are to be made, and regarding such other subjects as the mission may consider advisable.

(b) To recommend, when necessary, that disciplinary measures be taken against any officer or enlisted man in the Garde.

(c) To make any necessary suggestions or recommendations regarding the conduct of the Ecole Militaire and to give instruction in that institution if found desirable, also, from time to time, to recommend the detachment of Garde officers for advanced training in that institution, when that shall appear necessary, either to fit the officer for the proper discharge of his duties or to enable him to qualify for promotion.

5. Protocol B will be communicated by the Haitian Government to the National Bank with irrevocable instructions to give effect to those of its provisions which relate to the deposit and expenditure of government funds.

6. In view of Article VII of Protocol B, it is understood that, if there should be occasion for judicial proceedings against the fiscal representative or his American assistants, such proceedings cannot be instituted without the consent of the Government of the United States.

The exchange of notes is an integral part of the agreement between thetwo governments and will be communicated to the National Assembly of Haiti and to the United States Senate at the time of the ratification of the treaty.

Beginning to Get Ready to Leave Haiti

Despite the new Haitian-American treaty signed September 3, the United States is only beginning to get ready to quit Haiti.

The treaty trades an uncertainty for a certainty, but then adds an "except," "while," "since" and other reservations, so there remains many a loophole. For instance any revolutionary outbreak voids the compact.

The treaty fixed the date of withdrawing U.S. marines at 1934 when the 1919 treaty expires. It provides for replacement of American officers in the Haitian Garde, one department a year until in 1934 the constabulary will be officered entirely by natives.

It provides for a U.S. military mission to remain in Haiti drawing regular salaries from the U.S. and from $100 to $250 a month additional from Haiti and sets no strict limit to the number of Americans so to be retained.

Until Haiti has paid off its U.S. loan (now $14,000,000) which may take 10 or 20 years, the treaty provides Haiti must accept a U.S. financial adviser and a deputy adviser nominated by the President of the United States.

Five per cent of the entire Haitian customs receipts (averaging $8,000,000) will go yearly for salary and expenses of these American financial officials and others whom they may employ.

These American officials will not be subject to Haiti's president or its legislature. They may dismiss any subordinate Haitian employee summarily and fill the vacancy. American officials, themselves, can be removed only by the American government.

In other words, Haiti will still be run by the U.S. financial adviser with the support of a United States military mission.

To guarantee this procedure, the treaty provides that out of customs receipts, first payments will be made on the United States loan. Then secondly, five per cent of receipts will be used to pay American financial officials and their assistants.

Thirdly, salaries of Americans in the military mission, and of the Haitian garde must be paid.

These preferred payments must be made before Haiti can pay its president, a school teacher or fix a hole in the streets of the capital.

Uncle Sam is certainly all set in Haiti. Like an unwelcome in-law visitor, he talks about going, but does nothing else about it.

THE HAITIAN COMPLICATION.

Behind rejection by the National Assembly of the treaty between Haiti and the United States is a spirit of antagonism to any kind of control or supervision by our Government, however helpful its purpose. After the transfer in November, 1931, of three of five departments to native officials, the Haitian press began to demand Haitians in the other departments, including finance. So vicious were the attacks upon Americans that President VINCENT suspended several of the newspapers, and in certain districts declared martial law. In January a strongly anti-American Assembly was elected. The treaty that was to give the Haitians control of their government in 1934, instead of 1936, as set in the treaty of 1915, contained the qualification that an American fiscal representative should supervise the revenues until retirement of bonds issued "in accord with the protocol of Oct. 3, 1919."

The weakness in Haitian administration had been management of the republic's finances. The treaty provided that the fiscal representative should train Haitian personnel for positions in the customs service; and at least two years before "the complete amortization of the outstanding bonds," native employes were to be instructed in the duties of Receiver General and Deputy Receiver General of Customs. The United States, which had reformed sanitation and the educational system, besides training the gendarmerie, could render no greater further service than this.

The treaty which was to bring Haiti so near complete self-government had been received with hostility by political agitators. Of the action of the National Assembly, President VINCENT says: "Whatever may happen in the future, the people of Haiti will be able to judge for themselves." In other words, the Legislature is responsible. If it does not reconsider its obstructive work, negotiations will have to begin all over again, with the understanding that the United States cannot change a fiscal policy which has been the salvation of Haiti.

REJECTION OF TREATY CLARIFIED BY HAITIAN

Island Republic Sees Continued Supervision of Affairs by U. S.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 20.—(AP)—Belief that the new treaty offered Haiti by the United States would fail to free the island republic from occupation of American marines was cited at the Haitian legation today as one of the reasons why that country's national assembly rejected it.

The Haitian action yesterday was explained on that ground by Dantes Bellegarde, the Haitian minister. He said that continuance of certain American government financial control until 1852 was another reason.

In announcing this, Bellegarde said President Stenio Vincent, in recommending approval of the treaty to the assembly, had mentioned the possibility of a change in the Washington administration next year, and with it a change in the Haitianization program of President Hoover.

Bellegarde pointed out that Franklin D. Roosevelt, the democratic presidential nominee, was assistant secretary of the navy when the now abrogated Haitian constitution of 1918 was drawn.

"Mr. Roosevelt," he said, "has denied the assertion that he drafted this constitution. Nevertheless, President Vincent felt the possibility of a change in the political situation here made it advisable to accept the treaty which the present administration offered."

The rejected treaty would have supplanted one now in force which expires in 1936. Under the new one, Haitians would have been in complete command of their guard by December 31, 1934, and marines and the American scientific mission would have been withdrawn not later than 1934 instead of 1936. An American military mission would be left to complete guard training and two American fiscal representatives would administer the tariff and collect customs house duties until the total retirement or refunding of all bonds issued in accordance with the protocol of 1919 had been accomplished.

The rejected treaty was signed in Washington September 3.

West Indies

Virgin Islanders in United States Ask Congress to Grant Full Rights Of Citizenship to All the Natives

Points Out That Present Situation Deprives Many Islanders of Citizenship Since They Are Not Recognized By U. S. or Denmark

The Virgin Islands Civic and Industrial Association of New York City, Ashley L. Totten, president, with headquarters at 239 West 136th street, voted unanimously at its meeting on January 7 to petition Congress for a" ights of American Citizenship to all Virgin I atives, regardless of where they lived at the time of transferal of the Islands to the United States by Denmark.

The law, states Mr. Totten, is confusing and causes as much embarrassment to the government as is does to the natives. For instance, said he, a Mrs. Draves of 117 West 142nd street, born in St. Croix living there at time of the transfer, and in the United States since 1920, was not given a passport as an American citizen, but was instructed to apply to the Danish Consul-General, who refused on the ground that she was not a Danish citizen.

A Matter of Dates

On February 25, 1927, Congress granted full citizenship to all natives who were in the islands on March 17, 1917, and on February 25, 1927; and also to those natives who were in the United States on March 17, 1917, and in the islands on February 25, 1927.

Those natives who were in the United States on March 17, 1917, and in the islands until February 24, 1927, are not citizens of the United States, and those who were in foreign countries in March, 1917, or February 25, 1927, are not permitted to resume residence in the islands. On the other hand, natives residing in the United States on March 17, 1917 are considered citizens as long as they remain in the islands, but to return to the mainland they must travel as aliens.

Another disadvantage of the present conidtion, says Mr. Totten, is its serious effect upon the homestead plan and parcelling of lands suggested by Gov. Person and his civil administration, because natives residing in the United States whose cooperation is being sought are afraid to return to the islands and invest their money until they are free to travel as American citizens.

Criticize Island Salaries

The association approved Gov. Person's recent report to Pres. Hoover, recommending that "in order to give full justice to all Virgin Islanders Congress should grant them full citizenship," but criticised severely that part giving names of executives with the salaries they are receiving. The administration was declared to be "top heavy" with Person's friends drawing large salaries at expense of the federal government.

It was pointed out by Mr. Totten that although the laboring classes represent 80 per cent of population, they are not allowed to vote and have no voice in the legislature, due to the fact that they do not earn enough in property value to vote. As a result, the few who have the franchise always vote to perpetuate a class legislation which has made it possible or all the lands in the islands to remain in hands of only fifteen persons.

The fight for citizenship for all Virgin Islanders is opposed, it was stated, because of the fear that natives now residing in the United States, if permitted to return freely to the Islands, would set up enterprises which would bring about a social revolution and drive the leaders of caste into obscurity, at the same time setting an American form of legislature.

The present island legislature opposes all efforts to secure a popular vote for the natives, and only Congress can grant relief.

Only Virgin Island Bank To Close in June, 1934

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 14.—The only bank in the Virgin Islands will discontinue business when its charter expires in June, 1934, according to information obtained at the Treasury Department and the Bureau of Efficiency last Saturday.

Preparatory to closing, the bank has for some time refused to make long-term loans to planters and cattle raisers, it was stated. Recently it has begun curtailing its activities in all directions and will make only short-term loans which are certain of payment in full when they fall due.

Efforts to interest an American bank in the project of establishing a branch in the islands are being made by the Interior Department, under whose jurisdiction the islands are governed, and the Treasury Department. After conferring officials agreed that a survey of the islands conducted by an eminent banking authority would do most to stimulate the interest of American banks, but the $28,500 estimated as necessary for the project is not available without special approval of Congress.

J. W. Pole, comptroller of the currency, is ready to appoint a man outside the government service to do the work, making him a special national bank examiner for the duration of the task. All competent men in his office, Mr. Pole says, are "up to their necks in work," and a special appointment would be necessary. The appointment, however, cannot be made until an appropriatioin is authorized to defray salary and expenses.

The Comptroller General already has ruled that the Bureau of Efficiency cannot use its funds for any man outside its civil service classifications. Herbert Brown, chief of the Bureau of Efficiency, declares he see no remedy for the situation except a direct appeal to Congress for funds.

Both Mr. Pole and Mr. Brown are anxious that the survey of the islands be complete and of excellent quality. Only a high grade report covering the whole economic panorama of the islands, will attract American banks, they say.

The early establishment of better banking facilities in the islands is vital to the work of rehabilitation which Congress authorzed during its previous sessions, officials state. If the present bank is permitted to go on curtailing credit and eventually to close altogether without a more adequate institution taking its place, they believe the islands' unsatisfactory condition will be aggravated.

VIRGIN ISLANDS RESENT TAX LAW

ST. THOMAS, Virgin Islands—Apr. 7.—(CNS)—The sales tax may have citizens in continental United States standing on their ears, but it has created nothing like the furor created here last week when acting Governor Body Brown presented to the Colonial Council here a new tax ordinance for passage, which he stated was necessary to take care of a $16,000 deficit in the budget of the colonial government, Members of the council vigorously opposed the legality of the new ordinance. They declared that present tax burdens fall on only 10 per cent of the island population.

Governor Brown explained that if the Council refused to adopt the ordinance the government would have to discharge its employes or reduce all salaries 40 per cent in order to meet the deficit.

With reference to the proposed income and poll taxes, one member declared that they "are wholly and solely in disregard for constitutional laws, and the inheritance tax is ex post facto legislation, in that it has an individual tendency and is retroactive."

Lionel Roberts, another member, emphatically asserted that "in a community such as ours, which is fast being excommunicated from the commercial and industrial world, taxes must not take precedence over avoidable governmental expenditures in an effort to balance a budget."

New York Evening Journal

Bronx Section

JUN 25 1932

VIRGIN ISLAND NEGROES GAIN BALANCE

Block of 5,000 Votes, Just Enfranchised, to Swing Victory.

Negro Harlem today faces the most violent political upheaval in its history, with the revelation that a group of 5,000 newly enfranchised voters, former residents of the Virgin Islands, today holds the political balance of power.

For the past few years the Democrats and Republicans in Harlem have been struggling with only small margins of victory for either side. Under a Congressional bill passed last week at Washington, 5,000 new voters are created in Harlem, and they constitute an unknown factor at the polls.

An assembly of the new voters has been called for next Monday night at the New York Urban League, 202 W. 136th St., by Ashley L. Totten, president of the Virgin Islands Civic and Industrial Association.

"Formal announcement of the passage of the law, for which our organization fought strenuously, will be made at the meeting," Totten said today. "The new law grants full right of citizenship in the United States to all natives who resided here or in Porto Rico, or other insular possessions, on March 17, 1917, at the time when the Virgin Islands were transferred from Denmark to this country. Prior to this law such residents in the United States were not fully citizens" tinued to be aliens without a flag of country.

Totten states that when Congress passed the citizenship bill on Feb. 25, 1927, it only determined the status of those natives who were in the islands at the time of the transfer, but that those who were in the United States and its possessions con-

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ROCKFORD, ILL.
REGISTER REPUBLIC

JUL 6 1932

INSULAR RESPONSIBILITY.

Uncle Sam's obligation to the Virgin Islands is emphasized by Dr. Paul Martin Pearson, a native of Illinois who gave up school teaching and lecturing to accept appointment from hands of President Hoover last year as governor of this insular group.

"We bought the islands as a convenience for ourselves," Dr. Pearson points out, "and as a defense base for the Panama canal. We had been negotiating for their purchase since 1867 and when we finally got them in 1917, it was because we believed them valuable."

Though the islands are not now used as a peace-time base, their importance in case of war remains unaffected because they are the key to the defense of the canal zone, Dr. Pearson adds. It must be clear that since we bought the islands for defensive purposes, we incurred an obligation to the people who inhabit them, he reasons.

This responsibility first must be met by making a sincere effort to learn something of the people; an investigation, the governor contends, which will reveal them as intelligent, hospitable, friendly, law-abiding, proud and sensible. The population, according to the last census, is 22,000, of whom 93 per cent are colored. Virtually every person belongs to one of the several churches. Nearly everybody reads and writes; there are no beggars. Streets are clean, as are the people and their houses. They are willing to do things to aid themselves, but they lack much to make them reasonably comfortable.

The most important fact for people of continental United States to know is that residents of the Virgin islands are not to be bullied or patronized. Relations between islanders and the rest of us, he explains, must be a partnership worked out on a standard of living and opportunity which these newest members of Uncle Sam's family have a right to expect that older members will help them to achieve. It is, in short, a psychological as well as material cooperation which is needed if both parties to the contract are to benefit from it.

NEWS
NAUGATUCK, CONN.

JUL 5 1932

Unambitious Islanders

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Of the population, a mere 22,000, nearly all colored. 93 per cent can read and write. The houses and streets are clean and the people themselves are cleanly. There are no beggars among them. They are merely very poor, by our standards, and "without incentive."

People in the tropics are usually poor and without incentive. Colored people in a tropical setting are likely to be unambitious, content with little.

Maybe we should proceed to inoculate those islanders with the virus of "divine discontent," of personal and public ambition, of the desire for efficiency, power and wealth. But somehow, in our own present mood, being not so sure as usual of our own standards, many of us will hesitate to butt in.

MICHIGAN CITY, IND.
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MAY ESTABLISH U. S. BANK IN VIRGIN ISLANDS

WASHINGTON, May 19 — The establishment of an American bank in the Virgin Islands where the banking situation is serious is being fostered through the Treasury Department. Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur stated last Friday.

A conference of bankers with Government officials was held last Thursday. At this conference it was agreed that an American bank should be established in the Virgin Islands. It will be operated under the American banking system. This decision was based upon an investigation of the feasibility of setting up an American bank in the Virgin Islands.

Secretary Wilbur directed attention to the fact that the critical banking situation arose because of the expiration next year of the franchise of the National Bank of the Danish West Indies.

At the Interior Department, it was stated that expiration of activities of the Danish bank has put an end to long-term loans. As a result agriculture and industry have been seriously handicapped. In view of its approaching termination, the bank has been collecting as rapidly as possible on mortgages and long term loans.

The introduction of an American bank, it is expected, will bring about greater business stability and will introduce the American monetary system in the islands. At present Danish money is used there.

Race Problem - 1932

West Indies.

Virgin Islands.
3

SLAVES IN VIRGIN ISLANDS LEARNED TO READ OVER TWO CENTURIES AGO STUDY BY SCHOOL DIRECTOR SHOWS

Education "Humanized" Since American System Was Introduced; Students Eligible To Enter Institutions On Mainland

ST. THOMAS, V. I.—(CNS)—The group of 50 islands, formerly known as the Danish West Indies, which the United States purchased from Denmark in 1916 and now known as the Virgin Islands with a total area of about 133 square miles, and a population of about 22,000, almost all of whom can qualify as literate, has a public school system which in most respects resembles the form of public education offered by the United States.

This possession of the United States has its elementary, junior high and senior high schools, and the pupils progress through the grades in the same manner as do American children in the homeland.

Mr. Arthur E. Lindborg, director of education for the Islands in a recent publication "Education in the Virgin Islands," states that during the past fifteen years the school course has been "humanized," that public instruction is no longer limited to the three "R's." The scope of the curriculum has been widened to include such subjects as music, sewing, woodwork, gardening, hygiene and a number of other courses of interest and practical value to children.

Education Started 1695

Mr. Lindborg points out that formal education was started there in 1697 by Lutheran ministers. Reading classes for Negro slaves were established in 1733 by Moravian missionaries. The slaves were emancipated in 1848. Free schools were established by 1850. From 1852 to 1918 education was compulsory for all children between the ages of 6 and 13.

At the time of transfer from Danish to American sovereignty the major stress in educational work was academic. Needlework and woodwork were included in the curriculum but were taught in less than half of the established schools. The method of classifying and segregating pupils into groups was based on the English "Lancastrian" system.

Since 1917 the schools have been reorganized on American standards of classification. The 6-3-3 plan of gradation is used. The first six grades are know as elementary, the next three junior high and the last three as senior high.

Population Decrease

The population has been decreasing each year. The official census for 1917 gave the group 26,051 inhabitants. The last census (1930) shows 22,012 people. The public school enrollment has, however, remained practicaly the same since 1922. Emigration usually affects the adult first and the children later.

It is a general practice for mothers and fathers to emigrate and leave their children in the Virgin Islands in the custody of their godparents or some relative with the promise that they will send for them later.

With few exceptions classes are not large. One hundred and thirteen teachers are employed with an average class of twenty-seven pupils each. The teachers' salaries are low as measured by standards in continental United States, but they have been increasing, owing to the raising of the standards for license to teach.

Less than 20 years ago the head master of a communal (urban) school received $45 a month for his services. Today the same position pays a salary of $120 per month. Twenty years ago the assistant teachers, working on full time, received as little as $4 per month for their services. The same type of teacher today begins with a minimum of $20 per month.

The amount of money spent for educational purposes always has been large when compared with that of other island groups in the West Indies. During the Danish period the money came from fines, rentals, interest from special funds, and special appropriations. A school tax such as is known in the United States has never existed in the Virgin Islands.

Local revenues supplemented by grants from the Congress of the United States are pooled and defray the cost of all government activities The paternal aid from Congress for the past ten years has been greater in money value than the aid received from Denmark for the past 100 years, according to Mr. Lindborg. This will explain the fact that the governmental expenditures increased from $21,100 in 1910-11 to $102,373 in 1929-30—expressed in Danish West Indian dollars.

The average cost per pupil in 1910-11 was estimated at $9.30; in 1929-30 it was $33.44 (in Danish West Indian currency). The total revenues for 1929-30 were 791,417.-82 1-2 francs and the sum spent for education during the same period was 511,867.35 francs.

Although local needs determine largely the work offered in the public schools, every effort is made to classify the work accomplished in terms and units common throughout the United States. This practice enables any child in the elementary school or student in the high school to transfer to a similar school in the United States without loss of standing in school subjects.